THE CHINESE CLASSICS.

VOL. III.

THE SHOO KING,

OR

THE BOOK OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

不以文害辭、不以辭害志、以意逆志、是爲得之。

MENCIUS, V. Pt. I. iv. 2.

THE

CHINESE CLASSICS:

WITH

A TRANSLATION, CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL NOTES, PROLEGOMENA, AND COPIOUS INDEXES.

BY

JAMES LEGGE, D.D.,

OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. III.—PART I.

CONTAINING

THE FIRST PARTS OF THE SHOO-KING.
OR THE BOOKS OF T'ANG; THE BOOKS OF YU; THE BOOKS OF HEA; THE BOOKS OF SHANG; AND THE PROLEGOMENA.

HONGKONG: AT THE AUTHOR'S.

LONDON: TRÜBNER & Co., 60, PATERNOSTER ROW.

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HONGKONG:

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30,	55,	I,	„ 記 „ 紀.
51,	1,	II,	„ 且 „ 乃.
66,	17,18,	I,	„ 祇 „ 祗.
87,	2,	II,	for 戞 read 戛.
238,	7,	I,	„ 予 „ 于.
252,	8,	II,	after 眄) insert 眩.
310,	25,	I,	for 既 read 哉.
482,	17,	„	„ 天 „ 有.

III. IN THE PROLEGOMENA.

Page.	*Line.*	
5,	16,	for 82 read 72.
7,	6, note	tables, read tablets.
11,	8,	11th „ 12th.
38,	21,	for Shih read Mih.
40,	4,	„ Sung „ Suy.
68,	8,	„ Y‘ang „ T‘ang.

IV. IN THE TRANSLATION AND NOTES.

Page.	*Line.*	
128,	In title of Book	for II. read I.
289, 294, 301, 306, 320, 343, 350, 362, 376, 381, 399,——		for THE BOOKS OF SHANG read THE BOOKS OF CHOW.
6,	11,	for Hëaou read Gaou.
9,	3,	„ Le „ Leu.
11,	8,	„ Chang „ Chung.
17,	8,	„ Sea „ four Seas.
90,	11,	af. Emperor ins. bowed, and.
128, *et al.*	3,	for Te read Che.
	5,	„ Ta „ T'ae.
137,	3,	af. Këang ins. and went on to Tung-ling.
139,	8,	for Urh read Shoo.
195,	4, 5,	Transpose elders and relations.
223,	11,	af. people *dele* Comma.
335,	4,	„ connection ins. a Comma.
342,	4,	for are like read should examine.
460,	8,	„ te „ to.
481,	3,	„ Hwang „ Hung.
551,	6,	„ screens „ screen.
553,	1,	„ *dele* and.
572,	11,	„ *dele* that of.
630,	7,	„ prosperity read calamity.

Page.	*Line.*	*Column.*	
23,	11,	2,	for 子,肖 read 子.肖.
	26,		„ Ching „ Suy.
33,	7,	2,	„ -shing „ Shing.
35,	25,	2,	„ 37 „ 27.
46,	21,	1,	„ 6 „ 1.
48,	13,	2,	„ 80 „ 81.
64,	24,	1,	transpose 是 and 時.
85,	14,	2,	for eleven read twelve.
99,	18,	2,	„ 1 „ 12.
141,	14,	2,	af. waters put a full stop.
149,	7,	1,	for Han read Chow.
152,	26,	2,	„ 2d Yu „ Hoo.
162,	14,	1,	„ XXVI.,p.10 „ XXII.,p.9
223,	11,	1,	„ our „ one.
224,	16,	2,	„ prunasily „ primarily.
317,	30,	2,	„ that „ than.
372,	15,	2,	„ Q „ P.
388,	23,	1,	„ 10 „ 11.

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20,	10,	„	„ 日 „ 夜.
30,	55,	I,	„ 記 „ 紀.
51,	1,	II,	„ 且 „ 乃.
66,	17,18,	I,	„ 祇 „ 祗.

Page.	Line.	Column.	
87,	2,	II,	for 戞 read 戛.
238,	7,	I,	„ 予 „ 于.
252,	8,	II,	after 眄) insert 眩.
310,	25,	I,	for 旣 read 哉.
482,	17,	„	„ 天 „ 有.

III. IN THE PROLEGOMENA.

Page.	Line.	
5,.........	16,............................	for 82 read 72.
7,.........	6, note..............	tables, read tablets.
11,.........	8,........................	11th „ 12th.

Page.	Line.	
38,.........	21, ...	for Shih read Mih.
40,.........	4, ...	„ Sung „ Suy.
68,.........	8, ...	„ Y'ang „ T'ang.

IV. IN THE TRANSLATION AND NOTES.

Page.	*Line.*	
128,	In title of Book	for II. read I.
289, 294, 301, 306, 320, 343, 350, 362, 376, 381, 399,—		for THE BOOKS OF SHANG read THE BOOKS OF CHOW.
6,	11,	for Hëaou read Gaou.
9,	3,	„ Le „ Leu.
11,	8,	„ Chang „ Chung.
17,	8,	„ Sea „ four Seas.
90,	11,	af. Emperor ins. bowed, and.
128, *et al.*	3,	for Te read Che.
	5,	„ Ta „ T'ae.
137,	3,	af. Këang ins. and went on to Tung-ling.
139,	8,	for Urh read Shoo.
195,	4,5,	Transpose elders and relations.
223,	11,	af. people *dele* Comma.
335,	4,	„ connection ins. a Comma.
342,	4,	for are like read should examine.
460,	8,	„ te „ to.
481,	3,	„ Hwang „ Hung.
551,	6,	„ screens „ screen.
553,	1,	„ *dele* and.
572,	11,	„ *dele* that of.
630,	7,	„ prosperity read calamity.

Page.	*Line.*	*Column.*	
23,	11,	2,	for 子,肩 read 子.肩.
	26,		„ Ching „ Suy.
33,	7,	2,	„ -shing „ Shing.
35,	25,	2.	„ 37 „ 27.
46,	21,	1,	„ 6 „ 1.
48,	13,	2,	„ 80 „ 81.
64,	24,	1,	transpose 是 and 時.
85,	14,	2,	for eleven read twelve.
99,	18,	2,	„ 1 „ 12.
141,	14,	2,	af. waters put a full stop.
149,	7,	1,	for Han read Chow.
152,	26,	2,	„ 2d Yu „ Hoo.
162,	14,	1,	„ XXVI.,p.10 „ XXII.,p.9
223,	11,	1,	„ our „ one.
224,	16,	2,	„ prunasily „ primarily.
317,	30,	2,	„ that „ than.
372,	15,	2,	„ Q „ P.
388,	23,	1,	„ 10 „ 11.

PROLEGOMENA.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF THE SHOO KING.

SECTION I.

DOWN TO THE BURNING OF THE BOOKS IN B.C. 212.— THE NAME OF THE SHOO; ITS COMPILATION AND NUMBER OF BOOKS; ITS SOURCES.

Name of the Shoo, and its significancy.

1. I have translated the name Shoo King by 'The Book (or Classic) of Historical Documents.' The term *shoo* shows us by its composition[1] that it denotes 'the pencil speaking;' and hence it is often used as a general designation for the written characters of the language. In the preface to the Shwŏ Wăn, the oldest extant dictionary of the Chinese, we are told that 'when Ts'ang Këĕ first made characters *(shoo)*, they were, according to their classes, resemblances of the objects, and therefore called *wăn* (delineations); that afterwards, when the forms and their sounds (or names) were mutually increased, they were called *tsze* (begetters); and that, as set forth on bamboo or silk, they were called *shoo* (writings).'[2] From this use of the term the transition was easy to the employment of it in the sense of writings or books, applicable to any consecutive compositions; and before the time

[1] 書=聿日. 聿 means 'an instrument for writing or describing characters,' and 日 means 'to speak.'

[2] 蒼頡之初作書,蓋依類象形,故謂之文,其後形聲相益,即謂之字,字者,孳乳而寖多也,著于竹帛,謂之書,書者如也. The Shwŏ Wăn (說文) was completed A.D. 100, in the 12th year of the 4th emperor of the Eastern Han dynasty (漢和帝永元十二年). The author's name was Heu Shin (許慎). He is often referred to also by his designation of Shuh-chung (叔重).

of Confucius we find it further specially applied to designate the historical remains of antiquity, in distinction from the poems, the accounts of rites, and other monuments of former times.[3] Not that those other documents might not also be called by the general name of *shoo*.[4] The peculiar significancy of the term, however, was well established, and is retained to the present day. *The* SHOO, in the lips of Confucius, denoted documents concerning the history of his country from the most ancient times to his own; as spoken of since the Han dynasty, it has denoted a compilation of such documents, believed (whether correctly or not, we shall presently inquire) to have been made by the sage. In the prolegomena to my first volume, p. 1, I have called it 'The Book of History,' and Medhurst styles it 'The Historical Classic, the most authentic record of the Annals of the Chinese Empire;' but both these designations are calculated to mislead the reader. The Book, even as it is said to have come from the hand of Confucius, never professed to contain a history of China; and much less are we to look in it for the annals of that history. Its several portions furnish important materials to the historian, but he must grope his way through hundreds of years without any assistance from the Shoo. It is simply a collection of historical memorials, extending over a space of about 1,700 years, but on no connected method, and with great gaps between them. This is the character of the Work, and nothing more is indicated by the name Shoo King.

2. As to the name 'Shang Shoo,'[1] by which the Classic is very frequently both spoken and written of, it is generally said by scholars that it originated subsequently to the burning of the Books.

The name Shang Shoo.

Thus Maou K'e-ling tells us that 'the Shoo was anciently named simply the Shoo, but that, after the portions of it preserved by Fuh-shang appeared, as they were the Books of highest antiquity, it was named the Shang Shoo.'[2] Maou's statement is

3 See the fourth paragraph. 4 An instance quite in point may be referred to in the third and only existing part of Mih-tsze's treatise on Manes (明鬼篇). On the 6th page, he has two quotations from the Shoo King, and one from the She. The latter is introduced by 周書大雅有之, 'We read in the Ta Ya, *one of the Books of Chow.*'

1 尙書. 2 書舊祗名書,自伏書出後,以其爲上古之書,故名尙,見孔氏正義. See the 古文尙書寃詞, Bk. I., p. 10. In explanation of the term 尙, Maou adds—若春秋說題辭尙者上也,上世帝王之遺書也,劉熙釋名 (The 釋名 still remains. Lew He belonged to the closing times of the Han dynasty), 尙者上也,以堯爲上始,而書其時事也. A difficulty occurs in receiving this view from the 28th and 30th of the Books of

based on the authority of K'ung Ying tă, of the T'ang dynasty. It is so far correct,—in saying that the oldest name of the Book was simply the Shoo; but the epithet of *Shang* was in use before the time of Fuh-shang. We find it in the treatise of Mih-tsze referred to above.[3] We may acquiesce in the meaning which is assigned to it. *Shang* may be descriptive of the documents with reference either to their antiquity or to the value set upon them.

3. In the Analects, Confucius and Tsze-chang quote from the Shoo by the simple formula—'The Shoo says.'[1] In the Great Learning, four different Books, all in the classic as we have it now, are mentioned by name.[2] Mencius sometimes uses the same formula as Confucius,[3] and at other times designates particular Books.[4] It is most natural for us to suppose that Confucius, when he spoke of 'The Shoo,' had in his mind's eye *a collection* of Historical Documents bearing that title,—the same which we still possess in a mutilated condition. But it may not have been so. His language—'The Shoo says'—may mean nothing more than that in one of the ancient documents, come down from former times, well known to many, and open to general research, so and so was to be found written. Such even Chinese critics must allow to have been his meaning, if he used the phrase before he himself made the compilation of the documents which they universally ascribe to him. I propose now to inquire on what authority the sage is believed to have made such a compilation; and, as a specimen of the current tradition on the subject, I may commence by quoting the account in the 'Records of the Suy dynasty' (A.D. 589–617).—'Historical Documents began immediately with the invention of written characters. Confucius inspected the documents in the library of Chow; and having found the records of the four dynasties of Yu, Hea, Shang, and Chow, he preserved the best among them, and rejected the others. Beginning with Yu and

Did Confucius compile the classic of the Shoo?

Chow, which belong to the period of what is called the Ch'un-ts'ew; and Maou concludes by saying that as the Books of the Shoo were recovered in the Han dynasty, they then characterised all documents prior to the times of Ts'in as of high antiquity (書出漢代,其視秦以前,皆上古耳). This conclusion of Maou is overthrown by the use of the term by Mih-tsze. 3 See the 明鬼篇,下, p. 7,—故尙書夏書,其次商周之書,語數鬼神之有也.

1 書云. Ana. II. xxi; XIV. xliii. 2 The Great Learning, Comm. i. 1, 2, 3; ii. 2; ix. 2; x. 11, 14. 3 書曰. I. Pt. II. iii. 7; xi. 2: III. Pt. I. i. 4; Pt. II. ix. 6: VI. Pt. II. v. 4. 4 I. Pt. I. ii. 4: II. Pt. I. iv. 6: III. Pt. II. v. 6: IV. Pt. I. viii. 5: V. Pt. I. v. 8: VII. Pt. II. iii.

coming down to Chow, he compiled altogether a hundred Books, and made a preface to them.'[5]

The earliest authority for these statements is that of K'ung Gan-kwŏ, about B.C. 90. When it is said that Confucius compiled the Book of Poetry, substantially as it exists at present, his own language may be adduced in corroboration. He tells us how he reformed the music, and gave the pieces in the Imperial songs and Praise songs all their proper places. He tells us also, in round numbers very nearly approaching the exact calculation, how many the pieces of poetry were.[7] But nowhere does he speak of having laboured in a similar way upon the Shoo, or of the number of documents comprehended in the collection. He spoke of them often with his disciples, as he did of the poems; but neither in the Analects nor in Mencius have we a hint of his having selected a hundred pieces from the mass of early historical memoirs, and composed a preface for them.

Gan-kwŏ's testimony is in the preface to his commentary on the Shoo King, enlarged by the additional Books which had been recovered from the wall of Confucius' house,—of which I will speak at length in the next chapter. Recounting the labours of his 'ancestor, Confucius,' on the Music, Rites, Poems, and other remains of ancient literature, he says that 'he examined and arranged the grand monuments and records, deciding to commence with Yaou and Shun, and to come down to the times of Chow. When there was perplexity and confusion, he mowed them. Expressions frothy and unallowable he cut away. What embraced great principles he retained and developed. What were more minute and yet of importance he carefully selected. Of those deserving to be handed down to other ages and to supply permanent lessons, he made in all one hundred Books, consisting of Canons, Counsels, Instructions, Announcements, Speeches, and Charges.'[8]

5 隋書,志第二十七,經籍一,—書之所典,蓋與文字俱起,孔子觀書周室,得虞,夏,商,周,四代之典,删其善者,上自虞下至周爲百篇,編而序之. 6 Ana. IX. xiv. 7 Ana. II. ii. 8 See the 尙書序 in 'The Thirteen King.'—先君孔子 .... 討論墳典,斷自唐虞以下,訖于周,芟夷煩亂,翦截浮辭,舉其宏綱,撮其機要,足以垂世立教,典,謨,訓,誥,誓,命之文,凡百篇. In an earlier part of the preface Gan-kwŏ has described the 墳 as 'the Books of Fuh-he, Shin-nung, and Hwang-te,' and the 典 as 'the Books of Shaou-haou, Chuen-heuh, Kaou-sin, Yaou, and Shun.' Of these I shall speak farther on; but we must take 墳典 in this paragraph more generally, or its parts will be very inconsequent. Ying-tă expands 討論墳典 into 討整論理此三墳五典,幷三代之書也.

Of Confucius having written a preface to the hundred Books which he thus compiled, Gan-kwŏ does not speak distinctly. His language implies that among the remains which came into his charge there was a preface to the Books, which he broke up into its several parts, prefixing to each Book the portion belonging to it; but he does not say that Confucius was the author of it.[9]

Confucius died B.C. 478, and thus nearly 400 years pass by before we find the compilation of the Shoo ascribed to him. I know that the genuineness of Gan-kwŏ's preface—commonly named 'The Great Preface,'[10]—is called in question, though, as I think, on insufficient grounds; but we find the same testimony which has been adduced from it given about the same time by Sze-ma Ts'een, who was acquainted with Gan-kwŏ, and consulted him specially on the subject of the Shoo.[11] Ts'een's 'Historical Records'[12] must have been completed between B C. 103 and 97, and became current in the reign of the emperor Seuen, B.C. 82—48. In them, in the Life of Confucius, we read that the sage, on his return to Loo in his old age, B.C. 483, 'made a preface to the Records of the Shoo, and compiled and arranged them from the times of Yaou and Shun down to duke Muh of Ts'in.'[13] Ts'een speaks more definitely than Gan-kwŏ on the point of the Preface. The fact of the compilation is equally asserted by both. But they cannot be regarded as independent witnesses. Ts'een's information came to him from Gan-kwŏ; and to them are to be traced all the statements on the subject which we find in the chronicles of the Han and subsequent dynasties. It is possible—it is not improbable—that Confucius did compile a hundred ancient documents, which he wished to be regarded as *the Shoo par eminence.* His doing so would have been in harmony with the character which he gave of himself as 'A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients;'[14] and with his labours on the Classic of poetry and on the Ch'un-ts'ew. The Shoo's beginning with

9 伏生以舜典合於堯典,益稷合於皐陶謨,盤庚三篇合爲一,康王之誥合於顧命,復出此篇幷序,凡五十九篇,爲四十六卷……書序,序所以爲作者之意,昭然義見,宜相附近,故引之各冠其篇首,定五十八篇. 10 大序 11 See the 前漢書,儒林傳,第五十八, p. 9.—安國爲諫大夫,授都尉朝,而司馬遷亦從安國問,故遷書載堯典,禹貢,微子,洪範,金縢,多古文說. 12 史記, 13 序書傳,上紀唐虞之際,下至秦繆,編次其事. See the 史記四十七,孔子,世家第十七, p. 12. 14 Ana. VII. i.

the Canons of Yaou and Shun is also what might have been expected from him of whom it is said in the Doctrine of the Mean that 'He handed down the doctrines of Yaou and Shun as if they had been his ancestors.'[15] But however reasonable in itself may be the belief that he compiled the Shoo as it existed at the time when the ambitious emperor of Ts'in issued his edict that the ancient books should be consigned to the flames, I have thought it right to show that the evidence which we have for it is by no means conclusive. What Gan-kwŏ is supposed to say, and Ts'een says explicitly, about his writing a preface to the compilation, is, it will be presently seen, still more questionable.

4. Whether Confucius determined that so many of the ancient historical documents of his country were worthy of being preserved, and stamped them with his own authority, so fixing the Canon of the Shoo, or not, the evidence is satisfactory enough that after his time there was current under this name an acknowledged and authoritative collection of such documents.

The Shoo after the time of Confucius was a recognized standard collection of ancient documents.

It has been pointed out how he used in his quotations the vague formula—'The Shoo says,' which may mean 'An ancient document says,' or 'One of the Books in the Canon of the Shoo says;' and that Mencius often does the same. The language of the latter philosopher, however, in one place loses much of its force, if we do not understand him to be referring to a definite collection. 'It would be better,' he said, 'to be without the Shoo than to give entire credit to it;' and immediately after, he specifies one of the Books of Chow.—'In the "Completion of the War," I select two or three passages only which I believe.'[1] The natural interpretation of the character *Shoo* as here employed is certainly that which I propose. In my comment upon it, vol. II., p. 355, I have spoken of two or three methods which have been thought of to give it a different meaning. They are all strained, and designed to escape from what we should call *doctrinal* difficulties. Mencius speaks with little reverence for the Shoo, and with little reverence for Confucius, if he believed that the Master had compiled it in the way which K'ung Gan-kwŏ describes. He may have been wrong in doing so,

15 中庸, xxx. 1.

1 Men. VII. Pt. II.—盡信書,則不如無書。吾於武成,取二三策而已矣.

or he may have been right;—what he did say remains in the record of his Works.

The quotation of particular documents by their names in The Great Learning and in Mencius, which has likewise been pointed out, directs us to the same conclusion. The same thing is often found in the Record of Rites.

In the Commentary of Tso-k'ew Ming on the Ch'un-ts'ew, in Mih-tsze, Seun-tsze, and other writers of the two last centuries of the Chow dynasty, a different style of quotation prevails, which is still more decisive on the point in hand. They not only quote the Shoo as Confucius and Mencius do, but they specify the different parts or divisions of it,—the Books of Yu, of Hea, of Shang, of Chow. I need refer the reader only to the quotation from Mih-tsze given in the third note to par. 2 above.

Did the Shoo consist of a hundred Books or Documents?

Whether the Collection of Historical Documents, which was thus current in the closing period of the Chow dynasty, consisted of a hundred different Books, no more and no fewer, is a question on which I find it difficult to give a definite opinion. It was so believed after the Preface to the Shoo was found in the wall of Confucius' house in the reign of the emperor Woo (B.C. 139—86), or earlier.[2] That preface, such as it is, will be seen in this volume, pp. 1—14. Gan-kwŏ assumed that it was complete, and based on it his statement that the Shoo contained the hundred Books mentioned in it. Copies of it were current among the scholars of the Han dynasty, differing a little from that published subsequently as Gan-kwŏ's in the relative order of some of the Books; but we have their testimony as to the entire number in the collection being a hundred.[3]

There are some things, however, which make me hesitate to receive these statements without question. For instance, Sze-ma Ts'een in his Records of the Yin dynasty, when telling us that Woo Heen made the *Heen E*, which is mentioned in the Preface, Not. 22, adds

2 I think it more probable that this event took place in the reign of the emperor King (景帝), B.C. 155–140. It is generally said to have happened in the end of Woo's reign. But king Kung of Loo, to enable whom to enlarge his palace the old house of the sage was being pulled down, died, it is said, B.C. 127, more than 40 years before Woo's reign ended. See Yen Jŏ-keu, as quoted in the 尙書後案辨附, p. 29. The different statements which we find on the subject arise from confounding the date of the discovery of the old tables with that of the completion of Gan-kwŏ's commentary. 3 Thus Ch'ing Heuen or Ch'ing K'ang-shing tells us that the Books of Yu and Hea (or the Yu-hea Books) were 20; those of Shang, 40; and those of Chow, 40:—a hundred in all. See K'ang-shing's brief account of the Shoo, given in the 後案,卷十三, p. 58.

that he also made the *T'ae-mow*, which has no place in it.[4] In the Commentary of Tso-k'ew, under the 4th year of duke Ting (B.C. 505), mention is made of the Announcement to the prince of K'ang, which is now the 9th of the Books of Chow, and in the same paragraph of a Charge or Announcement to *Pih-k'in*, on which the Preface is silent.[5] In the 21st of the Books of the first dynasty of Han, there is a quotation from 'the *Yuĕ Ts'ae*, one of the Books of the Ancient Text,' and on the same page a Book called *Fung Hing* is spoken of, of neither of which do we read elsewhere.[6]

Further, several writers of the Han dynasty speak of 102, and of 120 Books. It is difficult to explain their language; but it appears inconsistent with the tradition which has since prevailed, that the Canon of the Shoo contained, before the time of Ts'in, only one hundred documents.[7]

Maou K'e-ling endeavours quite unsuccessfully to prove that the phrase, 'A hundred Books,' was older than Gan-kwŏ, and his discovery of the Preface. He refers first to a passage in Mih-tsze, where it is said that 'the duke of Chow read in the morning 100 Books.' This can have nothing to do with the subject. Several of the Books of the Shoo were composed after the time of the duke of Chow. Mih simply means to commend his industry, as is evident from the sentence which follows, that 'in the evening the duke gave audience to 70 officers.'[8] He refers also to a sentence in the writings of Yang Heung, that 'those who in former times spoke of the Shoo, arranged (or prefaced) it in 100 Books';[9] but Yang died A.D. 18, being posterior to Gan-kwŏ by nearly a century; and the sequel of the passage shows that he had in mind critics subsequent to that

4 See the 殷記, p. 3.—巫咸治王家有成,作咸艾,作太戊. 5 See the 左傳,定公四年.—命以伯禽,而封於少皞之虛......命以康誥,而封於殷虛. 6 See the 律曆,志第一,下.—古文月采篇曰,云云;畢命豐刑曰......王命作策豐刑. 7 See the 古文尚書寃詞,卷二, p 7, and the 經義考,卷七十三,書二, p. 1. Maou gives two ways of explaining these expressions. The first is—Add to the acknowledged 100 Books one for the Preface, and one for a different edition of The Great Speech, which somehow was current; thus we have 102. The second refers to the 120.—He adduces a work called 尚書璿璣鈐, where it is said that Confucius found 120 Books; that out of 102 he made the Shang Shoo, and out of 18 the Chung How; and these were the 120 (百兩篇). I do not know how to interpret Chung How (中候). The explanations do not enlighten the darkness of the subject. 8 See Mih-tsze, 卷之十二,貴義 p. 3, 昔者.周公旦朝讀百篇,夕見漆(=七)十士. 9 See 楊子法言,卷四,問神篇. p 4.—昔之說書者序以百.

scholar.—On the one hand, allowing that Gan-kwŏ found the Preface, as it is still current, with the other tablets (which there is no reason to doubt), we cannot be certain that the Canon of the Shoo did not at the end of the Chow dynasty contain more than a hundred Books; nor, on the other hand, can we be certain that the hundred Books mentioned in it were all then existing. Not a few of them may have been lost or cast out before that time. I believe myself that it was so, and will give my reasons for doing so in the next section.

The Preface was not written by Confucius.

That the Preface, whether it be complete or not, was not written by Confucius, is now the prevailing opinion of scholars throughout the empire. I have shown that Gan-kwŏ himself did not ascribe it to the sage. Sze-ma Ts'een did, and was followed by Lew Hin, Pan Koo, Ch'ing Heuen, and other scholars of the Han dynasty. Their doing so proves that they had little of the critical faculty,—unless we are prepared to allow that Confucius was a man of very little discrimination and comprehension of mind. It will be sufficient for me to give here the judgment in the matter of Ts'ae Ch'in, the disciple of Choo He, and whose commentary is now the standard of orthodoxy in the interpretation of the Shoo.—After quoting the opinions of Lew Hin and Pan Koo, he says:—'When we examine the text of the Preface, as it is still preserved, though it is based on the contents of the several Books, the knowledge which it shows is shallow, and the views which it gives are narrow. It sheds light on nothing; and there are things in it at variance with the text of the Classic. On the Books that are lost it is specially servile and brief, affording us not the slightest help. That it is not the work of Confucius is exceedingly plain.'[10]

5. The questions which have thus far been discussed can hardly be regarded as of prime importance. It seemed necessary to give attention to them in a critical introduction to the Shoo; but it matters little to the student that he cannot discern the *imprimatur* of Confucius on the collected Canon;—he has the sage's authority for some Books in it, and he has evidence that after his time there was a Compilation of ancient historical documents acknowledged by the scholars of the empire. And it matters little to him what was the exact number of documents in that Collection;—many of them have been irretrievably lost, and we have to do only with those which are now current as having fortunately escaped the flames of Ts'in. There remains, however, at this part of our in-

10 See the 集傳 書序.

quiries, a question really curious and of great interest.—What were the sources of the Shoo? What proofs have we of the composition in ancient times of such documents as it contains, and of their preservation, so that some of them might be collected in a sort of historical Canon?

The sources of the Shoo.

To begin with the dynasty of Chow.—We have the Work commonly called 'The Rites of Chow.'[1] It is also and more correctly called 'The Officers of Chow.'[2] Under the several departments into which the administration of the government was divided, it gives the titles of the officers belonging to them, and a description of their duties. I will not vouch for the tradition which ascribes the composition of it to the duke of Chow; but it no doubt contains the institutions and arrangements made by him in completing the establishment of the dynasty.

Under the department of the minister of Religion we find the various officers styled *Sze*,[3] a term which has been translated 'Recorders,'[4] 'Annalists,'[5] 'Historiographers,' and simply 'Clerks.'[6] There are the Grand Recorder, the Assistant Recorder, the Recorder of the Interior, the Recorder of the Exterior, and the Recorder in attendance on the emperor. Arranged under the department of the minister of Religion, they were advisers also of the prime minister of the government, and of Heads of Departments generally, on all subjects which required reference to history and precedent. Among the duties of the Recorder of the Interior were the following:—'In case of any Charge given by the emperor to the prince of a State, to an assistant Grand counsellor, to a minister, or to a great officer, he writes the Charge on tablets;' 'In case of any Memorials on business coming in from the different quarters of the empire, he reads them *to the emperor*;' 'It is his business to write all Charges of the emperor, and to do so in duplicate.'[8] Of the duties of the Re-

1 周禮. Biot names it—'Le Tcheou Li, ou Rites de Tcheou.' 2 周官. This is the name in the grand edition ordered by the emperor K'ëen-lung of the present dynasty,—the 欽定周官義疏. 3 史. 4 This is the definition given in the Shwŏ Wăn,—記事者, 'one who records events.' Morrison, Dict., *in voc.*, observes that the character is formed from 'a *hand* seizing the *middle*,' and defines it as 'an impartial narrator of events.' The *hand* holds the pencil, and describes things without swerving to the right or left. 5 Thus Biot renders the term. 6 See my translation of the Analects, VI. xvi. 7 大史, 小史, 內史, 外史, 御史. 8 See the 周官, Ch. xxvi. P. 35, 凡命諸侯, 及孤, 卿, 大夫, 則策命之; p. 36, 凡四方之事書, 內史讀之; p. 38, 內史掌書王命, 遂貳之.

corder of the Exterior it is said :—'He writes all Commands for the exterior domains;' 'He has charge of the Histories of the States in all parts of the empire;' 'He has charge of the Books of the three great sovereigns and the five rulers;' 'It is his business to publish in all parts of the empire the Books and the characters in them.'[9]

These passages show clearly that under the Chow dynasty, from its commencement in the 11th century before our Christian era, there was provision made for the compilation and preservation of imperial charges and ordinances, of records of the operations of the general government, and of histories of the different States; and, moreover, for the preservation and interpretation of documents come down from more ancient times.

The Recorders mentioned in the 'Officers of Chow' belonged of course to the imperial court; but there were similar officers, though not so numerous, at the courts of the various feudal princes. It was of such that Confucius spoke when he said that in his early days a historiographer would leave a blank in his text rather than enter anything of which he had not sufficient evidence.[10] They also were the writers of the Books which Mencius mentions,—'the Shing of Tsin, the Taou-wuh of Ts‘oo, and the Ch‘un-ts‘ew of Loo'[11]

When we ascend from the Chow dynasty to those of Shang and Hea which preceded it, we do not have the same amount of evidence for the existence under them of the class of officers styled Recorders. Chinese critics, indeed, say that it did then exist, and even earlier; my own opinion is, that the institution was in active operation during the dynasties just named :—but the proofs are not adequate. For instance, Ma Twan-lin says, 'The pencil of the recording officers was busy from the time of Hwang-te. Its subsequent operation is clearly seen from what we know of Chung Koo, the Grand Recorder

9 Pp. 39-42. 外史掌書外令；掌四方之志；掌三皇五帝之書；掌達書名於四方. Biot translates this last par.—掌達書名於四方 by 'Ils sont chargés de propager les noms écrits, ou les signes de l'écriture, dans les quatre parties de l'empire.' This was the view of Wang Gan-shih of the Sung dynasty, who says—書名者字也. 書 and 名 are thus taken in apposition, or, at best, as Biot renders, = 'written names,' = characters; which seems to me an unnatural construction. K‘ang-shing took 書名 as meaning simply 'the names of the Books,' as 'The Canon of Yaou,' 'The Tribute of Yü;' which names the Recorder of the Exterior made known throughout the empire. So far as the characters 書名 are concerned, this interpretation is the likeliest; but it makes the whole passage so weak and frivolous that it cannot be admitted. K‘ang-shing mentions, however, that some took 名 in the sense of 字, 'characters,' and made 書名 = 'the characters in the various Books.' This is nearer to the view which I have taken. 10 Ana. XV. xxv. 11 Men. IV. Pt. II. xxi.

of Hea, and Kaou She, the Grand Recorder of Shang.'[12] But all that we know of the names mentioned is from the Bamboo Books and from the Ch'un-ts'ew of Leu,—both comparatively recent and insufficient authorities.[13] I attach more force to what we find in the 10th of the Books of Chow, par. 13, where Fung is told to warn his 'friends, the Grand Recorder and the Recorder of the Interior,' of the dangers of drunkenness. By the 'Recorder of the Interior' there, it is argued that we must understand the officer who had exercised that function at the imperial court of Shang, and was now living in retirement in the State of Wei after the overthrow of his dynasty.

Independently of the Institution of Recorders, if we may admit the testimony of the Shoo itself, both emperors and ministers were in the habit of committing their ordinances and memorials to writing during the rule of the House of Shang. Woo-ting, B.C. 1321, is described as making a writing to communicate the dream which he had to his ministers;[14] and, more than 400 years earlier, we have E Yin addressing his remonstrances to the young emperor T'ae-këă in a written form.[15] Going back to the dynasty of Hea, we find that the prince of Yin, during the reign of Chung-k'ang, generally believed to have begun B.C. 2158, in addressing his troops, quotes 'The Statutes of Government,' in a manner which makes us conceive of him as referring to some well-known compilation.[16] The grandsons of the great Yu, likewise, make mention, in 'The Songs of the Five Sons,' of his 'Lessons,' doing so in language which suggests to us the formula which Mencius was wont to employ when he was referring to the documents acknowledged to be of authority in his day.[17] There can be no doubt that about 2000 years before our era the art of writing was known in China, and that it was exer-

12 See the 文獻通考, 卷五十一, Art. 史官.—史官肇自黃帝有之, 自後顯著夏太史終古, 高太史商勢. [While this sheet is going through the press, my attention has been called to a Soo-chow edition of Ma Twan-lin's Work, where this passage is read—史官肇自黃帝有之, 自後顯者, 云云. This reading is, no doubt, preferable to that in the copy in my own possession.] 13 See the 竹書紀年, 注箋, 卷之四, p. 12, and 卷之六, p. 23. What Leu says is found, in his Ch'un-ts'ew, 卷第十六, 先識覽第四. The 太平御覽, 卷二百三十五, p. 4, gives the following abstract of his statements:—夏太史令終古, 見夏桀惑亂, 載其圖法而泣, 乃出奔商, 商太史高勢見周之迷亂, 載其圖法, 出之周. 14 Pt. IV. Bk. VIII., Pt. i. 2, 15, Bk. V. Pt. i. 2. 16 Part III. Bk. IV. 4. 17 Bk. III. See particularly 訓有之, in par. 6, and compare it with the 於傳有之, in Men. I. Pt. II. ii. 1, *et al.*

cised in the composition of Documents of the nature of those which we read in the Shoo King. Whether an institution like that of the Recorders of Chow existed at so early a date does not appear. We can well believe that, as time went on, all written memorials were produced more numerously and frequently. We can well believe also that, in the revolutions and periods of confusion which occurred, many memorials were lost. Mencius complained that in his time the feudal princes destroyed many of the records of antiquity, that they might the better perpetrate their own usurpations and innovations.[18] The same thing would go on during the dynasties of Shang and Hea. Time is at once a producer and a devourer. Many records of Yu and T'ang and their successors had perished before the Canon of the Shoo was compiled, but sufficient must have remained to supply the materials for a larger collection than was made.

Confucius once expressed himself in a manner which throws light on the point which I am now considering.—'I am able,' said he, 'to describe the ceremonies of the Hea dynasty, but K'e cannot sufficiently attest my words. I am able to describe the ceremonies of the Yin dynasty; but Sung cannot sufficiently attest my words. They cannot do so because of the insufficiency of their records and wise men.'[19] The State of K'e was ruled by the descendants of the great Yu, and that of Sung by those of T'ang. The various institutions of Hea and Shang ought to have been preserved in them, and their scholars should have been careful to watch over the literary monuments that could be appealed to in support of their traditions and ordinances. But the scholars had failed in their duty; the monuments were too mutilated and fragmentary to answer their purpose. The Master would not expose himself to the risk of relating or teaching what he could not substantiate by abundant evidence. Where had he got his own knowledge of the ancient times? Some critics tell us that he was born with it;—an affirmation which no foreigner will admit. He must have obtained it by his diligent research, and his reasoning, satisfactory at least to himself, on what facts he was able to ascertain. His words show us that, while in his time there were still existing documents of a high antiquity, they were not very numerous or complete.

6. Before we pass on to the next chapter, it will be well to say something on 'the Books of the three great sovereigns, and the five —

18 V. Pt. II. ii. 2. 19 Ana. III. ix.

rulers,' which 'The Officers of Chow,' as quoted on page 11, mentions as being under the charge of the Recorder of the Exterior. Nothing certain or satisfactory, indeed, has ever been ascertained about them; but the amount of discussion to which they have given rise renders it desirable that I should not leave the passage unnoticed.

The Books of the three Sovereigns and five rulers.

What were those Books? Gan-kwŏ says in his preface, referred to above on page 4, that 'the Books of Fuh-he, Shin-nung, and Hwang-te were called the *Three Fun*, as containing great doctrines; and those of Shaou-haou, Chuen-heuh, Kaou-sin, Yaou, and Shun were called the *five Tëen*, as containing standard doctrines.'[1] He was led to this explanation by a passage in the Tso Chuen, the most valued commentary on the Ch'un-Ts'ew. It is there said, under the 12th year of duke Ch'aou (B.C. 530), that E-Seang, a Recorder of the State of Ts'oo, 'could read the three *Fun*, the five *Tëen*, the eight *Sih*, and the nine *K'ew*.'[2] It would appear from this, that in the time of Confucius there were some books current having the names which are given; but what they were, and whether a portion of them were the same with those mentioned in 'The Officers of Chow,' we cannot tell. Woo Sze-taou,[3] a scholar of the Yuen dynasty, observes:—'The Recorder of the Exterior had charge of the "Books of the three Hwang;" nothing is said of the "three Fun." E-seang could read the "three Fun;" nothing is said in connection with him of the "three Hwang." K'ung Gan-kwŏ thought that the Books of the three Hwang and the three Fun were identical; but there is no good reason to adopt his conclusion.' Too Yu of the Tsin dynasty, the glossarist of the Tso Chuen, contented himself with saying that Fun, Teen, Sih, and K'ew were all 'the names of ancient Books.' Whatever those Books were, we may safely conclude that they were of little worth. According to Gan-kwŏ's own account, Confucius rejected the three *Fun*, and three out of the five *Teen*, when he was compiling the Shoo; and by whomsoever the Shoo was compiled, we are well assured that it never contained any document older than the Canon of Yaou. We should be glad if we could have light thrown on the passage in 'The Officers

[1] 伏犧,神農,黃帝之書,謂之三墳,言大道也,少昊,顓頊,高辛,唐,虞之書,謂之五典,言常道也. [2] 佐史倚相...其能讀三墳,五典,八索,九丘. [3] 吳師道. He is quoted in the 經義考,書一.

of Chow;' but we must be content, as is so often the case in historical inquiries, to remain in ignorance, and have our curiosity ungratified.[4]

4 I have not thought it worth while to mention in the text a forgery of 'the three Fun,' which was attempted A.D. 1084, when a certain Maou Tsëen (毛漸) pretended to have discovered the ancient Books. The imposition was soon exploded.

SECTION II.

FROM THE BURNING OF THE BOOKS, B.C. 212, TO THE TIME OF CHOO HE, A.D. 1130.

THE RECOVERY OF A PORTION OF THE SHOO BY FUH-SANG, CALLED THE MODERN TEXT; AND OF A SECOND PORTION BY K'UNG GAN-KWO, CALLED THE ANCIENT TEXT. THE GENERAL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF GAN-KWO'S BOOKS.

The burning of the Books.

1. In the *prolegomena* to vol. I., pp. 6–9, I have given an account of the burning of the books, and of the slaughter of many of the literati, by the first emperor of the Ts'in dynasty. The measures were barbarous and wanton, but the author of them and his advisers adopted them as necessary to the success of the policy which the new dynasty was initiating. The old feudal system of the empire had been abolished; a new order of administration was being introduced; the China of the future, to be ruled for ever by the House of Ts'in, must be dissevered entirely from the China of the past. In order to this the history of former times, it was thought, should be blotted out, and the names which had been held in reverence for hundreds and thousands of years be made to perish from the memory of men. The course taken was like that ascribed to our Edward I., when in A.D. 1284 he assembled all the bards of Wales, and caused them to be put to death. When the premier Le Sze advised that the books should be burned, he made an exception, according to the account of his speech given us by Sze-ma Ts'een, in favour of the copies in keeping of the Board of Great Scholars; but those must have shared the common fate. If they had not done so, the Shoo would not have been far to seek, when the rule of Ts'in came in so short a time to an end.

The founder of that dynasty, which he fondly thought would last for myriads of years, died in B.C. 209. His second son, who succeeded him, was murdered in 204, and the House of Ts'in passed away.

The dynasty of Han dates from B.C. 201, and in the 4th year of its second emperor, B.C. 190, the edict of Ts'in, making it a capital crime to have the ancient books in one's possession, was repealed. Thus, the Shoo and the other classics (with the exception of the Yih-king) were under the ban for less than a quarter of a century.

Fuh-săng

2. Among the 'Great Scholars' of Ts'in, there had been one named Fuh Shing,[1] but commonly referred to as 'Fuh-săng,[2] which is equivalent to Mr. Fuh, or the scholar Fuh. He belonged to Tse-nan in Shan-tung; and when the order for the burning of the Shoo went forth, he hid the tablets of the copy which he had in a wall. During the struggle which ensued, after the extinction of the Ts'in dynasty, for the possession of the empire, Fuh-săng was a fugitive in various parts; but when the rule of Han was established, he went to look for his hid treasure. Alas! many of the tablets were perished or gone. He recovered only 29 Books (as he thought) of the Classic. Forthwith he commenced teaching, making those Books the basis of his instructions, and from all parts of Shan-tung scholars resorted to him, and sat at his feet.[3]

In all this time, no copy of the Shoo had reached the court. The emperor Wăn (B.C. 178--156), after ineffectual attempts to find some scholar who could reproduce it, heard at last of Fuh-săng, and sent to call him. Fuh was then more than 90 years old, and could not travel; and an officer, called Ch'aou Ts'ŏ, belonging to the same department as the Recorders mentioned in the last section, was sent to Tse-nan to receive from him what he had of the Shoo. Whether Ts'ŏ got the very tablets which Fuh had hidden and afterwards found again, or whether he only took a copy of them, we are not told. It is most likely that, being an imperial messenger, he would carry away the originals. However this be, those originals were, and his copy, if he made one, would be, in the new form of the characters introduced under Ts'in,—what was then 'the modern text;' and by this name the portion of the Shoo recovered by Fuh-săng is designated to the present day.

Varying traditions about Fuh-săng.

The above account is taken from Sze-ma Ts'een. Gan-kwŏ gives a relation of the circumstances materially different. According to him, 'Fuh-săng of Tse-nan, being more than 90 years of age (when the emperor Wăn was seeking for copies), had lost his originals of the text, and was delivering by

1 伏勝. 2 伏生. 3 See the 史記, 一百二十一, 儒林, 列傳第六十一.

word of mouth more than twenty Books to disciples.'[4] From another passage we gather that he estimated Fuh-săng's Books, with which he was well acquainted, at 28; but he says nothing of the visit to Fuh of Ch'aou Ts'ŏ. Wei Hwang, of the first century of our era, says that when Ch'aou Ts'ŏ went to him, Fuh-săng, being over 90, was unable to speak plainly, and made use of a (? grand-) daughter to repeat what he said; and that her dialect being different from Ts'ŏ's, he lost 2 or 3 in every ten of her words, supplying them as he best could according to his conception of the meaning.[5] This last account, as being more marvellous, has become the accepted history of the manner in which so many Books of the Shoo were recovered through Fuh-săng. Even Regis follows it, as if he had not been aware of the more trustworthy narrative of Sze-ma Ts'een.[6]

3. The statement of Sze-ma Ts'een, that Fuh-săng found again the tablets containing 29 '*p'ëen*,'—Books, or parts of Books,—of the Shoo, is repeated by Lew Hin in his list of the Books in the imperial library under his charge, of which I have given some account in the *proleg.* to vol. I. pp. 3–5. It is there expressly said, moreover, that there were, in the classical department of the library, '29 portions of the text of the Shang Shoo.'[1] Those Books were:—

The 29 Books of Fuh-săng. 'The Canon of Yaou;' 'The Counsels of Kaou-yaou;' 'The Tribute of Yu;' 'The Speech at Kan;' 'The Speech of T'ang;' 'The Pwan-kăng;' 'The Day of the Supplementary Sacrifice of Kaou-tsung;' 'The Conquest of Le by the Chief of the West;' 'The Viscount of Wei;' 'The Great Speech;' 'The Speech at Muh;' 'The Great Plan;' 'The Metal-bound Coffer;' 'The Great Announcement;' 'The Announcement to K'ang;' 'The Announcement about Drunkenness;' 'The Timber of the Tsze-tree;' 'The Announcement of Shaou;' 'The Announcement about Lŏ;' 'The Numerous Officers;' 'Against Luxurious Ease;' 'Prince Shih;' 'The Numerous Regions;' 'On the Establishment of Government;' 'The Testamentary Charge;' 'Leu on Punishments;' 'The Charge to Prince Wăn;' 'The Speech at Pe;' and 'The Speech of the Duke of Ts'in.'

It was discovered subsequently, that 'The Canon of Shun' was incorporated by Fuh-săng with that of Yaou; the 'Yih and Tseih' with 'The Counsels of Kaou-yaou;' 'The Charge of king K'ang'

4 See Gan-kwŏ's Preface, p. 13. 5 See the 古文尙書寃詞, 卷一, p. 6.
6 See Y-King, vol. I., pp. 104–106.

1 經二十九卷.

with 'The Testamentary Charge;' and that the 'Pwan-kăng,' given by him as one Book, was in reality three Books. Hence it is often said that Fuh-săng's Books amounted to 34,—as was really the case.

Did 'The Great Speech' form one of Fuh-săng's Books?

But there is a statement very generally accepted,—that Fuh-săng's Books amounted only to 28, which requires some discussion. 'The Great Speech,' as it is now current, forms three Books. In 'the modern text' it formed only one; and it came to be denied, in the time of the Han dynasty, that even that one proceeded from Fuh-săng. Lew Heang says:—'In the end of the reign of the emperor Woo (B.C. 139–86), some one among the people found "The Great Speech" in a wall, and presented it. When it was submitted to the Board of Great Scholars, they were pleased with it, and in a few months all began to teach it.'[2] Ma Yung, Wang Suh, and Ch'ing Heuen, all affirm that 'The Great Speech' was a more recent discovery than the other Books. Wang Ch'ung,[3] towards the end of our first century, wrote:—'In the time of the emperor Seuen (B.C. 72–48), a girl, north of the Ho, among the ruins of an old house, discovered three Books,—one of the Shoo; one of the Le; and one of the Yih. She presented them to the court. The emperor sent them down to the Great Scholars; and from this time the number of the recovered Books of the Shang Shoo came to be fixed at 29.'

All these accounts, attributing to 'The Great Speech' a later origin than to the rest of Fuh-săng's Books, must be set aside. Sze-ma Ts'een's testimony is express as to the number of 29; and, what ought to settle the matter, Fuh-săng himself, in the Introduction which he made to the Shoo, used the language of the Book, as the scholars of the eastern Han read it in the text, the preservation of which they ascribed to 'a girl, north of the Ho.'[4] That text was substantially what I have given in this volume in an appendix (pp. 297–299). We cannot wonder that it should have troubled the scholars. Such a piece of wild extravagance, and having in it nothing of the passages of 'The Great Speech,' quoted by Mencius and others!—this to be going abroad as part of the Shoo of Confucius! They would have done right to cast it out of the classic. They were wrong in denying that it was brought to light, after the fires of Ts'in, by Fuh-săng. We are therefore in this position in regard to him. Among his tablets were some containing that farrago,

2 劉向別錄, quoted in the 古文尙書寃詞, 卷一, p. 7. 3 王充. Quoted by Se-ho as above. 4 See as above, pp. 8, 9.

and he must have erred in classing them with the others, which were portions of the true Shoo. I have not been able to think of any other explanation which will unravel, so satisfactorily, the perplexities of the case. Fuh-săng gave to the world 29 Books as of the Shoo, but in regard to one of them he was mistaken. The stories of its being a subsequent discovery, due to a girl, were devised to save his reputation.

Disciples of Fuh-săng; and Schools of the Modern Text.

4. According to what I quoted above, p. 16, from Sze-ma Ts'een, many Scholars resorted to Fuh-săng, and learned from him what he had to teach about the Shoo. His two principal disciples were a Gow-yang Ho-pih,[1] commonly designated Gowyang-săng, and a Chang-săng,[2] to whom he delivered his comments on the Shoo in 41 Books,[3] of which some fragments still remain. Each of these became the founder of a school, the professors and writings of which are distinctly traced by the critics down into the dynasty of Tsin. Ho-pih's successor was a distinguished scholar and officer, called E Hwan.[4] His great-grandson, Gow-yang Kaou,[5] published 'The Shang Shoo in paragraphs and sentences, in 31 Books.'[6] From the same school flowed at least two other Works;[7] 'The meaning of the Shang Shoo explained,' in two Books, and 'Decisions on the Shang Shoo,' by Gow-yang Te-yu and others, in 42 Books.'[8] The reputation of 'The School of Gow-yang,' was pre-eminent during the dynasty of the eastern Han.

1 歐陽生,字和伯. 2 張生. 3 傳四十一篇. By the time of the Suy dynasty, this work had dwindled away to three *p'een*. 4 倪寬. 5 歐陽高. 6 尙書章句,三十一卷. See the 前漢藝文志, upon the Shoo. 7 尙書義說,二篇. 8 歐陽氏地餘等尙書議奏. 歐陽學,東京最盛. See the introductory Chapter to Yung-ching's Shoo, 綱領一, pp. 2, 3. The Continuation of Ma Twan-lin's Work (proleg. vol. I., p. 134) gives the following table of the School of Gow-yang.

尙書伏生
|
歐陽和伯
|
倪寬
|
歐陽之子
|
某
|

The school founded by Chang-săng, and which by and by diverged into two branches was not less prolific in Works upon the Shoo. Chang delivered his learning to Hea-how Too-wei a scholar of Loo,[9] from whom it descended to a Hea-how Shing.[10] This Shing was a man of more than ordinary ability and research; and in obedience to an imperial order, he compiled a Work, which appears in Lew Hin's catalogue as 'The Shang Shoo, in paragraphs and sentences, in 29 chapters;'[11] and formed the basis of 'The Greater school of Hea-how.'[12] A nephew of Shing, called Hea-how Këen,[13] published a sequel to Shing's Work, which he called, 'An Explanation of Ancient Views on the Shang Shoo, in 29 Books,' which was also in the imperial library in Lew Hin's time.[14] Këen was looked up to as the founder of 'The Lesser school of Hea-how.'[15] From those two schools proceeded many Works upon the Shoo, the names and authors of which are duly chronicled by Chow E-tsun, in his 'Examination of the meaning of the King.'[16] But the names are all that remain. Not one of the writings survived, in a complete form, the troubles which prevailed during the reign of Hwae, the third emperor of the dynasty of the Western Ts'in.[17]

高陽歐

尊林 餘地陽歐

生翁陳 當平 政陽歐 歙陽歐

勝龔 崇殷 宣鮑 普朱 弇陳 震禮 曾曹

鴻丁 祉曹

9 夏侯都尉,魯人. 10 夏侯勝 11 大小夏侯氏章句二十九卷. 12 號爲大夏侯氏學. 13 夏侯建. 14 大小夏侯解故,二十九篇. 15 小夏侯氏學. 16 The Hea-how schools are thus exhibited. 17 The reign of the Emperor Hwae (懷) is known by the name of Yang-këa (永嘉). Maou Se-ho says:—及永嘉之亂,歐陽,大小夏侯,尙書並亡.—The Hea-how Schools are thus represented:—

生伏書尙

生張

尉都侯夏

The 'modern text,' therefore, and the views of the scholars who taught it, are now as a whole lost to literature. Under the reign of the emperor Ling, the last but one of the eastern Han, in A.D. 161, Tsae Yung, one of the chief scholars and officers of the time, had 'the modern text' of the Shoo, and the current text of several of the other classics, engraved on stone tablets, and set up with imperial sanction in one of the colleges in Lŏ. Of the tablets of the Shoo there remain only some shattered fragments, containing in all 547 characters.[18] But for the happier fate of the Books discovered about a century after Fuh-săng, of which we have now to speak, there would have remained but a tantalizing record of him, and some sporadic passages of his text gathered from the writings of various scholars. The Shoo had nearly been lost a second time, without any fires of Ts'in, through the natural process of decay, and the convulsions continually occurring in a distracted empire.

5. When the wrath of Ts'in was raging against the Shoo and all who dared to keep it in their possession, there were no doubt several who acted as Fuh-săng did, and hid away their tablets where they hoped to be able to find them and bring them forth at a future time. A descendant of Confucius had done so with the tablets containing the Shoo, the Le, the Classic of Filial Piety, and the Analects, concealing them in a wall of the house where the sage had lived, and which continued to be the home of the K'ung family.[1] But he never reclaimed them. They remained unknown, till towards the latter part of the reign of the emperor Woo. Then, as I have related in the *proleg.*

昌始侯夏

勝侯夏

霸孔 堪周 建侯夏

光孔 卿牟 商許 拊山張

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18 See the 隸釋 of 洪适景伯, 卷第十四, 石經尙書殘碑.

1 The name of this individual is not known. Sze-ma Ts'een does not give it. Gan-kwŏ simply says he was one of his forefathers. Some make him a 孔鮒; others a 孔騰 (which is most likely); and the Records of Suy say his name was 孔惠.

to vol. I., pp. 12, 13, the king of Loo, a son of the emperor King, known to posterity by the honorary title of Kung, or 'The Respectful,'[2] was pulling down the house of the K'ung, to enlarge a palace of his own which was adjacent to it. In the wall were found the tablets, or what remained of the tablets, which have just been mentioned; and when the prince went into the hall or principal apartment of the building, he was saluted with strains of music from invisible instruments, which made him give up his purpose of demolition and appropriation. The chronicling of this marvellous circumstance might lead us to look suspiciously on the whole narrative; but the recovery of the tablets, and the delivery of them by the prince to the K'ung family, are things sufficiently attested.[3]

Discovery of the tablets of the Ancient Text.

The chief of the family at that time was K'ung Gan-kwŏ, one of the 'Great Scholars,' and otherwise an officer of distinction. The tablets were committed to his care. He found they were written or engraved in the old form of the characters, which he calls 'tadpole,' and which had long gone into disuse. By the help of Fuh-săng's Books, which were in the modern or current characters of the day, and other resources, he managed, however, to make them out, and found he had got a treasure indeed.—From the tablets of the Shoo he deciphered all the already recovered Books, with the exception of 'The Great Speech,' and of it there was the true copy. In addition he made out other five and twenty Books; and he found a preface containing the names of one hundred Books in all. The additional Books were:—'The Counsels of the great Yu;' 'The Songs of the Five Sons;' 'The Punitive Expedition of Yin;' 'The Announcement of Chung Hwuy;' 'The Announcement of T'ang;' 'The Instructions of E;' 'The T'ae Këă, in 3 Books;' 'Both possessed Pure Virtue;' 'The Charge to Yuĕ, in 3 Books;' 'The Great Speech, in 3 Books;' 'The Completion of the War;' 'The Hounds of Leu;' 'The Charge to the viscount of Wei;' 'The Charge to Chung of Ts'ae;' 'The Officers of Chow;' 'Keun-ch'in;' 'The Charge to *the duke of* Peih;' 'Keun-ya;' and 'the Charge to Keung.' Adding to these the 29 Books of Fuh-săng, and the Books which he had wrongly incorporated with others, and not counting Fuh's 'Great Speech,' we have 58 Books of the Shoo, which were now recovered.

K'ung Gan-kwŏ.

2 魯王共, 景帝子, 共(=恭)其謚也. 3 See 漢藝文志, upon the Shoo; Gan-kwŏ's Preface; and a hundred references in the Books of Han and subsequent dynasties. 4 科斗字.

Gan-kwŏ himself reckoned the Preface one Book, and made out the number to be 59. Being all on the tablets in the old 'tadpole' characters, Gan-kwŏ's Books were described, in distinction from Fuh-săng's, as 'the ancient text.'[5]

Gan-kwŏ's Commentary; and how it was not immediately made public.

6. When he had made out to read the tablets in the way which I have described, Gan-kwŏ presented them to the emperor, in B.C. 96, with a transcript in the current characters of the time,[1] keeping a second transcript of them for himself; and he received an order to make a commentary upon the whole.[2] He addressed himself to this work, and accomplished it, and was about to lay before the emperor the result of his studies, when troubles occurred at court, which prevented for a time any attention being paid to literary matters. In B.C. 91, some high officers became victims to a charge of practising magical arts. Next year the emperor fell sick, and a charlatan, named Keang Ch'ung, high in his confidence, and who had a feud with the heir-apparent, declared that the sickness was owing to magical attempts of the prince to compass his father's death. In preparation for this charge, he had contrived to hide a wooden image of the emperor in the prince's palace. An investigation was made. The image was found, and considered by the weak monarch to be proof positive of his son's guilt. The prince, indignant, procured the murder of his accuser, and liberated the felons and others in prison to make head against a force which was sent by the prime minister against him. Being defeated, he fled to the lake region in the south, and there killed himself.[4] The reader will be led by this account to think of the accounts which we have of diablerie and witchcraft in Europe at a later period, and will not wonder that Gan-kwŏ's commentary was neglected amid such scenes, and that the enlarged text which he had deciphered was not officially put in charge of the 'Great Scholars,' to

5 Gan-kwŏ arranged the 58 Books in 46 *Keuen* (卷) or sections, with reference to the notices of them in the preface, where two or more Books are sometimes comprehended under one notice. They are mentioned also in Lew Hin's catalogue as 'the ancient text of the Shang Shoo, in 46 chapters' (尙書古文經, 四十六卷). They are also subsequently designated as 57 *p'ëen*, the 'Canon of Shun' having been supposed to be lost. Other enumerations are adduced and explained in the 1st chapter of Maou Se-ho's 'Wrongs of the Ancient Text.'

1 He tells us in his Preface that 'he wrote them moreover on bamboo tablets.' But he must have made two copies in the current character. If only the 'tadpole' tablets had been deposited in the imperial library, Lew Heang could not have compared them, as we shall find immediately that he did, with Fuh-săng's Books.

2 承詔爲五十九篇作傳.

3 江充.

4 See K'ung Ying-tă's notes on Gan-kwŏ's Preface, towards the conclusion; 通鑑綱目, on the 1st and 2d of the years 征和; and Maou's 'Wrongs of the Shoo,' Ch. II., pp. 5, 6.

whom had been given in the 5th year of Woo (B.C. 135) the care of the five King.[5] Soon after, moreover, Gan-kwŏ himself died, and it was long before his commentary obtained the imperial recognition and sanction.

History of Gan-kwŏ's commentary.

7. Happily, Gan-kwŏ's commentary, though it was not publicly recognised, was not lost. The critics have clearly traced its transmission through the hands of various scholars. The recipient of it from Gan-kwŏ was a Too-wei Chaou,[1] from whom it passed to Yung T'an of Këaou-tung.[2] A Hoo Chang of Ts'ing-ho[3] obtained it from Yung T'an, and passed it on to Seu Gaou of K'wŏ,[4] who delivered it to two disciples,—Wang Hwang,[5] and T'oo Yun.[6] From the latter of these it was received by Shing (or Shwang) K'in of Ho-nan.[7]

The editors of Yung-ching's Shoo, having arrived step by step at Shing K'in, then state that, in the close of the western Han, during the usurpation of Mang (A.D. 9–22), the school of 'the ancient text' was established along with that of Fuh-săng, and that Wang Hwang and T'oo Yun were held in great honour.[8] From this they make a great leap over the dynasties of the Eastern Han, the after Han, and the Western Tsin, to the first reign of the Eastern Tsin (A.D. 317–322), when Mei Tsih of Yu-chang presented to the emperor Yuen a Memorial along with a copy of Gan-kwŏ's commentary. If it really were so, that we could discover no traces of the commentary during those 300 years, there would be ground both for surprise and suspicion on its unexpected re-appearance. But the case does not stand so.

Before taking up the transmission of the commentary on through the later dynasties of Han, and that of Tsin, I must say something more on the testimony which we have from Lew Hin as to the existence of the 'ancient text' in the imperial library, and also call attention to the confirmation which he gives of both text and commentary's being current among scholars outside the official Boards. Not only does he give 'the ancient text of the Shang Shoo, in

5 This neglect of the ancient text is commonly expressed by—未立于學官. The Books peculiar to it are also called in consequence—逸書, and sometimes 外書.

1 都尉朝. 2 膠東庸譚. Yung is commonly referred to as Yung-săng.
3 清河胡常; Chang was styled 少子. He was a 'Great Scholar,' and rose to higher office. 4 虢徐敖. Gaou was also an officer of distinction (右扶風掾).
5 王璜, a native of 琅邪. 6 塗惲, a native of 平陵, and styled 子真.
7 乘 (al. 桑) 欽, styled 君長. 8 See their 綱領, 一, pp. 4, 5.

46 sections,' at the very top of the list of Books upon the Shoo in his catalogue; but he adds in a note, that his father Heang had compared this with the text of the classic taught by the schools of Gow-yang and of the greater and less Hea-how; that he had found one tablet or slip of the 'Announcement about Drunkenness' wanting, and two of the 'Announcement of Shaou;' that more than 700 characters were different from those in Fuh-săng's Books, and that individual characters were missing here and there to the amount of several tens. Further, in the reign of the emperor Gae (B.C. 5–A.D.), Hin proposed that the ancient text of the Shoo, Tso-k'ew's Ch'un Ts'ew, the She of Maou, and certain unrecognized portions of the Le, should all be publicly acknowledged, and taught and studied in the imperial college. The emperor referred the matter to the classical Board, which opposed Hin's wishes. Indignant, he addressed a letter to the members, which may still be read. It is too long for translation here as a whole; but it contains the following assertions important to my purpose;—that the ancient text of the Shoo, Maou's She and the Tso-chuen, were all in the library; that of the three the Shoo was the most important; *that Yung T'an of Keaou-tung had taught among the people a text corresponding to that in the library;* and that they, the appointed conservators and guardians of the monuments of antiquity, were acting very unworthily in not aiding him to place the texts in the position which was due to them. Hin's remonstrances were bitterly resented, and he would have come to serious damage but for the interference of the emperor in his favour.[9] He was obliged to drop his project; but we may conclude that his efforts were not without effect. It was probably owing to him, that, in the succeeding reign and the usurpation of Mang, with which the Former or Western Han terminated, the claims of the ancient text were acknowledged for a short time.[10]

Having thus strengthened the first links in the chain of evidence for the transmission of Gan-kwŏ's commentary, I go on to the times of the Eastern Han, which are a blank in the account given by the editors of Yung Ching's Shoo.

There was a scholar and officer, named Yin Min,[11] whose life extended over the first two reigns of the dynasty (A.D. 25–74). We

9 See the Memoir of Lew Hin in the 前漢書,楚元王,傳第六. 10 See Maou's Wrongs of the Shoo, III., p. 9. 11 尹敏. See the account of him in the 後漢書,儒林,列傳第六十九,尙–初習歐陽上書,後受古文,兼善毛詩,穀梁,左氏春秋.

read that in his youth he was a follower of the school of Gow-yang, but afterwards obtained and preferred the ancient texts of the Shang Shoo, the She of Maou, and Tso-k'ew's Ch'un-ts'ew.

About the same time lived Chow Fang,[12] who obtained a copy of the ancient text, and composed 'Miscellaneous Records of the Shang Shoo, in 32 Books.'

In the next reign, and extending on to A.D. 124, we meet with a K'ung He,[13] the then chief of the K'ung family, in which, it is said, 'the ancient text had been handed down from Gan-kwŏ, from father to son, without break.'

Contemporary with He, and carrying the line on to nearly A.D. 150, was Yang Lun,[14] who at first, like Yin Min, was a learner in the Gow-yang School, but afterwards addicted himself to the ancient text, established himself somewhere in an island on a 'great marsh,' and gathered around him more than a thousand disciples.

For more than half a century, the Records seem to be silent on the subject of Gan-kwŏ's ancient text and commentary. We come to the period of the 'After Han,' or, as it is often designated, the period of the 'Three Kingdoms.' In the kingdom of Wei, its first scholar was Wang Suh,[15] whose active life extended from A.D. 221 to 256. He wrote 'Discussions on the Shang Shoo,' and 'a Commentary on the Shang Shoo of the Ancient Text,' portions of both of which were in the imperial library under the dynasty of Suy.[16] Suh is often claimed as having belonged to the school of Gan-kwŏ. The evidence for this is not conclusive. Another 'ancient text,' as we shall see presently, had become public. But the evidence is quite sufficient to show that Suh must have seen Gan-kwŏ's commentary, and had his views moulded by it.

Connecting the 'After Han' and the dynasty of Tsin, we have the name of Hwang-p'oo Meih,[17] whose researches into antiquity remain in the 'Chronicle of Emperors and Kings,'[18] which everywhere quotes the 58 Books of Gan-kwŏ's ancient text. Meih, we are told, was guided in his studies by a cousin of the name of Leang Lew;[19]

12 周防. The account of him follows that of Yin Min.—受古文尙書,撰尙書雜記,三十二篇. 13 孔僖. See the same chapter of the 東漢 Records.—自安國以下,世世傳古文不絕. 14 楊倫. His biography follows that of K'ung He.—師事司徒丁鴻,習古文尙書,講學大澤中,弟子至千餘. 15 魏王肅. 16 尙書駮議;隋志五卷. 古文尙書注;隋志十一卷. 17 皇甫謐. 18 帝王世紀. 19 See the account of Meih, in the Books of Tsin, 列傳,第二十一卷.—謐從姑子外弟梁柳.

and this Lew, we know from another source, possessed Gan-kwŏ's text and commentary. The Records of Tsin are now mutilated. They contain no chapter on Books and Literature like those of Han and other dynasties, and are otherwise defective. It was not always so, however. K'ung Ying-tă quotes a passage, which distinctly traces the ancient text from the time of Wei down to Mei Tsih.[20] 'Ch'ing Ch'ung,'[21] it is said, 'Grand-guardian of Tsin, delivered the Shang Shoo in the ancient text to Soo Yu of Foo-fung;[22] Soo Yu delivered it to Leang Lew of T'een-shwuy [this was the cousin of Hwang-p'oo Meih]; Lëang Lew, who was styled Hung-ke,[23] delivered it to Tsang Ts'aou of Ching-yang, styled Yen-ch'e;[24] Ts'aou delivered it to Mei Tsih of Joo-nan, styled Chung-chin, the chief magistrate of Yu-chang;[25] Tsih presented it to the emperor, and an order was given that it should be made public.'

The records of Suy confirm this account of the coming to light of Gan-kwŏ's text, and the authoritative recognition both of it and his commentary. They tell us that the old tablets (or the copy of them) 'had been preserved in the imperial library of Tsin, but that there was no commentary on them;' that 'in the time of the Eastern Tsin, Mei Tsih, having obtained the commentary of Gan-kwŏ, presented it;' and that 'thereupon the text and commentary had their place assigned them in the national college.'[26]

Having brought down thus far the history of Gan-kwŏ's commentary, I must leave it for a short space, to speak of another ancient text, which made its appearance in the time of the Eastern Han, and gave origin to a school which flourished for several centuries.

8. A scholar and officer, named Too Lin,[1] had been a fugitive, having many wonderful escapes, during the usurpation of Mang. While wandering in Se-chow, he discovered a portion of the Shoo

20 See Ying-tă's long annotation on the title of the Canon of Yaou, on the last page. 21 鄭冲. He attained the dignity of Grand-guardian in A.D. 254. 22 扶風蘇愉. He was styled Hew-yu (休愉), and had high rank in the period Heen-he (咸熙), A. D. 264, 265. 23 梁柳字洪季. 24 城陽臧曹,字彥始. 25 汝南梅賾,字仲眞,眞爲豫章內史,遂于前晉,奏上其書,而施行焉. I have not translated 內史, the name of Tsih's office. I apprehend that at court he was a Reeorder of the Interior, and was sent to Yu-chang, the present Keang-se, of which his father appears to have been governor. See the 晉職官志. 26 See 隋志, 第二十七,經籍一.—晉世祕府所存,有古文尚書經文,今無有傳者,...至東晉豫章內史.梅賾始得安國之傳奏之,...於是始列國學.

1 杜林. See the account of him in the 後漢書,列傳,第十七卷.

on lacquered tablets in the ancient text,[2] which he so much prized, that he guarded it as his richest treasure, and amid all his dangers always kept it near his person. Afterwards, when the empire was again settled by the first emperor of the Eastern Han, Lin became acquainted with Wei Wang and other scholars. Showing them his discovery, he said, 'In my wanderings and perils I have been afraid that this text would be lost, but now it will be cared for and transmitted by you, and its lessons will not fall to the ground. The ancient text is not, indeed, at present authorised, but I hope you will not repent of what you learn from me.' Wei Wang, we are told, set great store by the Books he was thus made acquainted with, and he composed his 'Explanations of the Meaning of the Shang Shoo,'[3] which were based on them.

Too Lin's lacquered Ancient Text; and the Scholars who commented on it.

Subsequently to Wei Wang, three most eminent scholars published their labours upon Lin's Books. At the close of the Literary Chronicle of the Eastern Han, Pt. I., it is said, 'Kea K'wei produced his "Explanations" of Lin's Books; Ma Yung, his "Commentary;" and Ch'ing Heuen his "Comments and Explanations." From this time the ancient text of the Shang Shoo became distinguished in the world.'[4]

K'wei's work was soon lost. It was in three sections, was undertaken by order of the emperor Chang[5] (A.D. 76–88), and was designed to show wherein Lin's Books agreed with or differed from those of Fuh-săng.[6] Ma Yung's work was existing—a portion of it at least—in the Suy dynasty, in 11 *Keuen*. Heuen published more than one work on the Shoo. The library of Suy contained 'nine *Keuen* of the Shang Shoo,' and three *Keuen* of a 'Great Commentary on the Shang Shoo.'[7] They must have been existing later, for nearly all that we know of them is through quotations made by K'ung Ying-tă and Luh Tih-ming of the T'ang dynasty;—we find them indeed in the Catalogues of T'ang. They are now lost, and have gone, with scores of other works on the Shoo, whose names

2 于西州得漆書古文尚書一卷. There is a difficulty in my mind about Lin's Books being all in one *Keuen*. How are we to understand that term? 3 尚書訓旨. The memoir of Wang, in the 後漢書, says expressly—從杜林受古文尚書,爲作訓旨. 4 杜林得古文尚書,林同郡賈逵爲之作訓,馬融作傳,鄭玄注解,由是古文遂顯於世. 5 肅宗孝章皇帝. 6 Its full title was—尚書古文同異. 7 尚書大傳三卷.

might be picked out in the Han and other chronicles, into the gulf of devouring time.

The 'lacquered' Books, as we learn from Ying-tă,[8] amounted to the same number as Gan-kwŏ's, though they were not all the same as his. They were:—'The Canon of Yaou;' 'The Canon of Shun;' 'The Counsels of the 'Great Yu;' 'The Counsels of Kaou-yaou;' 'The Yih and Tseih;' 'The Tribute of Yu;' 'The Speech at Kan;' 'The Songs of the Five Sons;' 'The Punitive Expedition of Yin;' '*The Kwuh Tsŏ;*' '*The Kew Kung, in nine Books;*' 'The Speech of T'ang;' '*The Teen Paou;*' 'The Announcement of T'ang;' 'Both possessed Pure Virtue;' 'The Instructions of E;' '*The Sze Ming;*' '*The Yuen Ming;*' 'The Pwan-kăng in 3 Books;' 'The Day of the Supplementary Sacrifice of Kaou-tsung;' 'The Conquest of Le by the Chief of the West;' 'The Viscount of Wei;' 'The Great Speech, in 3 Books;' 'The Speech at Muh;' 'The Completion of the War;' 'The Great Plan;' 'The Hounds of Leu;' 'The Metal-bound Coffer;' 'The Great Announcement;' 'The Announcement to K'ang;' 'The Announcement about Drunkenness;' 'The Timber of the Tsze tree;' 'The Announcement of Shaou;' 'The Announcement about Lŏ;' 'The Numerous Officers;' 'Against Luxurious Ease;' 'The Prince Shih;' 'The Numerous Regions;' 'The Establishment of Government;' 'The Testamentary Charge;' 'The Announcement of King K'ang;' 'The Charge to Keung;' 'The Speech at Pe;' 'The Charge to the Prince Wăn;' 'Leu on Punishments;' and 'The Speech of the Duke of Ts'in.'

I have put in italics the Books of Too Lin which were different from those of Gan-kwŏ, amounting to thirteen. An equal number of Gan-kwŏ's were wanting,—'The Announcement,' namely, 'of Chung Hwuy;' 'The T'ae Këă, in 3 Books;' 'The Charge to Yuĕ, in 3 Books;' 'The Charge to the Viscount of Wei;' 'The Charge to Chung of Ts'ae, 'The Officers of Chow;' 'The Keun-ch'in;' 'The Charge to Peih;' and 'The Keun-ya.'

Such were the Books of Too Lin, according to Ying Tă;[8] and on them Kea K'wei, Ma Yung and Ch'ing Heuen commented, according to the Records of Han. The authors of the Records of Suy repeat the latter statement, and immediately add:—'But the Books which they commented on, and handed down, were only 29. They mixed up with them, moreover, the modern text. They did not agree

8 See his notes at the commencement of the Shoo, in his explanation of the title 虞書.

with the ancient copy of K'ung Gan-kwŏ.'[9] There is a perplexity here, which I do not know how to disentangle. We hardly have a comment remaining from this Too-lin School on any Books but those of Fuh-săng! It professed to follow an 'ancient text,' and yet with that it mixed up 'the modern text!' Moreover, Ying-tă has preserved a portion of Ch'ing Heuen's preface to his Shoo, in which he professes himself to be a follower of Gan-kwŏ,[10] and yet his text and Books were different from Gan-kwŏ's! I confess that the 'lacquered' Books of Too Lin are a mystery to me, and as the writings of Kea, Ma, and Ch'ing upon the Shoo have all perished, we can never arrive at satisfactory conclusions about them. I will venture one speculation.—Gan-kwŏ tells us in his Preface, that after he had deciphered his 58 Books, there still remained some fragments of tablets, from which he could make out nothing worth preservation. Others may have attempted to do so, however. We know that a Chang Pa[11] pretended to have made out 100 Books. Now in Lew Hin's Catalogue, the last but one entry on the Shoo is—'Books of Chow, 71 *pëen*.' If we add to Gan-kwŏ's 58 Books, the 13 Too Lin, to which I have called attention above, we obtain the exact number of 71. Is it not a 'concatenation accordingly,' that the lacquered Books were a compilation from this collection? Whatever may be thought of this suggestion, it is plain to me that all which we read about Ch'ing Heuen and others does not affect the validity of the argument for the text and commentary first made public through Mei Tsih as the ancient text deciphered by Gan-kwŏ and the commentary upon it composed by him.

9. I resume the history of Gan-kwŏ's text and commentary, which, it has been seen, were at length publicly acknowledged in the reign of

9 然其-賈逵,馬融,鄭玄-所傳,唯二十九篇,又雜以今文,非孔舊本. 10 The passage is not easy of interpretation.—我先師棘下生子安國,亦好此學,自世祖興,後漢衞,賈,馬,二三君子之業,則雅才好博,既宣之矣,歐陽氏失其本義,今疾此蔽冒,猶疑惑未悛也. The student will see that Ch'ing disowns the schools of the modern text, and claims connection for himself, through Wei Wang, K'wei, and Ma Yung, with Gan-kwŏ. But all these commented on Too Lin's Books. Wang Ming-shing would get out of this difficulty by referring to the account of Kea K'wei in the Records of the Eastern Han, where it is said that 'his father received the ancient text of the Shoo from T'oo Yun,' and that 'K'wei continued to transmit his father's learning.' Thus there is record against record; or it may be that K'wei, like Wei Wang, abandoned his former studies of the Shoo, and addicted himself to Too Lin's Books. 11 張霸. See Maou's 'Wrongs of the Shoo,' Ch. II., p. 7.

the first emperor of the Eastern Tsin (A.D. 317–322). The schools of the modern text had perished during the troubles of the period A.D. 307–312; there were now in the field only those of Ch'ing Heuen and Gan-kwŏ, and for some time they had nearly an equal course. The line of Tsin terminated in A.D. 420, and during 200 years which followed, the supremary of the empire was swayed by six different Houses. We learn from the Records of Suy, that under the dynasty of Ts'e (A.D. 480–502), the followers of Ch'ing greatly predominated;[1] that under those of Leang (A.D. 503–557) and Ch'in, (A.D. 558–588) 'Kung and Ch'ing walked together,[2] and that the same continued under Suy (A.D. 589–617), the school of Ch'ing waxing smaller and smaller.[3]

History of Gan-kwŏ's commentary resumed.

An interregnum of a few years ensued, till the authority of T'ang was acknowledged in A.D. 624, and the empire was united as it had not been since the times of Han. The second emperor of T'ang gave orders for a grand edition of the Shoo, under the superintendence of K'ung Ying-tă, assisted by the principal scholars and officers of the time. They adopted the commentary of Gan-kwŏ, and enriched it with profuse annotations. Their work was ordered to be printed in the 5th year of the third emperor, A.D. 654, and appeared with the title of 'The Correct Meaning of the Shang Shoo, by K'ung Ying-tă and others.'[4] It remains, happily, to the present day. Choo E-tsun gives the titles of about seventy commentaries and other writings upon the Shoo published from the time of Fuh-săng to the T'ang dynasty, of which not one now exists but the commentary of Gan-kwŏ, and it might have disappeared like the rest, if it had not been embodied in the work of Ying-tă. I have indicated my doubts in the former section whether Confucius compiled the Books of the Shoo;—it is certainly to two of his descendants that we are indebted for the recovery and preservation of those of them which are still in our possession.

An important measure with regard to the form of the characters in the text was taken in A.D. 744, by the 6th of the T'ang emperors. Up to that time the text had appeared in the style of the public courts of Han, in which Gan-kwŏ had represented the ancient 'tadpole' characters. The emperor Heaou Ming ordered a Board of Scholars, under the presidency of a Wei Paou,[1] to substitute for

[1] 齊代唯傳鄭義. [2] 梁陳所講有孔鄭二家. [3] 至隋孔鄭並行而鄭氏甚微. [4] 孔氏穎達等尙書正義.
[1] 衞包.

this the form which was current in his day, and there appeared 'The Shang Shoo in the Modern Text,' in 13 *keuen*.'[2] The designation of this edition as 'the modern text' is unfortunate, as the student may be led to confound it with the Books of Fuh-săng.[3] But from this time the distinction between the ancient and the modern texts virtually ceased. Fuh-săng's Books, with the exception of his 'Great Speech,' were all comprehended among the 58 Books of Gan-kwŏ, which had now got the field entirely to themselves. All through the T'ang, and on through the period of the 'Five Dynasties' (A.D. 908–974), no scholar doubted but that he had, through the work of Ying-tă, the Books which had been found more than a thousand years before in the wall of Confucius' house.

The sovereignty of the dynasty of Sung dates from A.D. 975, and it lasted for 305 years. It was a period of great mental activity, a protracted Augustan age of Chinese literature. The writers of Sung quoted by the editors of Yung-ching's Shoo amount to 110. The greatest name among them is that of Choo He, who was born in A.D. 1,130. And he is remarkable in connection with the Shoo, for having doubted the authenticity of the Books and commentary ascribed to Gan-kwŏ. In the next section, I shall consider the grounds of his doubts. Up to his time, the authority both of Books and commentary was unchallenged. If some suspicions were entertained, it can hardly be said that they found articulate expression.[4]

While many of the writings on the Shoo in the first half of this period have perished, there still remain sufficient to prove abundantly the learning and ability which were brought to the illustration of the classic. There are the Works of Soo Shih,[5] of Lin Che-k'e,[6]

2 唐孝明皇帝今文尚書,十三卷. 3 Ma Twan-lin clearly explains the change which was thus made:—按漢儒林傳,孔氏有古文尚書,孔安國以今文讀之,唐藝文志有今文尚書十三卷,注言玄宗詔集賢學士,衞包改古文從今文,然則漢之所謂古文者,科斗字今文者隸書也,唐之所謂古文者,隸書,今文者世所通用之俗字也. 4 See last note in the 書經傳說綱領,—where Ch'in Te (陳第), of the Ming dynasty, is quoted, to the effect that Woo Ts'ae-laou (吳才老) anterior to Choo He, was the first to point out the difference between the style of Gan-kwŏ's Books and the others. 5 蘇軾, styled Tung-po (東坡), *al.* Tsze-chen (子瞻), *al.* Mei-shan (眉山). He published 書傳十三卷. 6 林之奇, styled Shaou-ying (少穎), and San-san (三山). His 'Collected Explanations of the Shang-shoo' (尚書集解) was in 58 *keuen*. I can speak of its thoroughness, having read and re-read it.

of Ch'ing Tseaou,[7] of Hea Seen,[8] of Leu Tsoo-heen,[9] and of others not a few.

10. We found above that, taking together the Books of Gan-kwŏ, and 13 others which were in the catalogue of those of Too Lin, we had in all 71 Books of the Shoo, which were recovered nominally (to say the least) after the fires of Ts'in. There remain 29 Books of the hundred mentioned in the Preface spoken of in the last section. I there suggested (p. 9) that portions might have been cast out or lost from the Collection of Historical Writings before the time of Ts'in. The titles of those 29 were:—'The Kaou Yu;' 'The Le Kuh;' 'The Le Yuh;' 'The Punitive Expeditions of T'ang;' 'The Joo Kew;' 'The Joo Fang;' 'The Hea Shay;' 'The E Che;' 'The Chin Hoo;' 'The Ming Ken;' 'The Tsoo How;' 'The Yuh-ting;' 'The Heen E, in 4 Books;' 'The E Chih;' 'The Chung-ting;' 'The Ho Tan-keă;' 'The Tsoo-yih;' 'The Instructions of Kaou-tsung;' 'The Fun K'e;' 'The Ch'aou Ming;' 'The Kwei Ho;' 'The Kea Ho;' 'The Government of King Ching;' 'The Tsëang Poo-koo;' 'The Charge to Suh-shin, with Presents;' and 'The Pŏ-koo.'

Of the Books of the Shoo which were never even partially recovered. Had they not perished before the Ts'in dynasty?

In regard to these titles, it is to be observed, that, where they are not simply names of emperors or ministers, the information given about them in the notices of the preface is so scanty, that there are several of them which we cannot venture to translate. Ts'ae Ch'in, as quoted on p. 9, has called attention to this, saying that on the Books which are lost the Preface is so servile and brief that it does not afford us the slightest assistance. He thence draws the conclusion that the Preface could not be the work of Confucius. Granted; but I draw a further inference, that whensoever and by whomsoever the Preface was made, the author could not have had those Books entire before him. If he had, it is inexplicable that he should not have told us as much about them as he has done generally of the others which still remain. The statement of Gan-kwŏ, that the tablets of the Preface were found with the others in the wall of Confucius' house, is not to be called in question. It was made therefore before the burning of the Books,—and when it was made, there

7 鄭樵, styled Yu-chung (漁仲), and Këă-tse (夾漈). 8 夏僎 styled Yuen-suh (元肅), and K'o-shan (柯山). He produced 'Explanations of the Shang Shoo (尚書解),' in 16 *keuen*. 9 呂祖謙, styled Pih-kung (伯恭) and Tung-lae (東萊). His 'Talkings on the Shoo' (書說) was in 35 chapters.

were existing of many of the *p'een* no more than what now exists—merely the names.

Further, some (seven at least) of the missing Books,—the Heen E, the Kwei Ho, and the Kea Ho—had reference to freaks or prodigies of nature,—'extraordinary things,' of which Confucius did not talk.[1] We may assume that he would not have introduced such Books into a Canon of Historical Documents; and I argue besides, that they had fallen into deserved neglect before the time of Ts'in. The good sense of scholars had seen their incongruity with the other documents of the Shoo, and they had been imperceptibly consigned to oblivion. Add to these considerations, that we have hardly a single sentence in Mencius, the Le, Seun-tsze, or any other writings claiming to be as old as the Chow dynasty, taken from the missing Books, and my conclusion is greatly strengthened, that we have not lost by the fires of Ts'in so much of the Shoo as is commonly supposed.

It is by no means certain that the Canon did not at one time contain more than the hundred Books mentioned in the Preface. It is to me more than probable that it did not contain the whole even of them, when the edict of the Ts'in emperor went forth against it. Of all that appeared for a time to be lost in consequence of the edict much the larger portion was ultimately recovered.

1 Ana. VII. xx.

SECTION III.

From Choo He to the present day.—

Doubts thrown on the Books peculiar to Gan-kwŏ's text and on his Commentary; which, however, are to be received.

1. The editors of Yung-ching's Shoo give the names of 115 scholars of the Yuen (A.D. 1,280–1,367) and Ming (A.D. 1,368–1,644) dynasties, of whose labours they make use in their annotations; and Choo E-tsun, bringing his researches into the last century, enumerates the titles of more than 350 Works upon the classic, from Choo He downwards.

The many Works published on the Shoo, since the time of Choo He.

All these Writings have the whole of the Shoo, or as much as their authors acknowledged to be genuine, for their subject. On particular Books, especially the two Canons, the Tribute of Yu, and the Great Plan, about 200 works have been published during the same time. All this shows how the Shoo continues to hold its place in the minds of the Chinese. Its very difficulties seem to fascinate the scholars, who for the most part repeat one another sadly; but now and then, we find a commentator who endeavours to shake off the trammels of Choo He, and to look on the ancient document with his own eyes.

Choo He did not himself comment on the Shoo.

2. Choo He did not himself publish a complete commentary on the Shoo. He edited, indeed, a copy of the classic, containing the 58 Books of Gan-kwŏ, and the Preface as a separate *p'ëen*.[1] We have also his 'Remarks upon the Shoo,'[2] collected and published by some of his disciples; but they are mostly confined to the Canons, the Counsels of Yu, the Announcement of Shaou, the Announcement about Lŏ, and the Metal-bound Coffer. He had come to entertain very serious doubts as to the authenticity of Gan-kwŏ's commentary, and of the Books additional to Fuh-săng's; and he was painfully impressed with the difficulties of the text even in Fuh-săng's Books,—its errors, transpositions, and deficiencies. He shrank, therefore, from the task of attempting for the Shoo what he had done for the other classics, and in A.D. 1,199, the year before his death, devolved it on Ts'ae Ch'in, one of his favourite disciples, to make 'A Collection of Comments on the Shoo,'[3] instructing him to revive the distinction of 'modern text' and 'ancient text,' and to indicate by those names the relation of each Book to Fuh-săng or to Gan-kwŏ.

The Commentary of Ts'ae.

Ts'ae Ch'in undertook the labour, and completed it in ten years. His commentary appeared in 1,210, and at once attracted general admiration. After K'ung Ying-tă's 'Correct Meaning,' it was certainly the most important work which had been produced upon the Shoo. Nor has it been superseded. It remains to the present day the standard of orthodoxy, and is universally studied throughout the empire. To give only one eulogium of it.—Ho K'caou-sin,[4] of the Ming dynasty, says:—'From the Han downwards, the works upon the Shoo had been many.

1 尙書古經. E-tsun says he had not seen this work (未見). It was, no doubt, the text adopted by He's disciple, Ts'ae Ch'in. 2 書說. 3 Ts'ae says in his preface:—慶元己未冬,先生文公命沈作書集傳. 4 何喬新. See the 經義考,書十一, p. 4.

But in the comments of Gan-kwŏ there is often much violence done to the text, which the amplifications of Ying-tă labour to sustain. Choo He had a great esteem for the views of Wang Gan-shih,[5] Leu Tsoo-heen, Soo Shih, and Lin Che-k'e; but the first of them errs in forced meanings, the second in excessive ingenuity, the third in summariness, and the fourth in tediousness. When the "Collected Comments" of Ts'ae came forth, distinguishing what Books were peculiar to the modern, and what to the ancient text, and what were common to both, and discussing also the forged prefaces, both the Great one, and the Little, then the grand principles and the grand laws of the two emperors and the three kings were brilliantly displayed to the world.' The scholars of China would deem me but a lukewarm admirer of their model commentator. I have often thought him deficient both in comprehension and discrimination, and prefer to him Lin Che-k'e, tedious as he is said to be. Ts'ae's distinguishing merit is his style, which will often bear comparison, for clearness and grace, with that of Choo He himself.

The Ancient Text and Gan-kwŏ's Commentary still more doubted in the Yuen, Ming, and present dynasties.

3. Choo He's doubts about the authenticity of the Books and commentary ascribed to Gan-kwŏ were plainly enough indicated; but his expression of them was not very decided. The suspicion, once given out by such an authority, went on to grow. Under the Yuen dynasty, about the beginning of the 14th century, Woo Ch'ing published his 'Digest of Remarks on the Shang Shoo.'[1] The Work, so for as it goes, is well worthy of study. Ch'ing was a bold thinker and a daring critic. He handled the text with a freedom which I have not elsewhere seen. But his Work contains none of the Books which were deciphered by Gan-kwŏ. He rejects also the 'Great Speech' which Fuh-săng gave, believing that it was not originally among his Books, and confines himself to the other 28, which he believes are all of the Shoo that we now have.

Under the Ming dynasty, many critics followed in the wake of Woo Ch'ing. Kwei Yew-kwang,[2] and Shih King,[3] may be particularly

5 王安石. He was contemporary with Soo Shih, and, in every respect one of the ablest men of his day. His views were published by his son Wang Fang (王雱). E-tsun gives the work as 王氏安石子雱新經尙書義. It was in 13 *keuen*, and is unfortunately lost.

1 尙書纂言. Woo Ch'ing (吳澄) is variously styled,—幼淸, 草廬, and 臨川. 2 歸有光, styled 熙甫, and 震川. 3 郝敬, styled 仲輿, and 京山.

mentioned. The former tells us that from his youth he had doubted 'all the talk about modern text and ancient text,' and that, afterwards, having met with some dissertations of Woo Ch'ing, he was delighted with the agreement of their views, and tried to obtain the Work of Woo mentioned above. Disappointed in this, he published Fuh-săng's Books with his own commentary, and prefixed the dissertations of Woo.[4] The latter published 'Discussions on and Explanations of the Shang Shoo,'[5] in ten *keuen*. He does not appear to have seen Woo Ch'ing's Writings; but he goes beyond him in his animosity to the ancient text and commentary. In eight of his *keuen*, he explains Fuh-săng's Books; the remaining two are devoted to an exposure (as he thinks) of the falsehood of the ancient text. So strongly had the views of these and other critics taken possession of the scholars of Ming, that in A.D. 1,643 a memorial was presented to the emperor Chwang-lëĕ,[6] praying that the Books peculiar to the ancient text might be cast out, and the subjects at the competitive examinations be taken only from Fuh-săng's. The dynasty was in its death-throes. The poor emperor had his hands and head more than full with the invading Manchoos; and while the empire passed from his sway, the ancient text was allowed to keep its place.

Under the present dynasty, the current of opinion seems to run, as in the Ming, against the Books, Commentary, and Preface ascribed to Gan-kwŏ. The works of Wang Ming-shing and Keang Shing, of which I have made much use in my notes, speak in almost every page, in the most unmeasured terms, of 'the false K'ung.' The ancient text, however, is not without its defenders. So far as the government is concerned, things remain as they have been since the T'ang dynasty. The editors of Yung-ching's Shoo do not take up the argument. They give prominence, indeed, in their Introduction, to the opinions of Choo He and his followers, but pass no judgment of their own; and they use equal care in unfolding the meaning of the suspected portions, and of those which all acknowledge.

4. I shall conclude this chapter on the history of the Shoo with an exposition of the grounds on which I cherish for myself a confidence in the authenticity of the ancient text and Gan-kwŏ's commentary on it, and some discussion of the principal arguments advanced on the other side. Minor arguments, based on the language

4 The title of his Work is 尙書叙錄. 5 尙書辨解. 6 莊烈愍皇帝, A.D. 1628–1643. 7 See Maou's Wrongs of the Shoo, Ch. I. p. 1.

of particular passages in the Books, have been noticed in the notes upon them in the body of the Work.

[i.] With regard to the Commentary,—the controversy about it has not to a foreigner the interest or importance which it has to a Chinese. Suppose that it really was not the production of Gan-kwŏ, yet there it was, actually existing in the beginning of our 4th century. No one can tell who composed it. Mei Tsih presented it to the emperor Yuen, and it received the authoritative acknowledgment. Tsih did not claim it as his own. He said it was the commentary of K'ung Gan-kwŏ, which had been handed down from one scholar to another for nearly four hundred years. Once made public, it ere long became the standard explanation of the classic; and its authority was unchallenged for more than eight hundred years. We are indebted to the annotations of the T'ang scholars upon it for most of what we know of the views of Ma Yung, Ch'ing Heuen, and other commentators of the Han dynasties. Whether it was written by the true K'ung, or by a false K'ung, it is a work the value of which cannot be over-estimated.

With regard to the Books themselves,—they are supported largely by the quotations from them which occur in the Analects, Mencius, Shih-tsze, Seun-tsze, and other Writings. I have been careful to point out this in the notes upon the several Books. A considerable portion of some of them is in this way guaranteed to us. The Books of the New Testament are not better attested by the citations from them in the works of the early Christian Fathers.

The opponents of the authenticity explain this by asserting that 'the false K'ung' carefully gathered out all the passages of the Shoo which were anywhere quoted, and wove them, along with the other materials of his own devising, so as to form the present Books. But this is only their hypothesis, and a very clumsy and unlikely hypothesis it is. On the one hand, it makes the forger to have been a scholar of very great learning and research; so much so, that we are unwilling to believe that such a man could have stooped to a fraudulent attempt. On the other hand, it makes peculiarities, most natural if we admit the Books, to be silly contrivances to avert the suspicion of forgery. For instance, the text of a passage in the Books and of the same passage as quoted by Mencius has certain verbal differences. An easy explanation presents itself. Mencius was not concerned to be verbally accurate. He was sufficiently so for his purpose. It may even have suited him better to quote according to

the sense than exactly according to the letter. But the hypothesis of which I am speaking requires a different explanation. The 'false K'ung' quoted from Mencius, and purposely altered his text in order to escape detection! This may be said; but it is unlikely in the highest degree. The Books have been subjected to the severest ordeal of unkindly criticism; and to me it is incomparably easier to believe their authenticity than to admit the arguments advanced against them.

[ii.] 'The Books of K'ung first appeared in the time of the Eastern Tsin. No scholars had seen them before that time. This circumstance is a very strong indication of forgery.' So said Choo He; and his assertions are repeated *ad nauseam* to the present time. But the history of the Books and Commentary which I gave in the last section furnishes a sufficient reply to them.

There were at one time, it is admitted on nearly all hands, both the Books and Commentary;—in the reign of the emperor Woo of the first Han. What is alleged, is that these were not the same as those which were made public by means of Mei Tsih. Well:—as to the Books. When Gan-kwŏ had deciphered them, he presented them to the emperor, and they were placed in the imperial library. There they were nearly a hundred years after, when Lew Hin made his catalogues. Hin's father compared their text with that of Fuh-săng's Books, and noted the differences between them. Hin himself endeavoured to have them made the subject of study equally with the smaller collection of Fuh-săng. They continued in the imperial library on to the time of the Eastern Tsin. They were there when Mei Tsih presented both the Books and the Commentary which he had received from Tsang Ts'aou. So the Records of Suy expressly testify. The Books received permanently the authoritative recognition due to them, and were commanded to be studied in the national college, in the time of the Eastern Tsin; but they had been lying on the shelves of the imperial library from the time of Gan-kwŏ downwards. They were not seen or not studied simply because the Government had not required them to be so. Next:—as to the Commentary. That Gan-kwŏ did write a commentary on his 58 Books is allowed, and its transmission is traced from scholar to scholar on into the Eastern Han. When did it perish? There is no intimation that it ever did so. On the contrary, I have shown above, pp. 25–27, that its existence rises as a fact, here and there, at no great intervals of time, on the surface of the literary history

of the empire, till we arrive at Mei Tsih. Tsih received 'The Shang Shoo in the ancient text' from Tsang Ts'aou. That Shang Shoo comprehended both Gan-kwŏ's transcript of the text and his commentary. The Records of Sung are decisive on this point.

'But,' the adverse critics persist in alleging,—'but Ch'ing Heuen and Ma Yung, Ch'aou K'e[1] in his comments on Mencius, Wei Ch'aou on the Kwŏ Joo,[2] and Too Yu on the Tso-chuen, when they have to speak of any of the Books peculiar to the ancient text, call them "*Yih Shoo*."'[3] And they could not otherwise designate them. They had not seen them themselves. They do not call them "*Wang Shoo*,"[4] which would mean *Lost* or *Perished Books*. All that '*Yih Shoo*' denotes, is that the Books were lying concealed, and had no place among the studies in the national college.[5]

It is urged again, 'But if Yin Min, K'ung He, and other scholars, were really in possession of Gan-kwŏ's Books and Commentary, why did they not bring them to the notice of the court, and get them publicly acknowledged before the time of the eastern Tsin?' The argument in this question has been much pressed on me by Wang T'aou, of whom I have spoken in the preface. But there is little weight in it. We know that the attempt of Lew Hin to obtain the recognition both of Books and Commentary was defeated, and he himself obliged, in consequence of it, to retire from court. If we knew all the circumstances of K'ung He and other scholars and of their times, we should probably cease to wonder at their being content to keep their treasures in their own possession. For every event there are in providence the time and the man.

[iii.] 'In the catalogue of Lew Hin, we have the entries:—"Of the Shang Shoo 29 *p'een*,"[6] and "Of Old King 16 *keuen*."[7] Those old *King* were false Books of the Han times, and were distinguished from the true Books of the Shoo by the carefulness of the Han scholars.' So says Kwei Yew-kwang;—by the strangest misreading of his authority. The words of the catalogue are:—'Of the Shang

1 See the proleg. to vol. II., pp. 4–7. 2 韋昭. Both he and Too Yu were of the Western Tsin. 3 逸書. 4 亡書. 5 See Maou K'e-ling on the meaning of the phrase 逸書 in his 'Wrongs of the Shoo,' Ch. III. p. 4. 6 Wang T'aou writes:—漢書有載,孔僖家有古文尚書,世世相傳,亦載僖子季彥,獨治古義,不在科第之例,而世人莫識,則當肅宗時,何不上進乎,何以謹藏于家,使世不知也. 7 藝文志有尚書二十九篇,古經十六卷. See Yew-kwang's preface, quoted in the 經義考,書十八.

Shoo in the ancient text 46 *keuen*,' and 'Of *King* 29 *keuen*.'[8] Gan-kwŏ's Books and Fuh-săng's are mentioned in the order and manner exactly the opposite of what the critic asserts. If we were to argue from this (which it would be absurd to do) after his fashion, we should say that the Han scholars indicated their confidence in the Books of the ancient text, and their suspicion of Fuh-săng's.

[iv.] 'As compared with Fuh-săng's Books, those peculiar to Gan-kwŏ are much more easily read. The style is so different, that even a tyro is conscious of it. This circumstance is sufficient to awaken suspicions of the latter.' This difference of the texts was first noticed particularly by Woo Ts'ae-laou, who said:—'In the additional Books of Gan-kwŏ, the style flows easily and the characters have their natural significations. It is otherwise with the Books of Fuh-săng, which are so involved and rugged, that it is sometimes not possible to make them out.'[9] Choo He dwelt on the point, and insinuated the conclusion to which it should lead. He had probably spoken more strongly on the subject than he has written, for Ts'ae Ch'in expresses his opinion against the authenticity of Gan-kwŏ's Books very decidedly. 'Fuh-săng,' says he, 'reciting the text, and crooning it over as in the dark, yet strangely managed to give the difficult Books; and Gan-kwŏ examining and deciding among his tadpole tablets, all in confusion and mutilated, only made out those which were easy! This is inexplicable.'[10] Woo Ch'ing and a hundred others follow in a similar strain.

The difference alleged between the texts must be admitted to a considerable extent. There are differences, however, likewise among the Books of Fuh-săng. The difficulty of reading and interpreting the Pwan-kang and the Announcements in the Books of Chow cannot be exaggerated. They have often been to myself an *infandus dolor*. The Canons, on the other hand, are much easier; and some of the other Books are hardly more difficult than the Books of Gan-kwŏ. Nor are *his* Books really easy. They only appear to be so, where we come to one of them, after toiling through some of the more contorted portions common to both texts.

8 尙書古文經,四十六卷;經二十九卷 There is added 傳四十一篇. See above, p. 19. 9 安國所增多之書,皆文從字順,非若伏生之書,詰曲聱牙,至有不可讀者 10 伏生背文暗誦,乃偏得其所難,而安國考定于科斗古書,錯亂磨滅之餘,反專得其所易,則有不可曉者.

Moreover, the style of the Books differs according to their subjects. The Announcements are the hardest to understand of all. The Charges, Speeches, and Instructions are much simpler; and the Books which we owe to Gan-kwŏ consist principally of those. Perhaps he did polish somewhat in his transcription of them. In making out his tadpole tablets, he was in the first place obliged to make use of Fuh-săng's Books. But for them, which had been engraved happily in the newer form of the characters at a time when the knowledge of the ancient form was still possessed, the tablets from the wall of Confucius' house might have been of little use. That Gan-kwŏ did not servilely follow the 'modern text' we conclude from the readings of the schools of Gow-yang and Hea-how, different from his in many passages, which the industry of critics has gathered up; but as he had to learn from it to read the tablets submitted to him, we can understand how he would generally follow it, and take it often on trust, when he could not well tell what his own authority said. When he came, however, to new Books, which were not in Fuh-săng, the case was different. His aids had ceased. He had to make out the text for himself as he best could. I can conceive that, when he had managed to read the greater portion of a paragraph, and yet there were some stubborn characters which defied him, he completed it with characters of his own. That he was faithful and successful in the main is shown by the many passages of his Books that are found in other writings older than his time. But, however we endeavour to account for the smoother style and readier intelligibility of the portions of the Shoo which we owe to him, those characteristics of them are not, to my mind, sufficient to overthrow their claims on other grounds to be regarded as authentic.

[v.] 'The style of Gan-kwŏ's own preface is not like that in other writings of the Western Han. It resembles more the compositions of the Ts'in dynasty. The Little Preface, moreover, was unknown to Fuh-săng; and it savours of the style of the After Han.' Choo He thus expresses himself. The authenticity of the Books does not depend on that of either of the Prefaces; but the great critic certainly fell into a glaring error in ascribing the Little Preface to the time of the After Han. Nearly every sentence of it is found in the Records of Sze-ma Ts'een, a contemporary of Gan-kwŏ, and who, no doubt, had got it from him! Fuh-săng, indeed, was not possessed of it. He may never have had it. If he did have it before the edict against the Shoo, the tablets of it were lost in the same way as

those of all the Shoo which he ever had excepting his 29 Books. 'It savours of the style of the After Han,' and yet we find it in a Work of the First Han, composed fully 300 years before the date which Choo He would assign to it:—this is a striking instance of the little reliance that can be placed on critical judgments, even of the most distinguished scholars, which are based on their taste in the matter of style.

As to the preface of Gan-kwŏ, we must pay the less attention to Choo He's attributing it, on the ground of its style, to the times of Tsin, after finding him so egregiously mistaken in his decision on the same ground about the other. Lew Hin, moreover, in his remarks on the Shoo, prefixed to his list of the Books of it in the imperial library, repeats the most important statements in the Preface, and nearly in its very words.

[vi.] 'Gan-kwŏ says, in his preface, that, when he had finished his commentary, the troubles connected with the practice of magical arts broke out, and he had no opportunity of getting the imperial sanction to his Work. Now all this must be false. We know from the Han Records, that the troubles referred to broke out in B.C. 91.[9] But Sze-ma Ts'een tells us that his Histories came no farther down than the period T'ae-ch'oo (B.C. 103–100).[10] At the conclusion of his account of the K'ung family, he speaks of Gan-kwŏ, saying, "He was one of the Great Scholars under the present reign, and died an early death, after being made guardian of Lin-hwae."[11] It follows that Gan-kwŏ was dead before the year B.C. 100. No troubles, therefore, happening ten years later, could affect him or any of his undertakings.' I do not know who first constructed this argument against the authenticity of Gan-kwŏ's preface, and, by implication, of his commentary; but Maou K'e-ling allows correctly that it displays much ingenuity. And yet there must be a flaw in it.

That the troubles spoken of prevented the recognition of Gan-kwŏ's commentary is asserted repeatedly in the Books of Han. From what source soever it arose, the persuasion that it was so with regard to Gan-kwŏ and his commentary, as his preface represents, has prevailed from the century in which he died down to the present time. If the matter can be decided on the *quod semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*

9 漢武帝紀,征和元年巫蠱起. 10 See the last words of Sze-ma Tseen's Preface, placed at the end of his histories.—大史公曰,余述黃帝以來,至太初而訖. 11 安國爲今皇帝博士,至臨淮大守早卒.

principle, then we must acknowledge the truth of the account given (professedly) by Gan-kwŏ of himself.

With regard to the statement of Sze-ma Ts'een, that his histories were not brought down lower than B.C. 100, there it is, standing out (in a strange way) at the end of the last chapter of his Records, which is a sort of epilogue to the rest. A close study of that chapter, however, has convinced me that he was labouring on his Records for years after B.C. 100, and that his terminating sentence must receive a different interpretation from that commonly put upon it.

In one place, Ts'een tells us that his Records brought the history down from Yaou to the year B.C. 121.[12]

He tells us again, that it was after the defeat sustained by Le Ling at the hands of the Huns, and when he himself endeavoured to appease the anger of the emperor against the unfortunate general, and was therefore put into prison,—that it was then that he addressed himself with redoubled energy to his work of historiography.[13] This date brings us to B.C. 97, three years later than the period *T'ae-ch'oo.*

Further, in the historical Records, there are various narratives and entries of things posterior to B.C. 100,—even narratives of things growing out of the magical delusions which came to a head in B.C. 91.[14] The statement which I have made, therefore, on p. 5, that Ts'een completed his Work in B.C. 96, though many of the critics so affirm, cannot be correct.

The various conflicting statements in Ts'een's Preface, and the later entries in his Records, may be in a measure reconciled in the following way.—At first it was not his intention to bring his history farther down than B.C. 121, in which case he would probably have done little more, in several divisions of the Records, than edit the materials collected by his father. Subsequently, he resolved to bring the history down to the period T'ae-ch'oo, which he did in his account of the emperor Woo. So long as he lived, moreover, he kept adding to his different memoirs, and hence we have the narrative of events which took place later than the year B.C. 91, when the troubles commenced, which prevented the imperial recognition of Gan-kwŏ's

12 於是卒述陶唐以來,至于麟止. See the 太史公自序, p. 6. The emperor Woo fancied that he had found a K'e-lin in B.C. 121, and thereon changed the style of the period from 元朔 to 元狩. 13 七年而太史公遭李陵之禍,幽於縲絏,乃喟然而歎曰,云云. See p. 5. 14 See the Wrongs of the Shoo, pp. 5, 6.

commentary. When he says that Gan-kwŏ died an early death in the reign of the emperor Woo, it does not follow that that event did not take place after the period of *T'ae-ch'oo*.[15]

Whatever may be thought of this suggestion, the statements in the Preface are so directly and repeatedly borne out by the Records of the Han dynasties, that we cannot but admit their verity.

[vii.] 'In the preface to the Shwŏ Wăn, Heu Shin says that his quotations from the Shoo King were taken from K'ung's Books. Yet the passages adduced are all from Fuh-săng's 28 Books, with only one exception. That one is from the Charge to Yuĕ, Pt. i., p. 8; and as it is given in Mencius, the probability is that Shin took it from him. How is it that the lexicographer could be using Gan-kwŏ's Books, and yet we should find in his Work only one doubtful quotation from all the 25 which were recovered by him additional to those of Fuh-săng?' I do not know who was the author of this difficulty; but a difficulty it certainly is. The Books of Gan-kwŏ were 58. Heu Shin says he used them, and yet he quotes only from the little more than one half of them which were common to the 'modern text.' Was there a copy current in Heu Shin's time of Fuh-săng's Books according to Gan-kwŏ's text, *i.e.*, with the different readings which he had preferred from his tablets? This would be one way of solving the difficulty. There is, however, another, which is on the whole to be preferred. Heu Shin undertook his dictionary, after Kea K'wei had declined the task. But in carrying through the work, he made constant reference to that scholar.[16] K'wei, we have seen, had adopted the Books of Too Lin. They were in an 'ancient text,' though different from that of Gan-kwŏ. Shin must have confounded the two, and supposed that, while he was really quoting from Too Lin, he was quoting from Gan-kwŏ. The Books of Too Lin, though not all the same as Gan-kwŏ's, were the same in number. How, even with them before him, Shin's quotations are only from the same Books as Fuh-săng's,—this still leaves the perplexity which I have pointed out above, in connection with the writings of Kea K'wei, Ma Yung, and Ch'ing Heuen.

5. The question of the authenticity of Gan-kwŏ's Books and commentary has now been sufficiently gone into. It had occurred

15 The year of Sze-ma Ts'een's death is disputed. It is often said to have taken place in the end of the emperor Woo's reign. Wang Ming-shing refers it, I think successfully, to the beginning of the next reign,—that of the emperor Ch'aou, B.C. 85–71. See the 十七史商榷, 卷一, p. 4.

16 See Maou's Wrongs of the Shoo, Ch. VII., p. 7-9.

to myself long ago that a complete copy of the Shoo, as it was before the time of the Ts'in dynasty, might possibly be found in Japan. I am pleased to discover that the same idea has been entertained at different times by Chinese scholars. Very decided expression was given to it in the 11th century by Gow-yang Sew,[1] from whom we have a song upon a 'Knife of Japan,' which concludes with:—

May the Shoo complete be yet found in Japan?

'When Seu Fuh went across the sea,
The books had not been burned;
And there the hundred *p'een* remain,
As in the waste inurned.

Strict laws forbid the sending them
Back to our Middle Land;
And thus it is that no one here
The old text has in hand.'[2]

The critics for the most part treat the idea with contempt; and yet in the year 1697, the 36th of K'ang-he, a petition was presented, requesting the emperor to appoint a commission to search for the Shang Shoo, beyond the seas.[3] Japan is now partially opened. By and by, when its language is well known, and access is had to all its literary stores, this matter will be settled.

1 歐陽修, styled 永叔. He died A.D. 1073. 2 All of the song which I have seen runs:—傳聞其國居大海, 土壤沃饒風俗好, 前朝貢獻屢往來. 士人往往工詞藻, 徐福行時書未焚, 逸書百篇今尚存, 令嚴不許傳中國, 擧世無人識古文. See the 經義考書二, p. 6. 3 See Wrongs of the Shoo, Ch. I., pp. 3, 4.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE CREDIBILITY OF THE RECORDS IN THE SHOO.

THE FIRST AND SECOND PARTS ARE LESS RELIABLE THAN THE OTHER THREE, AND HAVE MUCH OF WHAT IS LEGENDARY IN THEM. OF YAOU, SHUN, AND YU, THE LAST IS TO BE REGARDED AS THE FOUNDER OF THE CHINESE EMPIRE. HIS GREAT LABOURS IN REGULATING THE WATERS AND SURVEYING AND DIVIDING THE LAND.

1. The conclusion to which I came in the last Chapter was, that in the 58 Books which now form the *textus receptus* of the Shoo, we have so much of the classic, as it existed in the end of the Chow dynasty. Through Fuh-săng first, and then through K'ung Gan-kwŏ, all this portion—a larger proportion of the whole than is generally supposed—was recovered within little more than a century of the time when the first emperor of Ts'in ordered that the books should be consigned to the flames, and about a century before our Christian era. There were no doubt mutilations and transpositions, as well as alterations of the ancient text, but they were not so great as to affect the substantial integrity of the book. In the subsequent transmission of the Shoo to the present day, the text has undergone the corruptions which are unavoidable to literary documents in their passage over so long a space of time; but the errors which have in this way crept in are not more, nor of more importance, than those which it is the object of critical inquiry to eliminate from our most valuable documents in the West.[1] There is really nothing seriously to shake our confidence in the eight and fifty Books of the Shoo which we have, as being substantially the same with those which were known to Seun-tsze, Mencius, Mih-tsze, Confucius himself, and others.

1 Not a few eminent Chinese critics have laboured to construct an accurate text. There is a large mass of materials in the 古文尙書撰異 of 段玉裁, to which I have made frequent reference; but it would have added too much to my labour, and not have repaid the time to gather up the various readings throughout.

Whether the documents of the Shoo are reliable or not.

We come now to inquire how far the documents of the Shoo can be relied on as genuine narratives of the events which they profess to relate. And it may be said at once, in reference to the greater number of them, that there is no reasonable ground on which to call them in question. Allowance must be made, indeed, for the colouring with which the founders of one dynasty set forth the misdeeds of the closing reigns of that which they were superseding. I have pointed out, moreover, in the notes on 'The Counsels of the Great Yu,' how the failures of a favourite hero may be glossed over, and actual defeat represented as glorious triumph. But the documents of the Shoo are better entitled, I conceive, to credit than the memorials which are published at the present time in the Peking Gazette.

The more recent they are, the more of course are they to be relied on. The Books of Chow were contemporaneous with the events which they describe, and became public property not long after their composition. Provision was made, we have seen, by the statutes of Chow, for the preservation of the monuments of previous dynasties. But those monuments were at no time very numerous, and they could not but be injured, and were not unlikely to be corrupted, in passing from one dynasty to another. From the time of T'ang, the Successful, however, commonly placed in the 18th century before Christ, we seem to be able to tread the field of history with a somewhat confident step.

The oldest documents are not to be relied on so much as the others.

2. Beyond the time of T'ang we cannot be so sure of our way. Our information is comparatively scanty. It has in itself less of verisimilitude. Legend and narrative are confusedly mixed together. This is more especially apparent in the first and second Parts of the Work.

[i.] 'The Book of T'ang,' known as 'The Canon of Yaou,' and all but one portion (which, indeed, must be classed with the others), of 'The Books of Yu' are, professedly, the compilations of a later time. They all commence with the words which I have translated —'On examining into antiquity, we find,'——. If the construction of the paragraphs, which has been generally preferred since the time of Choo He, be adopted, the point on which I am insisting is equally prominent. We should then have to render.—'When we make a study of the ancient emperor Yaou, the ancient emperor Shun, the ancient Yu, the ancient Kaou-yaou, we find,'——. On either version the chronicler separates himself from his subject. He

writes from a modern standpoint. Yaou, Shun, Yu, and Kaou-yaou are in the distant vistas of antiquity.

In my notes on the first paragraph of the Canon of Yaou, I have pointed out the absurdity of the interpretations which the scholars of Han—Gan-kwŏ, Ma Yung, and Ch'ing Heuen—gave of the words in question. Possibly, they had some idea of avoiding the conclusion to which the natural reading of them would lead, and therefore put upon them the forced meanings which they did. Morrison would infer from the first character,[2] that 'a considerable part of the Shoo is merely tradition;' but the character is itself uncertain, and, even if it were not so, no inference from it can be extended beyond the document to which it belongs. The scholars of the Sung and more recent dynasties seem never to have been struck with the uncertainty which either of the admissible interpretations attaches to the whole contents of the first two Parts of the classic. Their critical taste and ability made them reject the strained constructions of earlier times, but it never occurred to them to say to themselves,—'Well; but doing this, and taking the language as it ought to be taken, we cannot claim the authority for the records concerning Yaou, Shun, and Yu, which we are accustomed to do. Who compiled the Canons and the Counsels? When did he or they live? Are we not sapping the foundation of some of the commonly received accounts of the most early period of our national history?' Reflections like these do not appear to have occurred to any of the Chinese critics; but I submit it to my readers, whether they might not have justly done so.

At the same time, it is to be admitted, that the compiler of these Parts was possessed of documents more ancient than his own time,—documents which had probably come down from the age of Yaou and Shun. There are three things which to my mind render this admission necessary. First, there are the titles of the high officers about the courts of the two emperors, which we do not meet at a later age. The principal personage, for instance, was styled 'The Four Mountains;' next to him was 'The General Regulator;' and the minister of Religion was 'The Arranger of the Ancestral Temple.' The peculiarity of these designations indicates that the compiler had received them from tradition or from written records (which is more likely), and that they were not invented by himself. Second, the style of these Parts is distinguished, in several paragraphs, from

[1] 曰若稽古. [2] 曰, See the preface to his dictionary, p. viii.

that of the Books of Hea, Shang and Chow. The exclamations, 'Alas!' 'Ah!' and 'Oh!' in particular, are expressed by characters which we do not find elsewhere used in the same way.[3] Third, the directions of Yaou to his astronomers, to determine the equinoxes and solstices by reference to the stars culminating at those seasons, could not be the inventions of a later age. The equinoxes were then in Taurus (Pleiades) and Scorpio, and the solstices in Leo and Aquarius. We shall find in the next chapter how these statements have been employed to ascertain the era of Yaou. No compiler, ignorant of the precession of the equinoxes, which was not known in China till long after the Christian era, could have framed them with such an adjustment to the time of which he was writing.

The two circumstances which I have pointed out in this paragraph may seem to conflict with each other. In the first place, the compilation of the Books of the first and second Parts of the Shoo, at a date long subsequent to that of which they treat, is calculated to lessen our confidence in them; while the admission, again, of ancient documents among their contents may be thought to establish their authority sufficiently. It is my duty, however, to call attention to both the points. They lie equally upon the face of the Books. It may be impossible to separate what is old from what is more recent, —to distinguish what the compilers added of their own from what was universally received before their time. Perhaps no two critics who make the attempt will come to identical conclusions. For my own part, I have no hesitation in adjudging the first two paragraphs in the Canon of Yaou to the compiler, and generally all the narrative portions in the other Books. I think, likewise, that I can trace his hand in various expressions throughout, which make us think of the dominion of the chieftains Yaou and Shun according to our impressions of the empire when it had been consolidated and extended, many hundreds of years subsequent to them.

Yaou and Shun do not appear as the sage-heroes of history till the time of the Chow dynasty.

[ii.] The references to Yaou and Shun in the succeeding Parts of the Shoo are so very scanty as to excite our surprise, and induce the idea that it was not till the time of the Chow dynasty that they obtained the prominent place in the early history of the empire which is now assigned to them.

In the Books of Hea, Shun is not mentioned at all, and Yaou is mentioned only once. In the third of the 'Songs of the Five Sons,'

[3] Consult 吁, 咨, and 都 in Index III.

he appears as 'the prince of T'aou and T'ang, who possessed the country of K'e.' In that description of him we hear the voice of the most early tradition. Yaou is not yet the emperor ruling over 'ten thousand States,' but a prince or chieftain, having his seat north of the Yellow River, and ruling over the land of K'e. We may doubt whether his authority extended over all the territory subsequently known as K'e-chow; but it had not yet reached south of the Ho, and hardly west of it, where it divides the present provinces of Shen-se and Shan-se.

In the Books of Shang, Yaou and Shun are mentioned once, where the language is magniloquent enough; but it is so vague that we can learn nothing from it as to their original position. In the Charge to Yuĕ, (Part. iii., par. 10) E Yin is introduced as having said, 'If I cannot make my sovereign like Yaou and Shun, I shall feel ashamed in my heart as if I were beaten in the market place.' We are then told that Yin, fired with this ambition, so dealt with T'ang the Successful, that he became equal to Great Heaven. By this time Yaou and Shun had become mythical personages, embodying the ideal of a perfect sovereign.

We come to the Books of Chow, and in them we have two references to the ancient heroes. The one is in 'The Officers of Chow,' where Yaou is spoken of under the dynastic name of T'ang, and Shun under that of Yu, and the small number of their officers is contrasted with the multitude of those of Hea and Shang.[4] The second is in 'The Prince of Leu on Punishments,' Ch. II. The passage is very confused; and some critics think that it speaks only of Yaou, while others (with whom I agree) hold that Shun is the subject of it. The traditions of his time (or, it may be, the accounts of them in the Canons) are blended with those of a still earlier date, and we see, as through a mist, the beginnings of the empire, as Shun lays its foundations, now by martial prowess beating down barbarian wickedness, now by humility and benevolence, with the assistance of his chiefs, conciliating the affections of the people.

The above are all the places in the Books of Hea, Shang, and Chow, where Yaou and Shun are referred to. The first of them gives us a simple reminiscence, separated by less than half a century from the year assigned to the death of Shun; and it is very instructive as to the real position which Yaou occupied. From the second we learn nothing valuable; but we find the men growing into larger

4 See Bk. xx., p. 3.—唐虞稽古,建官惟百.

dimensions, as the distance through which they are looked back to lengthens. In the third their original smallness is indicated, though they are said to have secured the repose of the 'ten thousand States.' The fourth is more suggestive, but we know not how to reconcile it with the statements in the Canons of the two first Parts. T'ang is silent about Yaou and Shun, when he is vindicating his overthrow of the Hea dynasty. Woo, in the same way, has nothing to say about them, when he would justify his superseding of the dynasty of Shang. Above all, the duke of Chow, the real establisher of the dynasty of Chow, and the model of Confucius, amid all his appeals to ancient precedents in support of the policy of his House, never mentions them. When we turn to the She King, the book of ancient songs and ballads, no Yaou and Shun are there. It is nearly all, indeed, of the dynasty of Chow, and celebrates the praises of king Wăn and his ancestors; but it is impossible not to be surprised that no inspiration ever fell upon the 'makers' from the chiefs of K'e. They are mentioned once in the Yih King, but it is in the appendix to that Work, which is ascribed to Confucius, and the authenticity of which is much disputed.

Taking all these things into consideration,—the little that is said about Yaou and Shun in the later Parts of the Shoo itself, and the nature of that little; the absolute silence in reference to them of the She; and the one doubtful mention of them in the Yih,—I am brought to the conclusion, that the compilation of the first two Parts was not made till some time after the commencement of the Chow dynasty. Certain it is, that, during this dynasty, Yaou and Shun received a prominence which they did not previously possess. Confucius in particular adopted them as his favourite heroes, and endowed them with all the virtues, which should render them models to sovereigns in all time. Mencius entered into the spirit of his master, and, according to the bolder character of his own mind, pushed the celebration of them farther, and made them models for all mankind. Then, for the first time, under the hands of these two philosophers, they took their place as the greatest of sages. To the compiler, probably, they owed their designation of '*te*,'[5] emperor or vicegerent of God, as well as all those descriptions which aid the natural illusion of the mind, and set them before us as ruling over a territory equal to that of the kings of Chow.

3. The accounts of Yaou and Shun, and especially of the connec-

5 帝.

tion between them, are so evidently legendary that it seems strange how any one can accept them as materials for history. When Yaou has been on the throne for seventy years, finding the cares of government too great for him, he proposes to resign in favour of his principal minister, the 'Four Mountains.' That worthy declares his virtue unequal to the office. Yaou then asks him whom he can recommend for it; be the worthiest individual a noble or a poor man, he will appoint him to the dignity. This brings Shun upon the stage. All the officers about the court can recommend him,—'Shun of Yu,[1] an unmarried man among the lower people.' His father, a blind man, was also obstinately unprincipled: his mother was insincere: his brother was arrogant; and yet Shun had been able by his filial piety to live harmoniously with them, and to bring them to a considerable measure of self-government and good conduct. Yaou was delighted. He had himself heard something of Shun. He resolved to give him a preliminary trial. And a strange trial it was. He gave him his own two daughters in marriage, and declared that he would test his fitness for the throne by seeing his behaviour with his two wives!

The accounts of Yaou and Shun are evidently legendary.

We are to suppose that Shun stood this test to which he was subjected. We find him next appointed to be 'General Regulator,' the functions of which office he discharged so successfully, that, after three years, Yaou insisted on his consenting to accept the succession to the throne. They then reigned together for about a quarter of a century, till the death of Yaou, who enjoyed the superior dignity, while Shun took all the toils of government.

To the above incidents there are other two to be added from the Shoo. Yaou was not childless. He had at least one son, mentioned as Choo of Tan; but the father did not feel justified in transmitting the empire to him, in consequence of the unworthiness of his character, so much did concern for the public weal transcend Yaou's regard for the distinction of his own family. In regard to Shun, he appears in one place as a farmer, during the early period of his life, in the neighbourhood of mount Leih, which was not far from Yaou's capital.

1 虞舜. Bunsen, calling these characters Yü-shin, supposes that the 虞 is 禹, the name of Yu the Great, and says that they are 'simply a mythical combination of Yü (禹) and Shin (舜), in order to connect the great deliverer [that is, Yu the Great] with the two old emperors, Yaou and Shin.' This is an instance of the errors into which the subtlest reasoners are liable to fall, when they write 'without book.' See 'Egypt's Place in Universal History,' vol. III., p. 399.

In Sze-ma Ts'een and Mencius these scanty notices are largely added to.[2] We have Shun not only as a farmer, but also as a fisherman, and a potter. His 'insincere' mother is his step-mother, and his 'arrogant' brother but a half-brother. Yaou has nine sons, who are sent with his two daughters, and a host of officers, to serve Shun amid the channeled fields. Even after this, his wicked relatives continue to plot against his life; and on one occasion, when they thought they had accomplished their object, the bad brother, after saying that his parents might have the sheep and oxen, storehouses and granaries, proceeds to Shun's house to appropriate his shield and spear, his bow and lute, and his two wives to himself, when lo! there is Shun sitting calmly on a couch, and playing on his lute!

There are other incongruities. Shun's appearing in the Shoo at first merely as a private man was, according to Ts'een, simply through the reduced circumstances of his family. He proves him to have been of the blood royal, and traces his descent from Hwang-te, or the Yellow emperor. But Yaou was also descended from Hwang-te; and thus Shun is made to marry his own cousins,—a heinous crime in Chinese law, and also in the eyes of Chinese moralists. My readers will probably agree with me that we ought not to speak of the *history* of Yaou and Shun, but of legendary tales which we have about them.

The accounts of the connection of Yu with Yaou and Shun are of the same legendary character.

4. Passing on from the connection between Yaou and Shun to that which Yu had with each of them, until he finally succeeded to the latter, we find much that is of the same character. Yaou, in what year of his reign we do not know, appears suddenly startled with the ravages of an inundation. The waters were embracing the mountains, and overtopping the hills, and threatening the heavens with their surging fury. Was there a capable man to whom he could assign the correction of the calamity? All the nobles recommend one K'wăn, to whom Yaou, against his own better judgment, delegates the difficult task; and for nine years K'wăn labours, and the work is still unperformed.

For his want of success, and perhaps for other reasons, K'wăn was put to death; and Yu, who was his son, entered into his labours.[1]

2 See the 史記, 卷一, pp. 6, 7; and Mencius, V. Pt. i. ch. II., *et al.*

1 The subject of the connection between K'wăn and Yu, and between their labours, is invested to me with a good deal of difficulty. It is the universal belief of the Chinese that Yu was the son of K'wăn. The Shoo does not tell us so. The language of 'The Great Plan,' p. 3, does not necessarily imply the fact. Sze-ma Ts'een, Ch. II., p. 1, however, affirms it (禹傷先人

We have nothing definite in the Shoo about the year, or the manner of Yu's designation to the work. Some time after the death of Yaou, when Yu is superintendent of Works, Shun compliments him on the success with which he had regulated the water and the land, and appoints him to be 'General Regulator' under him, as he himself had formerly been under Yaou. The measures of Yu in remedying the disasters of the inundation are detailed at length in the first of the Books of Hea, which I shall consider in the sequel. His appointment to be 'General Regulator' may be considered as preliminary to his being called to occupy the throne. The Shoo does not tell us that Shun had a son; but Mencius assumes that such was the case, and that the son was weak or worthless like Choo of Tan, so that the example of Yaou had again to be copied. Three and thirty years after the death of that sovereign, Shun tells Yu that the laborious duties of the government wearied him, being now between ninety and a hundred years old, and summons him to take the leadership of the people. Yu declined the dignity again and again, till Shun waxed peremptory. They then reigned together for about fifteen years, when Shun died, and Yu was left in sole possession of the empire.

This tale of Yu's accession to the throne is not so marvellous as the story of Shun. It is sufficiently so, however, to bear out what I have suggested of there being a legendary element in it. We cannot but be struck with the way in which the more salient points of the previous narrative re-appear. The empire to the worthiest; the common weal before private and family advantage:—these are the lessons for the enforcement of which the accounts of Yaou, Shun, and Yu, in their relations to one another, were framed to the fashion in which they have descended to us.

Yu is the first historical ruler of China.

5. Yu the Great was the founder of the dynasty of Hea. The throne descended in his line, for a period of about four centuries and a half. This fact sufficiently distinguishes him from Yaou and Shun, and indicates the point of time when the tribe or tribes of the Chinese people passed

父鯀功之不成受誅,云云), and the language of the Le Ke, 祭法, par. 1, is also very strong in support of it (夏后氏亦禘黃帝而郊鯀,祖顓頊而宗禹). Notwithstanding these testimonies, I still query the point in my own mind. We have no certain data as to when Yu entered on his labours. The statements of Mencius, Bk. III., Pt. i. iv. 7, ascribe his appointment to Shun, while Yaou was still alive; and the notice in 'The Great Plan,' makes it subsequent to K'wăn's death. The language there should, probably, make us take the most emphatic meaning given to the term 殛, applied, in the Canon of Shun, and in Mencius, to Shun's dealing with K'wăn.

from the rule of petty chiefs, and began to assume the form of a nation subject to a sovereign sway. In the time of Mencius there were some who found in the fact merely an evidence of the inferiority of Yu in virtue to the more ancient heroes. 'He made the empire,' it was said, 'a family property, instead of transmitting it, as they did, to the worthiest.' Mencius of course had his reply. It was not Yaou who gave the empire to Shun, but Heaven, of whose providence Yaou was only the instrument. So in the case of Shun and Yu. Shun assisted Yaou in the government 28 years, and Yu assisted Shun 17 years. Yih, Yu's prime minister, however, only assisted him 7 years. Then, moreover, the sons of Yaou and Shun were both bad, while K'e, the son of Yu, was a man of talents and virtue. These differences or contrasts in the situations were all equally from Heaven; which thus brought it about that the people would have K'e to reign over them, and not Yih. Mencius winds up his argument with a dictum of Confucius:—'T'ang [Yaou] and Yu [Shun] resigned the throne to their worthy ministers. The sovereign of Hea [Yu] and the sovereigns of Yin and Chow transmitted it to their sons. The principle of righteousness was the same in all the cases.'[1]

Confucius and Mencius were obliged to resort to this reasoning by the scheme which they had adopted of the ancient history of their country; but they explicitly affirm the fact to which I am calling attention,—that the empire, such as it then was, first became hereditary in the family of Yu. This fact constitutes him a historical personage, and requires that we consider him as the first sovereign of the Chinese nation.

6. Bunsen says:—'Yu the Great is as much an historical king as Charlemagne; and the imperial tribute-roll of his reign in the Shu-king is a contemporary and public document just as certainly as are the capitularies of the king of the Franks.'[1] That Yu is an historical king is freely admitted; but that the tribute-roll of his reign which we have in the Shoo-king was made by him, or is to be accepted as a genuine record of his labours, must be as freely denied.

What Bunsen calls the tribute-roll of Yu's reign is always edited as the first of the Books of Hea, which form in this volume the third Part of the Shoo. But all which it details took place, or is imagined to have taken place, before the death of Yaou, not only before Yu

The account of Yu's labours in the Shoo cannot be received as history.

1 Mencius, V., Pt. I., Chh. v., vi.
1 Place of Egypt in Universal History, vol. III., p. 395.

occupied the throne, but when there was no prospect of his ever doing so. The Book belongs to the period of Yaou and Shun, and appears out of its chronological order. Its proper position would be in the first Part; and it must share in the general uncertainty which I have shown to belong to the documents of the oldest portions of the classic.

In my notes upon the Book, p. 93, I have said that the name,—'The Tribute of Yu'—conveys a very inadequate idea of its contents. It describes generally the labours of Yu in remedying the disasters occasioned by the inundation referred to above, in paragraph 4, as startling Yaou, and his subsequent measures in dividing the land which he had rescued from the waters, and determining and apportioning the revenues to be paid by its different provinces.

To enable us to judge of the credibility of Yu's labours, we must first get before our minds some definite idea of the state of the country when he entered upon them. Mencius thus describes it, giving the picture which he drew to himself from the records of the Shoo:—'In the time of Yaou, when the empire had not yet been reduced to order, the vast waters, flowing out of their channels, made a universal inundation. Vegetation was luxuriant, and birds and beasts swarmed. Grain could not be grown. The birds and beasts pressed upon men. The paths marked by the feet of beasts and prints of birds crossed one another throughout the Middle Kingdom. ......Yu separated the nine different branches of the Ho, cleared the courses of the Tse and T'ă, and led them to the sea. He opened a vent for the Joo and Han, regulated the course of the Hwae and Sze, and led them all to the Keang. When this was done, it was possible for the people of the Middle Kingdom to get food for themselves.'[2] This may seem a sufficiently frightful picture; but it is sketched with colours all too light. Such was the overflow of the waters of the Ho, that Yaou spoke of them, from the point of view in his capital, as embracing the mountains, overtopping the hills, and threatening the heavens. As they proceeded on their eastern course, they separated into a multitude of streams, and formed a delta of part of the present provinces of Chih-le and Shan-tung, where the people were shut up on the elevated grounds. The waters of the Keang required regulating nearly as much. All the affluents of these two mighty rivers, and whatever other streams, like the Hwae, lay between them, were in similar disorder. The mountains where the rivers

2 Mencius, Bk. III., Pt. I. iv. 7.

had their rise, and the chains of which directed their courses, were shaggy with forests, that rose from the marshy jungles which grew around them. If we suppose that when North America began to be colonized from Europe, its rivers, from the St. Lawrence southwards, had all been wildly and destructively flowing abroad, its rolling prairies slimy fens, and its forests pathless, we shall have an unexaggerated idea of what China was, according to the Shoo, in the days of Yu.

Into such a scene of desolation Yu went forth. From beyond the western bounds of the present China proper he is represented as tracking the great rivers, here burning the woods, hewing the rocks, and cutting through the mountains which obstructed their progress, and there deepening their channels, until their waters are brought to flow peacefully into the eastern sea. He forms lakes, and raises mighty embankments, until at length 'the grounds along the waters were everywhere made habitable; the hills were cleared of their superfluous wood; the sources of the streams were cleared; the marshes were well banked; and access to the capital was secured for all within the four seas. A great order was effected in the six magazines *of material wealth;* the different parts of the country were subjected to an exact comparison, so that contribution of revenue could be carefully adjusted according to their resources. The fields were all classified with reference to the three characters of the soil; and the revenues for the Middle Kingdom were established.'

The Shoo does not say what length of time was required to complete so great an achievement; but we can gather from it that it did not extend over very many years. It was *un fait accompli* before the death of Yaou. K'wăn had laboured upon the flooded country for nine years without success; and though it is not expressly said that Yu's appointment was made by Shun after he became co-emperor with Yaou, the presumption is that it was so,—a presumption which might be declared a certainty if we could put confidence in the statements of Mencius. Mencius adds that Yu was eight years away from his home while going backwards and forwards on the work.[3] Sze-ma Ts'een allows Yu thirteen years to put his curb upon the floods; while Ma Yung thought that in three years eight of the provinces were so rectified, that Yaou considered the whole work as good as done, and resigned the administration to Shun.[4]

3 See a portion omitted in the quotation from Mencius above. 4 See the concluding note on p. 150.

I have been careful to point out in my notes the indications which we have that Yu was not left single-handed in the enterprise. He had Yih with him to help to open up the woods with fire. He had Tseih to show the people how to cultivate the ground as it was reclaimed from the waters and the jungles. But if we allow that all the resources of the empire (so to speak) were at his disposal, the work which he is said to have accomplished far exceeds all limits of credibility.

I am glad to be sustained in this opinion by the judgment of the late Edward Biot the younger, and will here introduce some sentences from an able article by him in the 'Journal Asiatique' for August and September, 1842. He says:—'The Yellow river, after its entrance into China, has a further course of 560 leagues; the Këang, taken only from the great lake of Hoo-kwang visited by Yu, has a course of nearly 250 leagues; the Han, from its source to its junction with the Këang, is 150 leagues long. These three rivers present a total length of nearly 1,000 leagues; and adding the other rivers [on which Yu laboured], we must extend the 1,000 to 1,500. ......Chinese antiquity has produced one monument of immense labour,—the great wall, which extends over nearly 300 leagues; but the achievement of this gigantic monument required a great number of years. It was commenced in pieces, in the ancient States of Ts'in, Chaou, and Yen, and was then repaired and lengthened by the first emperor of the Ts'in dynasty. Now such a structure, in masonry, is much easier to make than the embankment of enormous streams along an extent of 1,200 or 1,500 leagues. We know, in effect, how much trouble and time are required to bring such works to perfect solidity. We can judge of it from the repeated overflowings of the Rhone, and the lower Rhone is not a fourth of the size of the Ho and the Këang in the lower part of their course. If we are to believe the commentators, Yu will become a supernatural being, who could lead the immense rivers of China as if he had been engaged in regulating the course of feeble streamlets.'[5]

These illustrations of Biot are sufficiently conclusive. I may put the matter before the reader by one of a different character. I have represented the condition of the surface of China when Yu

5 See the number of the 'Journal Asiatique' referred to, pp. 160, 162. Most of this chapter was written before I had an opportunity of seeing it. A sinologue of very extensive research calling in question, in conversation, the views which I told him I was going to propound about the *Yu Kung*, I was led to make another effort (having made several fruitless ones) to obtain in Hongkong a copy of the 'Journal Asiatique,' that I might find what were Biot's views, and was fortunate enough, among a heap of odd numbers, to discover what I wanted.

entered on his labours by supposing the regions of North America, from the St. Lawrence southwards, to have been found in similar disorder and desolation by the early colonists from Europe in the seventeenth century. Those colonists had not the difficulties to cope with which confronted Yu; but we know how slowly they pushed their way into the country. Gradually growing in numbers, receiving constant accessions from Europe, increasing to a great nation, inferior to no other in the world for intelligence and enterprise, in more than two centuries they have not brought their territory more extensively into cultivation and order than Yu did the inundated regions of China in the space of less than twenty years!

The empire, as it appears in 'The Tribute of Yu,' consisted of nine provinces. On the north and west its boundaries were much the same as those of China Proper at the present day. On the east it extended to the sea, and even, according to many, across it, so as to embrace the territory of Corea. Its limits on the south are not very well defined. It certainly did not reach beyond the range of mountains which run along the north of Kwang-tung province, stretching into Kwang-se on the west and Fuh-këen on the east. Even though we do not reckon those three provinces in Yaou's dominion, there still remains an immense empire, about three times as large as France, which we are to suppose was ruled over by him, the chief of K'e, and the different regions of which sent their apportioned contributions of grain, and other articles of tribute, to his capital year by year.

The empire was not so large, nor so organized, in Yu's time as it is represented.

But besides this division of the empire, the Book gives us another into five domains, by which it extended 2,500 *le* from the capital on every side, the whole thus constituting a square of 5,000 *le*. We have Yu's own declaration of his services in completing those domains, and in organizing the regions beyond, as far as the borders of the four seas, and placing them under the government of four presidents.[6] It is impossible for us to put credit in this representation. The five domains cannot be put down on the territory of China, ancient or modern. I have shown in my notes, pp. 148, 149, the difficulties which attend the account that we have of them. With reference to a similar but more minute arrangement of domains given in 'The Rites of Chow,' Biot says that 'it is evident that these symmetrical divisions have nothing of reality.'[7] There is not the

6 See the 'Yih and Tseih,' par. 4. 7 Le Tcheou-li, tome II., p. 169.

same difficulty with the division into nine provinces. Their mountains and rivers are, in the main, the same which have existed since the earth received its present form, and which will continue to the end of the world. The difficulty is in believing that Yu dealt with them as he is said to have done, and that there was in his time an empire exercising sway over such an extent of the country. As we must deny, however, the division into domains, for the making of which we have what purport to be Yu's own words, and which occupies six paragraphs in 'The Tribute of Yu,' it may be deemed less presumptuous to question the division into nine regions, which it is nowhere expressly said in the Shoo that he made,—to question it as not having been in existence at all in his time.

The accounts which we have of the empire subsequent to Yu forbid us to allow that it had attained in his day so great a development. The third sovereign of the Hea dynasty, T'ae-k'ang, grandson of Yu, having crossed the Ho on a hunting expedition, found his return obstructed by the chief of K'eung, and was never able to regain his throne. His five brothers had gone with their mother, and were waiting for his return on the banks of the Lŏ, when they heard of the movement against his authority. They then poured out their sorrow in songs, which are given in the Shoo. One of them refers to Yu as 'The sovereign of the myriad States!' while another speaks of Yaou, 'the prince of T'aou and T'ang, who possessed this country of K'e,'—'this country,' which was then held by the representatives of Yu. Nearly a hundred years elapsed, after the expulsion of T'ae-k'ang, before the House of Hea regained sure possession of the throne. This was done, B.C. 2,078, by Shaou-k'ang, whom we find lurking about, not far from the old capital of Yaou, for nearly the first forty years of his life, now herding the cattle of one chief, and anon acting as cook in the establishment of another, who discovers his worthiness, and gives him his two daughters in marriage. All these events transpire, we may say, on the banks of the Ho, and there is no indication of the country elsewhere being interested in them. It is believed that Yu died at Hwuy-k'e in the present Chĕ-këang; but it was not till the last year of Shaou-k'ang that any chief was appointed in that part of the country in the name of the reigning House.

When we come to the dynasty of Shang, B.C. 1,765–1,122, we find it difficult to admit that even then there was a China at all equal to that which Yu is said to have ruled over. The Shoo tells

us of its founder T'ang the Successful; and in him and Këĕ, the last sovereign of the line of Yu, we seem merely to have the chief of Shang warring with the chief of Hea. It next gives us some notices of the minority of T'ae-këă, T'ang's successor; and then there is a blank in the history for three hundred years. When the field is occupied again, we meet with Pwan-kăng, the 17th sovereign, in great trouble, engaged in transferring his capital from the north of the Ho to the present district of Yen-sze in Ho-nan, on the south of it. To reconcile the murmuring people to the trouble of the removal, he reminds them that he was only acting after the example of former kings, and that the capital of the dynasty had already been in five different places. The nation, evidently, had still its seat in the neighbourhood of the Ho, and notwithstanding all that Yu is supposed to have done in regulating the waters of that river, its principal settlement had to be frequently changed in consequence of inundations. The accounts are not those of a great people, but of a tribe which had little difficulty in migrating from one spot to another.

Later still, we find a fact which is more conclusive perhaps on the point in hand than any of the considerations which I have yet adduced. The empire of the Chow dynasty consisted, like that of Yaou, of nine provinces. The old province of K'e formed three of them; Seu was absorbed in Ts'ing; and Lëang had disappeared from the empire altogether. Portions of the more eastern parts of it may have been embraced in the provinces of Yu and Yung, but much the greater part was wild barbarian territory, beyond the limits of the Middle Kingdom.[8] The kings of Chow ruled over a territory less than that of Yaou by the present provinces of Sze-ch'uen and Yun-nan! The dominions of Chow were not under-estimated, but the dimensions of the empire in the days of Yu have been greatly exaggerated. We can no more admit that he ruled over the nine provinces ascribed to him, than that he executed the stupendous labours of which he has the glory.

The view to be taken of the Book *Yu Kung*.

7. What then are we to think of 'The Tribute of Yu,' telling us, as it does, of the nine provinces, and of the labours put forth, and the contributions imposed upon them by Yu? According to Biot, in the article of the 'Journal Asiatique,' already referred to, we are to find in it 'only the progress of a great colony.' He says further:—'Admitting even that Yu really visited all the points mentioned in the chapter, and

8 See the Chow Le, Bk. xxxiii.

so ran over more than the 1,500 leagues of which I have spoken, we should simply have to regard him as the first explorer of the Chinese world. In his general exploration, he established the posts of the colonists or planters on different points of the territory which he occupied by force, or which he obtained by a friendly arrangement with the natives. He caused the wood around those posts to be cut down, and commenced the cultivation of the soil. He may have commenced also, along with his colonists, certain labours on some rivers, carried off some stagnant waters, or embanked some lakes. At every one of his posts, he examined the productions of the ground, and the articles which they could obtain by barter from the natives. He then determined the nature of the contributions which every new colony should send to the mother colony. Such is still, in our days, the method pursued by the leaders of the pioneers who engage in exploring the deserts of America. They establish posts where they may purchase furs from the natives, and may commence at the same time the clearing of the forests. After Yu, the labours of draining the country and clearing the forests continued during some ages, and the result of all was attributed by Chinese tradition to the first chief.'

The reader cannot fail to be struck with the ingenuity of the above view; and I believe that there is an inkling of the truth in it. It is certainly an improvement on the view previously advanced by Father Cibot in his very learned essay on 'The Antiquity of the Chinese,' which appears under the name of 'Ko a Jesuit,' at the beginning of the 'Memoires sur les Chinois.' Himself of opinion that the territory on which Yu laboured was of small extent, Cibot thinks that this chief, remaining at the centre of his government in K'e-chow, might yet have sent expeditions of discovery, and to fix, on the ground of what he had learned of the other provinces, the imposts to be drawn from them, in the same way as has been done under all the succeeding dynasties, when it has been designed to extend the empire by colonies and the opening up of the country. 'Of how many countries of America,' says he, 'have charts and descriptions been given, before they were peopled, or even on the eve of being so? If what has thus been said of their mines, productions, and curiosities, proves the knowledge of Europeans, what we find in the *Yu Kung* will prove the similar knowledge which Yu had of the territory of China.'[1]

1 See Memoires concernant l'Histoire, &c., des Chinois, vol. I., p. 215.

For myself, I cannot admit that Yu really visited all the points which he is said to have done, nor can I find in the order in which his labours are detailed the steps by which the great Chinese colony actually proceeded to occupy the country. We recognize its primitive seat in the southern parts of the present Shan-se, with the Ho on the west and south of it. Across that stream lay the present Shen-se on the one side, and Ho-nan on the other. Into those portions of the country the subjects of Yu would penetrate long before they reached as far south as the Këang. In point of fact we know that they did do so. His son fought a battle with the prince of Hoo, at a place in the present department of Se-ngan in Shen-se; and the usurper E kept his grandson, T'ae-k'ang, a sort of prisoner at large in a part of Ho-nan. But the country of Ho-nan was in the province of Yu, the 7th in order of Yu's operations; and that of Shen-se was in Yung, the last in order. It is plain, therefore, that we are not to look in the *Yu Kung* for indications of the historical course and progress of the great Chinese colony.

'The Tribute of Yu' describes the country of China as its extent came to be ascertained in the course of the dynasties of Hea and Shang, and as its different parts were gradually occupied by the increasing and enterprising multitudes of the Chinese people, and contributed their various proportions of revenue and tribute to the central government which continued to be in K'e-chow. There were memorials of toils which the great Yu had undergone in making good the first foot-hold of his tribe, and of allotments of territory which he had made to the most distinguished among his followers. The nature of the country, in many places covered with forests and inundated, had caused the colonists much trouble in their advances. It occurred to some historiographer to form a theory as to the way in which the whole country might have been brought to order by the founder of the Hea dynasty, and he thereupon proceeded to glorify Yu by ascribing so grand an achievement to him. About the same time the popular stories of Yu's self-denial, in remaining with his wife only four days after their marriage, in passing thrice by his door regardless of the wailings of his infant son K'e, in flying about over the country, here driving his carriage over the level ground, there forcing his way up the rivers in a boat, now toiling through the marshes in a sledge, and anon stalking along the steep and slippery sides of the hills, with spikes to his shoes, with a measuring line in his left hand and a square and pair of compasses in his left, until his

body was wasted to a shadow, and the skin of his hands and feet was callous:—these popular stories found their recognition in the 'Yih and Tseih,' and prompted at once the conception of the romance of the *Yu Kung*, and obtained for it a favourable reception. Then Yu could enter well into association with Yaou and Shun, and form a triad with them at the beginning of the Chinese monarchy. Their wisdom and benevolence appeared in him, combined with a practical devotion to the duties of his position, in which all sovereigns might have a model, that would for ever win them from indolence and self-indulgence, and stimulate them to a painstaking discharge of their responsibilities.

The conclusion to which a careful consideration of 'The Tribute of Yu' has brought me is thus far enough from the opinion of Bunsen, that it was 'a contemporary and public document of his reign.' It is to be regarded on the contrary as *a romance*, of which Yu is the subject, composed long after him,—composed probably after the dynasty which he founded had passed away. Cibot quotes several Chinese authorities, affirming its late composition. Biot seems inclined to attribute the Book, as we now have it, to Confucius. 'It is at least certain,' he says, 'that Confucius brought together in this chapter various *souvenirs* long antecedent to his own epoch;' and he adds, that 'carrying its composition no farther back than this, we should have in it one of the most ancient geographical documents in the world.' But I showed, on pp. 3–6 of these prolegomena, that we have no sufficient reason to believe that Confucius had anything to do with the compilation of the Shoo. We have, moreover, an indication, I think, in the Shoo itself, that the duke of Chow was familiar with this record of Yu's labours. Towards the close of that statesman's counsels to king Ching on the 'Establishment of Government,' we find him saying:—'Have well arranged your military accoutrements and weapons, so that you may go forth beyond the steps of Yu, and be able to travel over all beneath heaven, even to beyond the seas, everywhere meeting with submission.'[2] How was the duke of Chow acquainted with 'the footsteps of Yu?' It must have been either by tradition, or by some written account of them. The latter is the more probable. I have already called attention to the fact, that the large territory included in Yu's province of Lëang did not form a part of the dominions of Chow. It was natural that the duke of Chow, so ambitious and far-reaching as we

2 See Pt. V., Bk. XIX., p. 22.

know him to have been, should be anxious that the sway of his House should not come short of that ascribed to either of the previous dynasties. On another occasion, he summoned the duke of Shaou to go on with him, 'abjuring all idleness, to complete the work of Wăn, till their empire should entirely overspread the land and from the corners of the seas and the sunrising there should not be one disobedient to their rule.'[3] His reference to 'the steps of Yu' does not prove that Yu really travelled and toiled and subdued the face of nature as the *Yu Kung* reports; it only proves that such was the current belief at the commencement of the Chow dynasty, affording at the same time a presumption that that document was then among the archives of the empire. This is my opinion,—that 'The Tribute of Yu' was among the written monuments of ancient times, which passed from the dynasty of Shang, and came under the care of the Recorders of the Exterior under that of Chow. Then subsequently it was very properly incorporated in the collection of Historical documents now known as the Shoo.

8. The opinion of Bunsen, that 'The Tribute of Yu' was a contemporary and public document of Yu's reign, was mainly grounded on the confidence which he reposed in the genuineness of a stone pillar, with an inscription, said to have been erected by Yu on the top of mount Hăng, in the present Hoo-nan. He says:—'We have Yu's own unquestionably genuine account of the labour employed upon the great work by which he saved the country in the inundation. After the Egyptian monuments, there is no extant contemporary testimony more authentic, and none so old as the modest and noble inscription of that extraordinary man. It is true that it has now become illegible, but a copy was made of it about 1200 in the time of the Sung, which has been preserved in the high school of Si-an-fu, and in the imperial archives at Pekin. Hager has given a tracing of it. Only those who are unacquainted with the subject can entertain any doubt as to its originality.'[1] Perhaps, if the learned writer had made himself more fully acquainted with the history of this tablet, he would have expressed himself as strongly against its genuineness.

The casting of tripods or vases and of bells is asserted of Yu by very ancient traditions. Nine vases particularly are ascribed to him, each one having on it a chart of one of the nine provinces. Biot

3 Pt. V., Bk. XVI., p. 21.

1 See 'Egypt's Place,' &c., vol. III., pp. 394, 395.

says of them:—'The existence of these early sculptured or graved charts appears to me entirely admissible;—they represented the nine regions known to the first Chinese, and were not pictures of the empire of Yu. But after the ages which elapsed, without doubt, between this first chief and the dynasty of Chow, and after the extension of the Chinese rule, the respect of the Chinese for their ancestors became transformed into a veritable rite; the personage of Yu increased in their remembrances, and grew into a sort of demigod, who had reduced the world to order. Then the nine regions traced upon the vases of Yu became the nine provinces of his pretended empire.' That there were in the Chow dynasty nine vases, ascribed to Yu, and looked on as palladia of the empire, is sufficiently attested; but it is by no means clear that they had on them a series of charts of his nine provinces. But this is not the place to enter on any discussion of them. The earliest mention of them will be found in a note below.[2] I have introduced them here, merely to contrast the ancient references to them with the comparatively modern era when the stone tablet on mount Hăng began to be spoken of.

History of the tablet of Yu on mount Hăng. It is all a fable.

The first writer whose testimony to the existence of this tablet is adduced is Chaou Yih,[3] a Taouist recluse of the Eastern Han, who lived towards the end of the first century of our era. He has left us a 'History of Woo and Yue;'[4] but the Work so abounds in ridiculous stories, of

2 For Biot's remarks, see the article on the *Yu Kung* in the 'Journal Asiatique,' p. 176. The earliest reference to the tripods of Yu, is, I believe, in the Tso Chuen, under the 3d year of duke Seuen (B.C. 605), where a messenger from the emperor Ting appears in colloquy with a general of the State of Ts'oo. The general wished to know the size and weight of the tripods. The answer was:—'The prosperity of the govt. depends on the sovereign's virtue, and not on the tripods. Anciently, when Hea was distinguished for its virtue, they got plans of distant regions, and *remarkable* objects in them. The nine pastors sent in the metal of their provinces, and tripods were cast, with representations on them of those objects. This was done exhaustively, so that the people could recognize the sprites and evil things; and when they went among the rivers, marshes, hills, and forests, they did not meet with misfortune;—yea, the sprites of the hills and waters did not come in their way. Thus a harmony was secured between the high and the low, and all received the blessing of Heaven. When the virtue of Keĕ was all obscured, the tripods passed over to Shang,—for 600 years. In consequence of the cruel tyranny of Chow of Shang, they passed over to Chow. When the virtue is brilliant, the tripods though light are heavy; when it gives place to darkness and disorder, they become light though heavy. Heaven sustains bright virtue;—where that is, its favour rests. King Ching fixed the tripods in Keă-juh (郟鄏; in the pres. Ho-nan), and divined that the dynasty should last 30 generations, and 700 years. This is Heaven's decree, and though the virtue of Chow is decayed, that decree is not changed. You need not ask about the weight of the tripods.' This account of the tripods is not very clear; but it is as clear in the translation as in the original. We should not infer from it that they had on them charts of the nine provinces. Accounts differ as to what became of them,—whether they came into the possession of Ts'in, or were sunk in a river by the last sovereign of Chow. See the 太平御覽,

which I give a specimen below,[5] that we can put little credit in anything which it relates. Among other things stated in it was this:—that 'the spirit-like Yu had left an inscription on the hill of Keu-leu;'[6]—Keu-leu being the name of one of the 72 peaks given to mount Hăng, and indeed, the principal one of them all, so that the names Keu-leu and Hăng are sometimes used interchangeably. In various topographical Works, written between the Han dynasty and that of Y'ang, mention is made of Yu in connection with mount Hăng; but they only reproduce the fables of Chaou Yih, and say nothing definite of the pillar about which we are inquiring.

Under the T'ang dynasty, accounts of it were abundantly rife; but there is no evidence that they were anything more than stories floating about among the people, or that any person of character had seen the interesting relic. On the contrary, the writer who has given us the fullest description of it, tells us that he had himself been unable to find it on the mountain, after the most diligent search. This was the famous Han Yu, among whose poems is the following, on mount Keu-leu:—

'Upon the peak of Keu-leu, sure there stands,
Yu's pillar, fashioned by most cunning hands;
The stone carnation, characters all green,
Like tadpoles bent, like leeks invert, are seen;

卷第七百五十六, art. 鼎; and the 格致鏡原, 卷四十三, art. 鼎.

3 趙曄. The catalogue of the imperial libraries calls him, 趙煜 See the 四庫全書目錄, 卷六.

4 吳越春秋.

5 Of the accounts of this Book, the reader may take the following specimen:—'K'wăn being thrown into the water, after he was put to death on mount Yu, was changed into a yellow dragon, and became the spirit of abyss of Yu (爲羽淵之神). Yu was then appointed to undertake the task of regulating the waters. For seven years he laboured without effect, and, full of heaviness, ascertained from some books of Hwang-te, that among the pillars of heaven, the south-eastern mountains, there was one called Yuen-wei (宛委), where there was a book concealed, in characters of green gem, on tablets of gold, bound together with silver, which would be of use to him. He then went east, ascended mount Hăng, and sacrificed a white horse. Not finding what he sought, he went to the top of the mountain, looked towards heaven, and whistled. There he fell asleep, and dreamed that a boy, in red embroidered clothes, calling himself the messenger of the azure waters, came to him, and told him that if he ascended the Yuen-wei hill, on such and such a day of the third month, he would find the gold tablets. The boy at the same time indicated that this hill was in the east; and thither Yu went, and on the day appointed dug up the gold tablets, with their gem characters, which told him how to proceed to accomplish his mighty work.' See Chaou's Work, 卷四.

6 神禹有岣嶁山銘. See the 鮚埼亭集外編, 卷三十五; and the 曝書亭集, 卷四十七, art. 1. I say in the text that there '*was*' such a statement in Chaou's Work, because that Work is now mutilated, and I have glanced over the copy to which I have access without finding the statement in question.

With pheasants floating here, the phœnix there,
Tigers and dragons make, between, their lair.
A monument so grave is hidden well,
And imps might pry, and nothing find to tell.
A solitary Taouist saw the stone.
'Twas chance him led.—I came, with many a groan,
And, weeping fast, searched round and searched again;
'Twas labour lost, the quest was all in vain.
The monkeys, 'mid the foliage of the wood,
Seemed sadly to bewail my grieving mood.'[7]

Two important points are established by these lines:—the one, that Han Yu himself, though he searched diligently for the pillar, could not find it; the other, that the voucher in his time for its existence was a solitary Taouist, one of a class which deals in things fantastic and prodigious, whose averment we pronounce, with a justifiable foregone conclusion, is more likely to be false than true.

From the T'ang dynasty we come to Sung. For more than three hundred years after Han Yu, we read nothing about the pillar. Still it was talked about; and in the 12th century, two of the ablest men in China purposely visited mount Hăng to put the question as to its existence at rest by their personal examination. They were Choo He, the most distinguished critic and philosopher of his age, and Chang Nan-hëen, also an eminent scholar. Their search for the stone was as fruitless as that of Han Yu had been; and to my mind the judgment of Choo He that it never had any existence but in Taouist dreams is decisive. Chinese writers account for the failure of him and the other intelligent seekers to find it, by attributing to it a personal intelligence. It was 'a spirit-like thing, which could appear and disappear at pleasure.'[8]

Not very long after the search of Choo He, in the period *Kea-ting* (A.D. 1208–1224) of the 13th emperor of the Sung dynasty, there came to the mountain an officer from Sze-ch'uen, called Ho Che, and was

7 See the Works of Han Yu, 卷三.—岣嶁山尖神禹碑, 字青石赤形摹奇, 科斗拳身薤倒披. 鸞飄鳳泊拏虎螭, 事嚴迹秘鬼莫窺, 道人獨上偶見之, 我來咨嗟涕漣洏, 千搜萬索何處有, 森森綠樹猿猱悲. Accounts of the pillar, of a similar kind, are found in the 丹鉛總錄, 卷一, quoted from 徐靈期 and 崔融, both, like Han Wăn-kung, of the T'ang dynasty. 8 斯文顯晦, 信有神物. See the 丹鉛總錄, referred to above.

conducted by a woodcutter to the peak of Chuh-yung, where he found the monument and took a copy of it, which he had engraved and set up *in the Taouist monastery* of Kwei-mun.[9] Here then was the monument seen at last, and the inscription on it copied,—more than 3,000 years after its erection. So long time it had endured, standing there on the mountain, exposed to all elemental influences! This alone is sufficient to prove the falsehood of it. I have seen monuments in China a thousand years old, and which had been in a measure sheltered from the weather; but in every case the engraving on them was in some parts illegible. The tablet of Yu could not have stood, where it is said to have done, for such a length of time, and been found in the condition in which Ho Che is said to have found it. What was brought to light in the 13th century was a clumsy forgery. I have called attention by italics to the fact of the copy being set up in a Taouist monastery. A Taouist brain first conceived the idea of the monument, and Taouist hands afterwards fashioned it. An ordinary forger would have left gaps in the inscription to tell their own tale of its ancient date; but it was supposed that posterity would believe that this spirit-like thing had bid defiance to the gnawing tooth and effacing fingers of time.

When the discovery was made public, it was not generally credited. We should have thought that so precious a monument would draw many visitors to it, now that its place was known, and that it would even become an object of the public care. No such thing. Even the copy taken by Ho Che would seem to have had the 'spirit-like' quality, attributed to the monument, of making itself either visible or invisible. Under the Sung dynasty, people refused to receive it; and we have to come to the period Ching-tih[10] of the Ming dynasty, in the early part of the 16th century, before we meet with it again. Then, an officer of the province of Hoo-nan, Chang Ke-wăn,[11] professed to have found the copy engraved by Ho Che, which he transcribed; and since his time it has had its place among the monuments, real or pretended, of Chinese antiquity.

It will occur to the reader to ask whether the stone be still on mount Hăng. In a copy of the inscription, published in 1666, by a Maou Tsăng-këen, which is in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Chalmers, the

[9] 宋嘉定中,有蜀士,何賢良致,于祝融峰下,樵子導之至碑所,手模其文,刻于夔門觀中. [10] 正德. It was under this style that the 11th of the Ming emperors (武宗毅皇帝) reigned, A.D. 1506–1521. [11] 張季文.

editor speaks of the difficulty of reaching the top of Keu-leu, how ladders are necessary and hooks, and says that he had himself been to the spot and handled the stone. But he says also, that the characters and stone had both been of an immense size, and are now all in fragments, so that the inscription cannot be made out. Let it be granted that there are some fragments of rock on one of the summits of mount Hăng, with old characters cut on them, how is it known that these were ever any tablet of Yu? or how is any verification obtained from them of the inscription, as we have it? Choo He and Chang Nan-hëen, in the 12th century, might very well have seen the remains described by Tsăng-këen, and decided that Yu had never had anything to do with them. Their character shows certainly that Han Yu and the other writers of the T'ang dynasty were only describing an ideal tablet of Yu,—which, indeed, we might conclude on other grounds. The only voucher for the points involved in the above questions is Ho Che, or rather the story which we have of his discovery of the monument in the 13th century.

The review which I have given of the history of the stone sufficiently shows my own opinion, that it is not entitled to the least credit; and I am supported in this view by the great majority of Chinese archæologists, so little ground is there for Bunsen's affirmation that 'only those who are unacquainted with the subject can entertain any doubt as to its originality.' He based his conclusion on a monograph of the inscription, published at Berlin in 1811 by M. Klaproth, which I have not seen. I have read an account of it, however, in the second volume of Remusat's 'Melanges Asiatiques.' Klaproth, it would appear, having become convinced of the genuineness of the monument, addressed himself particularly to show that the 'tadpole' characters have been correctly identified. This might very well be the case, without the arguments which I have urged against it being at all affected. There was nothing to hinder the maker or makers of it, say in the time of the Sung dynasty, from disguising their fraud, by writing it after the model of the most ancient forms of the characters. My friend, Wang T'aou, in a Chinese monograph of it, observes on this point:—'The maker of it was clever in imitating the ancient form of writing; and it was this ability which enabled him to impose on many.' On the next page the reader will find a copy of the inscription, such as it is, taken from the sheet in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Chalmers. The characters were first reduced by a photograph, and then copied for a wooden block to

suit the size of my page. By the side of each tadpole character is the modern form which is supposed to have taken its place. I give it simply as a curiosity. In a note below will be found some remarks on Bunsen's attempt to translate it. More than sufficient space has been allowed to it in the text of these prologomena, as my object, in adverting to it at all, was simply to show that an argument could not be constructed from it to invalidate the opinion which I have advanced as to the late origin of the *Yu Kung*.[12]

12 The identification of a few of the characters in the copy of which Bunsen ventured a translation was different from that in the copy here printed. The 丹鉛總錄 gives the inscription thus:—承帝日嗟, 翼輔佐卿, 洲渚與登, 鳥獸之門, 參身洪流, 而明發爾興, 久旅忘家, 宿嶽麓庭, 智營形折, 心罔弗辰, 往求平定, 華岳泰衡, 宗疏事裒, 勞餘伸禋, 鬱塞昏徙, 南瀆衍亨. 永制食備, 萬國其寧, 竄舞永奔. Now I undertake to say, that of a good deal of this it is not possible to ascertain the meaning with any degree of certainty. Bunsen speaks of a version by Father Amyot, published by Hager, which, he says, is not in the true sense of the word a translation. (This may be seen in Williams' 'Middle Kingdom,' Vol. II., pp. 204, 205.) He acknowledges Klaproth's attempt to be a translation, but not quite accurate in some parts. His own attempt to give an accurate version I will not take the trouble to discuss. He says that those who have any acquaintance with the language will understand, from a literal Latin version of the characters, the philological principle on which his translation is based; but the fact is, that a very moderate acquaintance with the language is sufficient to show that Bunsen knew very little about it. If his interpretation of Egyptian monuments be not better than his interpretation of 'the monument of Yu,' his volumes on 'Egypt's Place in Universal History' are of little value.

If the writer of the inscription knew what he was doing in pencilling his tadpole characters, I do not think they have all been correctly identified. Accepting the identification given in this note, I would propose the following as an approximation to a correct interpretation:—

'I received *the words of* the emperor, saying, "Ah!
Associate helper, aiding noble!
The islands and islets may now be ascended,
That were doors for the birds and beasts.
You devoted your person to the great overflowings,
And with the day-break you rose up.
Long were *you* abroad, forgetting your family;
You lodged at the mountain's foot as in a hall;
Your wisdom schemed; *your* body was broken;
Your heart was all in a tremble.
You went and sought to produce order and settlement.
At Hwa, Yŏ, T'ae, and Hăng.
By adopting the principle of dividing *the waters*, *your* undertakings
were completed.
With the remains of a taper, *you* offered your pure sacrifice.
There were entanglement and obstruction, being swamped, and removals.
The southern river flows on in its course;
For ever is the provision of food made sure;
The myriad States enjoy repose;
The beasts and birds are for ever fled away."'

丞 帝 曰 咨 棄 輔 佐 卿 洲 渚 與 登 鳥 獸

之 門 參 身 洪 流 而 明 發 爾 與 以 旅 忘

家 宿 嶽 麓 庭 智 營 形 折 心 周 弗 長 往

來 平 定 華 嶽 泰 衡 宗 疏 事 衰 勞 餘 伸

種 鬱 塞 昏 徒 南 瀆 衍 亨 衣 制 食 備 萬

國 其 寧 窟 舞 蒸 奔

Should the deluge of Yaou be identified with that described in the Book of Genesis?

9. From the view which I have taken of the labours of Yu, the reader will understand that I do not identify the deluge of Yaou with that described by Moses in the Book of Genesis. I am inclined, however, to believe that, in the language of the Shoo-king respecting the terrible nature of the inundation which frightened Yaou and Shun, we have the voice of tradition, affirming the earlier and universal catastrophe,—universal at least in the sense that it involved the destruction of 'all flesh,' all the individuals of our race, excepting those who were preserved with Noah in the ark.

Missionaries,—Protestant missionaries especially,—accepting the labours of Yu as historical, have expressed themselves incautiously on the identity of the two deluges. Dr. Gutzlaff, for instance, wrote:—'We do not doubt but Yaou's was the same flood recorded in sacred history, though we are not able to give the exact date from Chinese history; nor do we hesitate to affirm that China was peopled after the deluge.'[1]

Bunsen has taken occasion from this to express himself with undue severity of 'the confusion and ignorance of the missionaries, believing that Yu's labours referred to the Flood of Noah, which never reached China.'[2] And again:—'The inundation in the reign of Yaou had just as much to do with Noah's flood, as the dams he erected and the canals he dug had to do with the Ark. The learned Jesuit Fathers were well aware of this, but they were prevented by orders from Rome from publishing the truth. The fact of so absurd an idea being accepted by the English and Scotch Missionaries, and even by Morrison himself, is a very melancholy instance of the way in which the sound judgment of learned men may be warped by rabbinical superstition and the intolerant ignorance of their Churches, in the investigation of historical truth.'[3]

Now, Morrison gave his opinion in the matter in very guarded terms; and I do not think that he was farther from the truth than his critic. In the preface to his dictionary, p. xiii., he observes:—'In the Shoo-king mention is made of a great and destructive accumulation of waters upon the face of the earth; whether it be called Inundation or Deluge is immaterial. The removal of the waters, and settling the state of all the various regions then known is understood by the phrase *Yu Kung*. Yu was the person who effected that

1 See 'A Sketch of Chinese History,' &c., vol. I. p. 130. 2 'Place of Egypt,' &c., vol. III. p. 398. 3 See as above, p. 406.

work. This Deluge makes a grand epoch in Chinese History. After a fanciful account of the creation, there follows a period of Chinese civilization, when Fuh-he's successors introduced marriage; government; working in metals; the use of musical instruments; and characters for the division of time. The profligacy and misrule of the monarch Te-chih[4] is noticed, and then follows Yaou's deluge; after which the earth is again represented as overspread by wild uncultivated vegetation, and over-run by savage beasts.....The above is a faithful outline of the picture drawn, by Chinese writers, of the history of the ancient world as known to them. Its similarity to that given by the Jewish Legislator must be observable to every one; and the probability, that both accounts refer to the same remote facts, is not to be overturned by slight anachronisms, or a discordancy in the detail.'

To the same effect are the observations of Dr. Medhurst. He calls the time between Fuh-he and Yaou and Shun the 'traditionary Period' of Chinese history, and adds:—'While we might be unwilling to give full credit to what Chinese writers say of the events of this period, it is not improbable that much of it is drawn by tradition from the correct account of the antediluvian age handed down by Noah to his posterity. The coincidence of ten generations having passed away, the institution of marriage, the invention of music, the rebellion of a portion of the race, and the confused mixture of the divine and human families, closed by the occurrence of the flood in the time of Yaou, might lead us to conclude that in their allusions to this period, the Chinese are merely giving their version of the events that occurred from Adam to Noah. When Yu ascended the throne, the lands were drained, and China became habitable.'[5]

In these representations of two of the most distinguished Protestant missionaries, the traces of 'rabbinical superstition,' and of subjection to 'the intolerant ignorance of their churches,' seem to me hardly discernible. Possibly there may be in the Chinese accounts of Fuh-he and his successors some faint echo of the primitive tradition;—I am not concerned at present to enter upon that subject. What is said in the above quotations about the deluge of Yaou, however, is misleading. The reader is led to suppose that it comes in Chinese history, as caused by the declension and wickedness of the times immediately preceding,—a judgment of Heaven. If it were so,

4 帝摯. 5 China: Its State and Prospects, pp. 5, 6.

the view which they take would be greatly strengthened. But the Shoo is entirely silent on this point. Not a word is said as to the flood's being a punishment of the sins either of ruler or people.

But now, according to the views which I have sought to establish, the labours of Yu are not history, but myth. He did not perform the prodigious achievements on the mountains and rivers which are ascribed to him. That he was the laborious founder of the Chinese empire, and did much within the small space of territory which was then comprehended in its limits, there is no occasion to deny; but the gradual extension of the empire and development of its resources and order, which were the growth and accomplishment of many centuries, have been attributed to him by the Chinese, and their romance has been accepted by missionaries and others. The labours of Yu being denied, no place is left in his time for the deluge of Yaou. The utmost that can be allowed is an inundation of the Ho, destructive enough, no doubt, but altogether unfit to be described in the words put into the mouths of Yaou, Shun and Yu about it. Did the compilers of the first Parts of the Shoo draw upon their fancy for the floods that embraced the mountains and overtopped the hills and assailed the heavens? or did they find them in the tradition of a deluge by which 'all the hills that were under the whole heaven were covered?' I prefer to take the suggestion in the latter question as the fact, and therefore think that in the description of the inundation of Yaou's time we have an imperfect reference to the deluge of Noah.

The population of China in the time of Yu.

10. Before leaving the subject of Yu and his labours, it will be well to say something on another point, the commonly received account of which may be urged as inconsistent with the conclusions I have endeavoured to establish. Can the population of China in Yu's time be ascertained, even approximately?

Two sinologues have touched on this question:—Edward Biot the younger, in articles on 'The Population of China, and its Variations,' in the 'Journal Asiatique' of 1856; and T. Sacharoff, of the Russian Embassy in Peking, in an essay on 'The Rise and Fall of the Chinese Population,' translated into English last year by the Rev. W. Lobscheid.

The articles of Biot were written when his knowledge of Chinese subjects was immature, six years before he published in the same Journal the view of the *Yu Kung*, to which I have had occasion to

make frequent reference. Had they been produced at a later date, he would not have accepted the statement of Ma Twan-lin, that the number of the people, on the conclusion of Yu's labours, amounted to 13,553,923 souls;—a number, which he, on certain hypothetical reasonings of his own, increased to 21,415,198.

Sacharoff would reduce the smaller of these estimates to a single million; but his remarks on the subject betray considerable confusion of thought. He says:—'Two censuses were at the disposal of native authors for ascertaining the amount of the population of China, during the happy reigns of Yaou and Shun, the epochs of the highest civilization. These were:—the division of the country for administrative purposes; and the extent of the really cultivated land. The first would, indeed, be a sufficient ground for arriving at a satisfactory conclusion, if the ancient documents stated the number of the principal provinces. If, *e. g.*, we take the nine provinces, into which Yaou divided the empire in the 23d century, then the population must have been very small, and could hardly exceed 100,000 families, or one million individuals. A calculation based on the extent of arable land proves nothing, because the classics scarcely state how many square rods were counted to a family, whilst nothing is said of the total amount of cultivated land, so that by fixing a certain figure, we are obliged to accept an arbitrarily given number of individuals.'[1]

I have endeavoured to find Ma Twan-lin's authority for the assertion, that, when Yu had reduced the empire to order, the inhabitants amounted to 13,553,923; and the oldest writer in whom I have met with it is Hwang-p'oo Meih, who died A.D. 282.[2] The statement, occurring thus, for the first time, about two thousand five hundred years after the date to which it refers, is of no historical value. As given by Meih, indeed, it is merely the result of certain calculations by him from the extent of the empire ruled by Yaou, and does not profess to be grounded on any certain data. So many absurdities are related, moreover, on the same page about Yu and other ancient worthies, that I am surprised the estimate of the population ever obtained any currency.

For instance, Meih begins by referring to the legends about Shinnung and Hwang-te,—how the empire of the former extended, from

1 The Numerical Relations of the Population of China, &c., p. 10. Hongkong: A Shortrede & Co., 1864. 2 See Meih's Chronicle of Emperors and Kings, quoted by the editor of the Books of the After Han, 志第十九, p. 1.

east to west, a space of 900,000 *le*, and from north to south, 850,000 *le;* and how the latter, after having invented boats and carriages to traverse this mighty territory, determined the position of the different States in it by astronomical calculations. The author thinks that what is said about Shin-nung exceeds belief; but he goes on to quote the authority of Confucius (taken however from the 'Family Sayings,' an apocryphal Book) for the empire of Chuen-heuh, as extending to the Moving Sands on the west, Cochin-china on the south, the Sea on the east, and Yew-ling (north of Chih-le) on the north; and then, he comes to Yaou and Yu. Yu's nine provinces contained, he estimates, 24,308,024 *k'ing*, or nearly 368 million acres, of which 9,208,024 *k'ing*, or 140 million acres, were cultivable. Then comes in the amount of the population, and the further statement that the empire contained at that time 10,000 States. It is added on the authority of the 'Classic of Hills and Seas,' a book full of all sorts of prodigious stories, that Yu made two of his officers—Ta-chang, and Shoo-hae—walk, the one from the extreme east to the extreme west, and the other from the extreme north to the extreme south, and count their paces. The former traversed 223,300 *le*, and 71 paces; the latter 233,500 *le*, and 75 paces; but we must suppose that Meih was here counting only 100 paces to a *le*.[3] In fact, it is difficult to tell, how he took the terms, for he subjoins that, within the four seas, from east to west were 28,000 *le*, and from north to south 26,000. There were 5,350 famous hills; 467 hills producing copper; and 3,609 producing iron. The writer is evidently writing at random. The estimate of the population is no more to be received than any of all the other notices which he gives.

When Sacharoff says that, if we take the nine provinces, into which Yaou divided the empire, the population could hardly exceed one million individuals, it is difficult to understand what he means. If we could accept 'the nine provinces,' as indeed veritable portions of the empire, and believe that the country was occupied, even thinly, to that extent, we might very well allow a population for them, not of one million, but of twenty millions. But the critical study of the documents of the Shoo forbids us, as I have shown, to think of Yaou and Shun as other than petty chieftains, whose dominions

3 禹使大章步自東極至於西垂,二億三萬三千三百里七十一步,又使竪亥步南極北盡於北垂,二億三萬三千五百里,七十五步. The thing is differently stated in the copy of the 山海經, which I have,—printed in 1818, the 23d year of the reign Këa-k'ing.

hardly extended across the Ho; and though Yu was the founder of a dynasty that lasted for more than four centuries, it is doubtful whether the last of his successors ruled over so much as the nine provinces of Yaou. The arguments on which I have maintained these conclusions might have needed reconsideration, if the estimate of thirteen millions and a half of inhabitants in Yu's time had been supported by a tittle of independent evidence; being merely a rough and random calculation at a period long subsequent, on the assumption of such a territory, those arguments are unaffected by it.

The number of one million which Sacharoff would allow for the Chinese of Yu's time is, it seems to me, abundantly large. The population of the country, in the time of king Ching, when the duke of Chow was administering the government, is given as 13,704,923; that is, according to the current accounts, the population had only increased 151,000 in eleven centuries and a half. If we suppose one million of inhabitants in Yu's time, and that they doubled every two hundred years, they ought to have amounted, in the time of the duke of Chow, to about one hundred millions. And yet we may say that there was no increase at all in all that space of time. About 400 years after, in the 13th year of king Chwang, B.C. 683, the population had decreased below what it was in Yu's days, and is given as only 11,941,923. It is evident from these figures, that the accounts of the population of the empire before our era cannot be regarded as approximations even to the truth;—especially it is evident, that assigning to Yu more than thirteen millions is simply of a piece with the assigning to him the achievements of a demigod on the face of the water and the land.

Ma Twan-lin, after Hwang-p'oo Meih and other early writers, calls attention to the decrease in the number of States, composing the empire, under each of the three early dynasties. At a grand *durbar* held by Yu on mount T'oo, 10,000 princes appeared to do him homage;—there were then 10,000 States. When the dynasty of Shang superseded Hea, those 10,000 were reduced to a little over 3000; and according to Meih, there was a corresponding diminution in the number of the people. In the beginning of the 12th century, B.C., when king Woo established the rule of Chow, his princes were only 1,773; and, again adds Meih, the people had dwindled correspondingly. But the people were more, according to Meih himself, in the beginning of the Chow dynasty than they had been in Yu's days, by 151,000 individuals. I say again, that it is evident the 10,000

States, of more than twenty centuries before our era, never had any existence. The state of the country under the successors of Yu, which I have pointed out on p. 61, is altogether inconsistent with the idea of such an empire. The magniloquent style of speech, however, once introduced, subsequent writers adopted it. Confucius himself and Mencius adhered to it, hiding thereby from themselves, their contemporaries, and posterity the truth about their own times, and the small beginnings of their history in the distant past.

11. I will not attempt to question the credibility of the Books of the Shoo lower down than the time of Yu. Those belonging to his dynasty are only three; and each of them is brief. As I said in the first paragraph, from the beginning of the Shang dynasty, we seem to tread the field of history with a somewhat confident step. The Books of Chow are sufficiently to be depended on, for they must have been made public while the memory of many of the things which they describe was still fresh.

The results which I have endeavoured to bring out in this chapter are:—first, that Yu is a historical personage, and was the founder of the Chinese empire, but that nearly all that the Shoo contains of his labours is fantastical exaggeration; and second, that Yaou and Shun were also real men, chiefs of the earliest Chinese immigrants into the country, but that we must divest them of the grand proportions which they have, as seen through the mists of legend and of philosophical romance. It seems folly to attempt to go beyond the Shoo, and push the history centuries farther back to the time of Fuh-he. We have now to inquire in the next chapter whether it be possible, from the Shoo or other sources, to determine with any satisfaction how long before our era we are to place those worthies.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE DETERMINATION OF THE PRINCIPAL ERAS IN THE SHOO.

THERE IS NO CHRONOLOGY IN THE SHOO; AND IT WAS NOT TILL THE HAN DYNASTY THAT THE CHINESE BEGAN TO ARRANGE THEIR ANCIENT HISTORY WITH REFERENCE TO A COMMON ERA. THE PERIODS OF THE THREE DYNASTIES, AND OF YAOU AND SHUN. CHINESE HISTORY BEGINS ABOUT 2000 YEARS BEFORE CHRIST.

1. On my first conception of this chapter, my idea was to designate it 'The Chronology of the Shoo.' Such is the title of the third chapter of Gaubil's 'Observations on the Shoo-king,' in which he has touched, succinctly and ably, on nearly all the points to which I have to call the attention of the reader. 'The Chronology of the Shoo,' however, would be a misnomer. There is no arrangement or succession of dates in it which can be so described. We learn from it that the dynasty of Chow succeeded to that of Shang, and the dynasty of Shang or Yin to that of Hea; and that prior to Yu, the founder of the Hea, there were the reigns of Shun and Yaou. In its present condition, it contains only scanty notices of a few of the sovereigns in the earlier dynasties, and the length of the reigns of two or three of them is stated; but even when it was complete, it did not embrace a list of all the rulers of China, and of the number of years which they reigned respectively:—and much less did it specify any date as a great era in the distant past, from which the commencement of the successive dynasties, and the accessions of the different monarchs in each of them, should be calculated. As Gaubil has observed, 'If we had only the Shoo-king, we should have but confused ideas of the time comprised in the four [five] Parts of the book.' We need not be surprised at this. The chronology of a nation comes to be cultivated as a science, only after it has long subsisted, and when the necessity is felt of arranging the events of its history in regular series on the course of time.

There is no Chronology in the Shoo.

2. It was in the Han dynasty that it was first attempted to construct a chronological scheme of the history of the empire. For this purpose its scholars employed the well-known cycle of 60 years, in the 2d year of the 76th revolution of which, according to the commonly received views, I am now writing; and which is with the Chinese what the century is with us. It was assumed that this cycle had been made in the reign of Hwang-te by Ta-naou, one of his officers; but I need hardly say that the assumption rests on no satisfactory grounds. Believing the views which I have advocated in the last chapter to be correct, I must pronounce Hwang-te to be a fabulous personage, so far as any connection with the Chinese empire is concerned. If such a man ever lived at all, it was elsewhere than in China; and it is not till we come to the times of Ts'in and Han, more than 2,000 years after the period assigned to him, that we find Ta-naou spoken of at all.[1] And though the invention of the cycle is then generally ascribed to him, there are writers who give the credit of it to Fuh-he long before.[2] What is of more importance to observe is, that the cycle, as it is now universally recited and written, was not employed before the end of the Former Han dynasty, *i.e.*, until after the commencement of our Christian era, to chronicle years at all:—its exclusive use was to chronicle the days. Koo Yen-woo, one of the ablest scholars of the present dynasty, says expressly on this point:—'The 22 cycle characters [*i.e.*, the 10 stem characters from *këă* to *kwei*, and the 12 branch characters from *tsze* to *hae*] were used by the ancients to chronicle the days, and not to chronicle the years. For chronicling the years there were the 10 stem names of *oh-fung*, &c., down to *twan-mung*, and the 12 branch names of *shĕ-t'e-kih*, &c., down to *juy-han*. The way of later times, to say that such a year was *këă-tsze*, and so on, was not the ancient way.'[3] Yen-woo then quotes from the preface to the *Wae-ke*,[4] or 'Additional Records,' a supple-

Chronologising began in the Han dynasty. The cycle of 60 years.

The original use of the *Keă-tsze* cycle was to chronicle days.

1 See the 事物紀原,卷一, art. 甲子. We read:—世本曰,大撓造甲子。呂氏春秋曰,黄帝師大撓。黄帝內傳曰,帝旣斬蚩尤,命大撓造甲子,正時。月令章句曰,大撓探五行之情,占斗剛所建,于時始作甲乙以名日,謂之幹,作子丑,以名月,謂之支,支幹相配,以成六旬. 2 See the 通鑑綱目,前編卷之二—伏羲氏作甲歷,定歲時. 3 See the 顧炎武日知錄卷二十, art. 古人不以甲子名歲. 4 劉恕通鑑外紀目錄序

ment to the 'General Survey' of History by Sze-ma Kwang,[5] with whom Lew Shoo, its author was associate, the following testimony:—'The years of the sovereigns before (!) and after Fuh-he, down to king Le, are, I apprehend, dark and hardly to be ascertained; and we borrow the names of the *kĕă-tsze* cycle to chronicle them;' adding himself:—'When did this practice of borrowing the cycle names to chronicle the years commence? It commenced in the time of the usurper Mang' (A.D. 9—22). The statement of this writer, that the ancients chronicled years by the names oh-fung shĕ-t'e-kih, &c., is very questionable; but I must content myself, for the present, with referring to what is said on the subject in the appendix to this chapter, on the 'Astronomy of the ancient Chinese,' with which the Rev. Mr. Chalmers has favoured me. So far as my reading has gone, there cannot be produced a single unchallengeable example of the naming of any year by any cycle characters whatever, previous to the termination of the Chow dynasty.

In the Shoo itself the current cycle is used to chronicle days, and days only. Years are specified according to their order in the reign of the sovereign to whom they are referred. Such specification of years, however, is in our classic exceedingly rare.

There can be no doubt that before the Han dynasty a list of sovereigns, and of the lengths of their several reigns, was the only method which the Chinese had of determining the duration of their national history. And it would still be a sufficiently satisfactory method, if we had a list of sovereigns and of the years each reigned, that was complete and reliable. We do not have this, however. Even in the early part of the Han dynasty, Sze-ma Ts'een's father and himself were obliged to content themselves with giving simply the names and order of most of the rulers in the dynasties of Shang and Hea. The lengths of the several reigns in

The ancient method of determining the length of Chinese history. The want of documents which could make it available now.

5 Sze-ma Kwang gets the credit of fixing the standard chronology; but let me call the attention of the student to Choo He's account of the matter. He tells us:—'When Kwang first made a Chronological scheme, his earliest date was the 1st year of Wei-lëĕ (B.C. 424). Afterwards, he extended his dates to the time of Kung and Ho (B.C. 840). After this again, he made his "Examination of Antiquity," beginning with the period of "highest antiquity," but he could give no dates of years earlier than that time of Kung and Ho. It was Shaou K'ang-tsëĕ who pushed the calculations up to the 1st year of Yaou (温公初作編年,起于威烈王,後又添至共和,又稽古錄,始自上古,然共和已上之年,已不能推矣,獨邵康節,却推至堯元年,云云). The passage is quoted in Hăng Ch'in-fung's notes on the annals of the Bamboo Books, 卷三, p. 4. Choo He appears to have been fascinated in a measure by the Bamboo Books.

the standard chronology have been determined, mainly, I believe, to make the whole line stretch out to the years which had been fixed on astronomical considerations for the periods of Chung-k'ang of the Hea dynasty and of Yaou. It will be seen in the sequel, and more fully in the next chapter, how the Bamboo Books contrive to shorten many of the reigns, so that those periods shall be less remote than they are commonly placed by about 200 years.

If in the Four Books, or in any other books of the Chow dynasty, we had a statement of the length of the national history from any given era to that of the writer, the notice would be exceedingly valuable. Or, if the lengths of the reigns of the sovereigns of Shang and Hea, cursorily mentioned, were given, we should be in a position to make an approximate computation for ourselves. I do not know, however, of more than two passages in all those books, which are really helpful to us in this point. Both of them are referred to by Gaubil. If the reader will turn to the passage translated from the Tso-chuen, in the note on p. 67 above, he will see it there stated that the dynasty of Shang possessed the empire for 600 years. That is one of the passages. The other is the very last chapter of the Works of Mencius, where that philosopher says that 'from Yaou and Shun to T'ang—a period including all the dynasty of Hea—were 500 years and more; that from T'ang to king Wăn—the period of the Shang dynasty—were 500 years and more; and that from king Wăn to Confucius were 500 years and more.' Now, we know that the birth of Confucius took place in B.C. 551. Adding 551 to the 1500 years 'and more,' given by Mencius, we have the era of Yaou and Shun, at 2,100 years before our Saviour, or thereabouts. The words of Mencius,—'from Yaou and Shun to T'ang,' are, indeed, sadly indefinite. Does he mean the end of Shun's reign, and the beginning of Yu's? or does he mean the beginning of Yaou's reign? I think it was the latter which he intended. But vague as his language is, I do not think that with the most painstaking research we can determine anything more definite and precise concerning the length of Chinese history than it conveys. Mencius knew nothing of rulers before Yaou, nor do I. What we are told of Yaou and Shun, moreover, is little trustworthy. About 2,000 years before the Christian era, China, which has since become so large an empire, rises before us, with small beginnings, in the vista of the past. I do not think that anything more precise than this can be said upon the subject. Let us see.

3. The last of the kings of the Chow dynasty mentioned in the Shoo is P'ing, the 13th of the line, whose 'Charge to Prince Wăn' of Tsin forms the 28th Book of the 5th Part. His place in history is well ascertained. Confucius' Chronicle of the Ch'un Ts'ew commences in B.C. 721. The 1st of the 36 eclipses mentioned in it took place three years after, on the 14th February (N.S.), B.C. 719; and it is recorded that in the month after king P'ing died.[1] Here, therefore, is a point of time about which there can be no dispute. In the words of Gaubil, 'we know the time of the end of the Shoo-king.' An earlier date in the Chow dynasty is known with the same certainty. The She mentions an eclipse which took place on the 29th August, B.C. 775, in the 6th year of king Yew, who preceded P'ing.[2] Yew reigned 11 years, and his predecessor, king Seuen, 46, whose reign consequently commenced B.C. 826. Up to this date Chinese chronologers agree. To the ten reigns before king Seuen, the received chronology assigns 295 years, making the dynasty begin in B.C. 1,121. The Bamboo Books assign to them only 223, making it commence in B.C. 1,049. In the lengths of five of the reigns the two schemes agree; but whether the longer estimate of the other five or the shorter is to be preferred, I do not see that we have sufficient grounds to determine. Gaubil, reasoning from the cycle names of the days, which are given in several of the Books of Chow (as I have pointed out in my notes on the various passages), would fix the commencement of the dynasty in B.C. 1,111 [or 1,110]. If we suppose that Mencius, as is most likely, in saying that 'from king Wăn to Confucius were 500 years and more,' intended by 'king Wăn' the commencement of the Chow dynasty, we have to conclude that this era must be between B.C. 1,051 and 1,161. The date in the Bamboo Books places it too late; that in the common chronology cannot be far from the truth.

The period of the Chow dynasty.

4. In treating of the period of the Shang dynasty, we cannot fix a single reign with certainty by means of astronomical data. The common chronology assigns to it 28 reigns extending over 644 years, so that its commencement was in B.C. 1,765. The Bamboo Books make the sovereigns to be 30, and the aggregate of their reigns only 508, so that the dynasty began in B.C. 1,557. Pan Koo of the Han made the length of the dynasty 529 years.

The period of the Shang dynasty.

[1] 三年,春王二月,己巳,日有食之。三月,庚戌,天王崩.
[2] See the She, Pt. II., Bk. IV., Ode ix.—十月之交,朔日辛卯,日有食之.

The difference of two reigns between the schemes of Sze-ma Kwang and the Bamboo Books is unimportant, and, if they otherwise agreed, could only affect the length of the dynasty by 6 years. Some remarks on those reigns will be found in the note on Mencius, V., Pt. I., v. 5. That the number of reigns is not over-estimated we may infer from the statement of Mencius that between T'ang, the founder of the dynasty, and Woo-ting, the 20th (or 22d) sovereign, 'there had been six or seven worthy and sage rulers.'[1] In the 15th of the Books of Chow, the names of three of the sovereigns are given, and the duration of their reigns, to show how Heaven is likely to crown a good king with length of sway:—T'ae-mow, who reigned 75 years; Woo-ting, who reigned 59; and Tsoo-këă, who reigned 33. The two schemes which I have mentioned agree in the length of those reigns, and of five others. From the statement in the Tso-chuen, that the Shang dynasty lasted 600 years, and that of Mencius, that 'from T'ang to king Wăn were 500 years and more,' we may judge that the 644 years assigned to the Shang by the standard chronology are too many, and the 508 years of the Bamboo Books too few.

The period of the Hea dynasty.

5. According to the common chronology, the dynasty of Hea lasted 439 years; according to the Bamboo Books, it lasted 431. The difference between the two schemes is not great, though they agree exactly in the lengths of three of the reigns only. Mencius' words, that 'from Yaou and Shun to T'ang were 500 years and more,' include the period of Yaou and Shun as well as that of the Hea dynasty; but the years which he assigned to the two early sages, probably, did not differ much, if at all, from the common estimate of the two chronologies.[2] If we add 150 years either to 431 or 439, the sum is under 600 years. The period usually assigned to the Hea dynasty cannot be far from the truth.

In the 4th of the Books of Hea we have the record of an astronomical fact, which we might hope would enable us to determine the time of its occurrence, with as much certainty as the year of the death of king P'ing of the Chow dynasty is determined. In the reign of Chung-k'ang, the 3d of Yu's successors, there was an eclipse of the sun in the sign Fang. Sze-ma Kwang places the event in Chung-k'ang's 1st year,=B.C. 2,158 (or 2,159); the Bamboo Books place it in his 5th year,=, according to them, B.C. 1,947 (or 1,948). Neither

1 See Mencius, II., Pt. I. i. 8.—由湯至於武丁,賢聖之君,六七作.

2 Compare his statements in V. Pt. I., v. and vi.

of these years can be correct. Such an eclipse could not have taken place in them.

Gaubil tells us that the most famous astronomers of the T'ang dynasty, and subsequently those of the Yuen, determined this eclipse for the year B.C. 2,128 (or 2,127) on the 1st day of the 9th month, which year, moreover, they fixed as the 5th of Chung-k'ang; and that other astronomers of the same dynasties determined it for B.C. 2,155 (or 2,154), which would be the 5th of Chung-k'ang in the common chronology. He himself adopted and zealously supported the latter determination; but subsequent and more accurate calculations seem to prove that he was in error. The reader is referred to what I have said on the subject in the body of the Work, pp. 167, 168. The eclipse of B.C. 2,128 may possibly be that mentioned in the Shoo; and yet a different one, or more than one, may be found, within the period of the Hea dynasty, which would satisfy the necessary conditions. The authenticity of the Book in which we have the statement about the eclipse is called in question; but I have pointed out that that particular passage is guaranteed by its being quoted in the Tso-chuen. The history or story in connection with which the statement is given is also put down, by Bunsen[3] and others, as nothing better than 'a popular fable;' and neither am I concerned to deny this:—it may very well consist with the reference to the natural phænomenon which actually occurred. That phænomenon, however, shows that neither of the current chronologies of the time is to be relied on; and it does not by itself enable us to fix the time of the reign of Chung-k'ang.

Period of Yaou and Shun.

6. We come to the earliest period of Chinese history,—that of Yaou and Shun. The Shoo assigns 50 years of independent reigning to Shun: and Sze-ma Kwang and the Bamboo Books adopt the estimate. It says also that he was on the throne along with Yaou 30 years. Mencius says these were only 28; but the two additional years may be made out by supposing that they were years of mourning after the death of Yaou. Yaou had reigned at least 70 years, before he felt the necessity of some one to relieve him of the toils of government.[1] Both Kwang and the Bamboo Books adopt Yaou's 70th year, as the date of Shun's association with him, and so assign to him in all 100 years. Pan Koo gives 70 years to him, and 50 to Shun, thus strangely

3 Egypt's Place in Universal History, vol. III., p. 402.

1 See the Canon of Yaou, p. 12.

allowing the 28 or 30 years of their associate rule to drop altogether out of his chronology.[2] Kwang's standard tables place Yaou's first year in B.C. 2,357, (or 2,356); the Bamboo Books place it in 2,145. There is thus a difference of rather more than 200 years between them. As we found them both wrong in regard to the reign of Chung-k'ang, we must hence conclude that they are wrong also in regard to the period which we are now examining.

It has been generally supposed that Yaou's directions to the astronomers He and Ho, in the first Book of the Shoo, furnished data sufficiently certain to enable us to determine his era. The Shoo does not tell us indeed, in what year of his reign Yaou delivered those instructions, but the chronologers have all assumed that it was in his first year. The remarks of Mr. Chalmers on the point, in the appendix to this chapter, show that the value of Yaou's observations for chronological determinations has been overrated. The emperor tells his officers, that, among other indications which would enable them to fix the exact period of the cardinal points of the year, the vernal equinox might be ascertained by observing the star *neaou;* the summer solstice by observing the star *ho;* the autumnal equinox by observing the star *heu;* and the winter solstice by observing the star *maou.* It was assumed by the scholars of the Han dynasty that by *neaou* was to be understood the constellation or equatorial space then called *sing*,[3] beginning at α Hydra, and including a space of 2^0; and that by *ho* was to be understood *fang*,[4] corresponding to π Scorpio, and including 4^0. It was assumed also, that, as the result of the observation (of the manner of which the Shoo says nothing), *sing* would be found to pass the meridian at six o'clock in the evening, at the vernal equinox; and that the other stars mentioned would pass it at the same hour at the seasons to which they were referred.

I do not think there is any reason to call these assumptions in question. The scholars of Han, ignorant of the fact of the procession of the equinoxes, could not have arbitrarily fixed the particular stars to suit their chronological views;—their determination of them must have been in accordance with the voice of accredited tradition. Supposing that the stars were all what it is now believed they were, to what conclusions are we led by them as to the era of Yaou?

Bunsen tells us that Ideler, computing the places of the constellations backwards, fixed the accession of Yaou at B.C. 2,163,[5] which is

2 See the 前漢書, 律歷下, p. 15. 3 星. 4 房. 5 Place of Egypt, &c., III., p. 100.

only 18 years before the date in the Bamboo Books. On the other hand, J. B. Biot finds in the statements of the Shoo a sufficient confirmation of the date in the received chronology, B.C. 2,357.[6] Freret was of opinion that the observations left an uncertainty to the extent of 3 degrees, leaving a margin of 210 years.[7] It seems to myself that it is better not to insist on pressing what Yaou says about the stars of the equinoxes and solstices into the service of chronology at all. Gaubil, Biot, and the other writers on the subject, all quote Yaou's observations so far as they had astronomical reference; but they take no notice of other and merely popular indications, which he delivered to his officers to help them to ascertain the seasons. They would know the spring, he tells them, by the pairing of birds and beasts, and by the people's beginning to disperse into the country on their agricultural labours. Analogous indications are mentioned for summer and autumn; till in the winter time the people would be found in their cosy corners, and birds and beasts with their coats downy and thick. Taken as a whole, Yaou's instructions to He and Ho are those of a chief speaking popularly, and not after the manner of a philosopher or astronomer. We must not look for exactness in his remarks about the cardinal stars. The mention of them in the earliest portion of the Shoo proves that its compiler, himself, as I showed in the last chapter, of a later date, had traditions or written monuments of a high antiquity at his command; but Yaou was as likely to be speaking of what he had received from his predecessors as of what he had observed for himself; and those predecessors may not have lived in China, but in another region from which the Chinese came. If it were possible to fix the exact century, in which it was first observed that the stars of the equinoxes and solstices were *neaou* and *heu*, *ho* and *maou*, that century may have been anterior to Yaou, and not the one in which he lived.

7. From the review which I have thus taken of the different periods of Chinese history, documents purporting to belong to which are preserved in the Shoo, it will be seen that the year B.C. 775 is the earliest date which can be said to be determined with certainty. The exact year in which the Chow dynasty commenced is not known; and as we ascend the stream of time, the two schemes current among the Chinese themselves diverge more widely from each other, while to neither of them can we accord our credence. The accession of Yu, the first *sovereign* of the nation, was probably at some time in

6 Etudes sur l'Astronomie Indienne et Chinoise, pp 361-366. 7 Bunsen, as above; p. 401

the nineteenth century before Christ; and previous to him there were the chiefs Shun and Yaou. Twenty centuries before our era the Chinese nation appears, beginning to be. To attempt to carry its early history to a higher antiquity is without any historical justification. There may have been such men as Chinese writers talk of under the appellations of Chuen-heuh, Hwang-te, Shin-nung, Fuh-he, &c.; but they cannot have been rulers of China. They are children of the mist of tradition, if we should not rather place them in the land of phantasy.

For myself, I had adopted the chronology of the Septuagint as nearer the truth than that of our present Hebrew Bibles, more than five-and-twenty years ago, before it was definitely in my plan of life to come to China as a missionary; but the history of China need not seriously embarrass any one who follows the shortest chronology of Scripture. Writers like Bunsen, who follow the will-o'-the-wisps of their own imagination, may launch their shafts against the intolerance of churches, and narrow-mindedness of missionaries. On Chinese ground we can afford to laugh at *their* intolerance. Each bolt they discharge is mere *brutum fulmen*; each shaft, *imbelle telum*.

APPENDIX

ON THE

ASTRONOMY OF THE ANCIENT CHINESE.

By the Rev. John Chalmers, A.M.

The Earth, the Sun, the Heavens.

1. The Chinese believed the earth to be a plane surface;—"straight, square, and large,"[1] measuring each way about 5,600 *le* (=1,500 miles), and bounded on the four sides by "the four seas."[2] The North sea and the West sea were of course purely imaginary. The earth was motionless, while the sun and the moon and the starry heavens were continually revolving with great rapidity. This is the fixed belief of the Chinese even at the present day. The sun was estimated to be about 15,000 *le* (=4000 miles) from the earth, and it was supposed that the city of Loh was in "the centre of heaven and earth,"—the middle of the Middle Kingdom.[3] In other places the shadow of a perpendicular gnomon was not due north and south at noonday, or else it was too short

1 直, 方, 大, see the Yih-king, 坤卦. 2 Shoo, Pt. II Bk. I. 13.; Pt. III. Bk. I. Pt. ii. 14—23. 3 Shoo, Pt. V. Bk. XII. 14.

or too long; but here it was not found to deviate in either direction, and its length on midsummer-day was to the length of the gnomon as 15 to 80. The distance assigned to the sun is in fact the earth's radius, and was a natural inference from the plane figure of the earth, taken in connection with the different elevation of the sun in different latitudes. From the same premisses it was also inferred that the shadow would be all awry at noon in places far east or far west of Loh;—those on the east being too near the morning sun, and those on the west too near the evening sun. The following legend [4] may be quoted as illustrative of the supposed nearness of the sun to the earth. "There is a country in the far west, in the place of the setting sun, where every evening the sun goes down with a noise like thunder, and the king of the country leads out a thousand men on the city wall to blow horns and beat gongs and drums, as the only means of keeping little children from being frightened to death by the unearthly roaring of the monster." The writers of the early Han dynasty hesitate not to affirm that the experiment to prove the deviation of the shadow at noon was made with all the necessary apparatus,—clepsydras, gnomons, &c., and found successful. But the clepsydra is not mentioned in any authentic writing of earlier date than the Han; and we may safely conclude that this, as well as some other instruments mentioned by interpreters of the classics, and in the Chow-le, was unknown to the ancient Chinese. The clepsydra is described by Aristotle (B.C. 384—322).

The Chinese have made attempts at various times to calculate the distance of the sidereal heavens. In the History of Tsin [5] the result of a calculation is given with amusing minuteness. It is said:—"By the method of right-angled triangles the distance between heaven and earth was found to be 81,394 *le*, 30 paces, 5 feet, 3 inches, and 6 tenths!" Another calculator [6] gives 216,781½ *le*. The diameter of the sun is given by one writer as 1000 *le*; [7] and he is said to be 7000 *le* below the heavens (the firmament).

The Seasons.

2. "The first calendars of the Greeks were founded on rude observations of the rising and setting of certain stars, as Orion, the Pleiades, Arcturus &c." [1] The same may be said of the calendars of the Chinese. Even after Meton and Callippus the Chinese calendar must have been founded on very "rude" observations indeed. During the two centuries and a half embraced by Confucius' History of the later Chow dynasty, the commencement of the year fell back a whole month. This is demonstrable from the dates of the 36 eclipses, of which a list will be found subjoined, and from a variety of references to months, and days of the cycle of 60, which occur throughout the History. It is probable that an error of another month was committed before the fall of the dynasty in the 3d century B.C. The rapid derangement of the months, and consequently of the seasons during this period, however, most probably arose from the adoption of some erroneous system of intercalation, invented to supersede the troublesome observations of the stars from month to month. And the consequence was, that the knowledge of the stars came to be cultivated only for purposes of astrology,—a science in which accuracy is no object. Hence even at the present day, the signs of the zodiac, or the 28 mansions of the moon, are most frequently represented not as they appear now, but as they appeared to Yaou and Shun. [2] The earliest account, which has any claim to authenticity, of the stars employed to mark the cardinal signs of the zodiac, is in the Canon of Yaou. According to

4 異域志. 5 晉志. 6 張揖. 7 徐整長歷.

1 See Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, Article *Calendar*. 2 Shoo, Pt. I. Bk. I.

the interpretation of that document, the equinoxes were in Taurus (Pleiades) and Scorpio, and the solstices in Leo and Aquarius in the time of Yaou. No doubt there was a tradition to this effect at the time when the Shoo-king was compiled, for the author knowing nothing of the precession of the equinoxes, could not have adjusted them to the time of which he was writing. His "examination of antiquity"[3] was so far accurate, although the details of his narrative may and even must be mythical. Even Yaou himself may be so. In accordance with Chinese ideas of a sage, Yaou in a few pompous sentences makes it appear that he is perfectly acquainted beforehand with the results of the observations which he orders his astronomers to make:—"You will find the star is in *neaou*," &c. But did they find the stars as Yaou said they would find them? We are supposed to believe that they did, of course; but since we are not told, we claim the liberty to doubt. Suppose, for the sake of argument, that Yaou, before the observations were made, was dependent on tradition for his knowledge, and that his astronomers were capable of making accurate observations, they would in that case have had to report some failure in the verification of his statements. But apart from this, we are prepared to affirm that three of the men sent to the four borders of China could not have seen the stars, which occupied for the time being the equinoctial and solstitial points, culminating on the evenings named. *E.G.*, the first point of Libra could not be seen culminating at nightfall, when the sun is in the first point of Cancer, for it must culminate at 6h. P.M., whereas the sun would not set in any part of China in midsummer much before 7h. P.M., and the stars would not be visible for half an hour after sunset. This last fact would stand equally in the way, at the equinoxes, of the observers' seeing their stars culminating, unless, indeed, the time of observation was several centuries later than the date usually assigned to Yaou (B.C. 2356—2255), so that the stars to be observed had ceased to be exactly in the solstitial colure. The astronomer who went to the *north in winter* is the only one who would have no difficulty of this kind. He might see his star long before it culminated. But unless he had a good clock, he could not tell that it culminated at 6h. P.M. In the course of the long winter evening he would lose his reckoning sadly. The clepsydra also, supposing that he had one, might be ice-bound. The observation could have been made more conveniently in every way at the central station than at the northern border.

The value of the astronomical part of the Canon of Yaou, as a confirmation of the received chronology, has been much overrated. According to the obvious interpretation of the text, Yaou had *reason* to expect the stars he mentioned to be in the equinoctial and solstitial colures. But what his reason was we are left to conjecture. It might be personal observation; or it might be tradition from his great-grandfather, or from Noah himself.

Scorpio, the *Ho* of Yaou, was considered, even to the end of the Chow dynasty, an important guide to the knowledge of the seasons, as is evident from the frequent references to it in the writings of that time.[4] An ode in the Book of Poetry, attributed to Chow-kung, begins with the words,[5] "In the seventh month *Ho* passes on,"—that is to say, passes to the westward of the meridian at nightfall. From which it would follow that in the sixth month it was in the meridian at the same hour. This would have been the case if the seventh month had coincided with ours, or with the end of July and part of August, but not if the year had commenced with our December, as

3 First sentence of Canon of Yaou. 4 左傳 國語 &c 5 詩 豳風

the Chinese say the year of the Chow dynasty always did. Here therefore is an argument against the prevailing opinion, which there are other strong reasons for setting aside, that king Woo, when he became emperor, ordered that the year should begin before the winter solstice, while the first month was still absurdly styled the first of spring. The fact is, the months of the year fell into this great disorder afterwards, through neglect, and not on account of an imperial decree. It is probable, however, that even in Chow-kung's time the first month of the year was the last of the winter season, the error of one month passing down from the previous dynasty. As early as B.C. 775, we find the year beginning with our December; and 50 years after, it begins with January again.

The former date, B.C. 775, is very important, as being the earliest which astronomical calculation really confirms. The tenth month of that year commenced on 29th of August (new style)—the 28th day of the cycle of 60—with an eclipse of the sun, which is mentioned in the Book of Poetry.[6] The first month of next year, unless an intercalary month intervened, would begin about the end of November.

The passage in the Tso Chuen,[7] in which Confucius is made to say that in the 12th month of the year, Scorpio was still visible in the west, is not intelligible, for the sun must have passed through Scorpio in October, and the 12th month was certainly not our September.

A very ancient and characteristic method of determining the seasons and months of the year, to which the Chinese are fond of alluding, was by the revolution of Ursa Major. One of its names, of which it has several, is "the Northern Bushel." Under this name it is often confounded with the North Pole, and also with one of the 28 mansions in Sagittarius, which has the same name. Its tail is called the "handle." There is a clear statement of this method of determining the seasons in the writings of Hoh-kwantsze: [8]—"When the tail of the Bear points to the *east* (at nightfall), it is *spring* to all the world. When the tail of the Bear points to the *south*, it is *summer* to all the world. When the tail of the Bear points to the *west*, it is *autumn* to all the world. When the tail of the Bear points to the *north*, it is *winter* to all the world." It is well to keep in mind that the body of the Great Bear was in ancient times considerably nearer to the north pole than it is now, and the tail appeared to move round the pole somewhat like the hand of a clock or watch. The Historical Records say, that the seven stars of the Northern Bushel are spoken of (in the Shoo, Pt. II. Bk. I. p. 5) when it is said, "The pivot and the gem-transverse adjust the seven directors." According to later interpreters, the sun, moon, and five planets are the seven directors, and the pivot, &c., refer to an astronomical instrument. But the ancients knew nothing of the five planets. No reference to them as *five* can be found in the classics. On the contrary, they seem to have supposed, as the Greeks did before Pythagoras, that Lucifer and Hesperus were two stars. Hence in the Book of Poetry we find lines to this effect:—

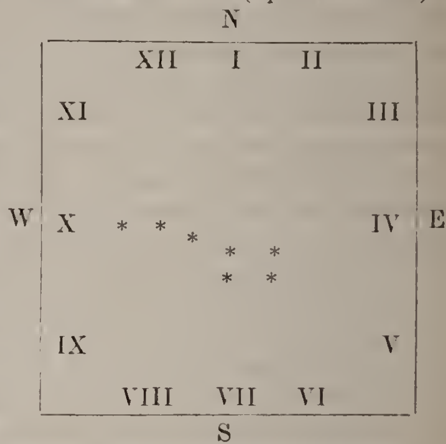
"In the east there is Lucifer
In the west there is Hesper."[9]

And the references to the five planets in the Chow Ritual, and in the three annotated editions of the Chun Ts'ew, are evidence of their later origin. The same may be said of the use of the planet Jupiter for astrological purposes, which belongs to the time of the Contending States, or to the early Han. At that time the period of

6 詩小雅. 7 左傳,哀公十二年 8 鶡冠子, Sec. V. 9 詩,小雅.

Jupiter was supposed to be exactly 12 years, so that he gave a year to each sign of the Zodiac, therefore he is always called the *year star*. Considering this exact law of motion in the planet, one Chinese author remarks:—"It must be a spiritual thing without doubt."

The annexed figure will illustrate the use of Ursa Major as a kind of natural clock, whose hand makes one revolution in a year. The earth's surface (square of course) is converted into a dial, and the horizon is divided into 12 parts, making due north the centre of the first division. In theory the time of observation is 6h. P.M. precisely. But it was necessary to wait till the stars were visible. If the tail then pointed due east, it indicated the vernal equinox; but if it pointed due west, as represented in the figure, it was the autumnal equinox.

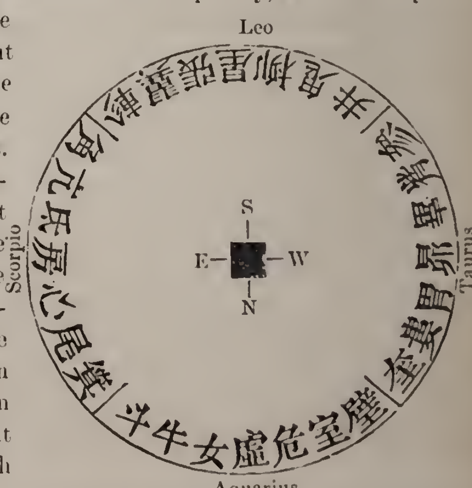


In this instance, the hand of the clock points a little in advance of the sun in the ecliptic, and to the bright stars in Scorpio, for the tail of the Bear always points to Scorpio. So then we have still Scorpio as the sign of mid-autumn.

This symmetrical position of the Great Bear, or "Northern Bushel," with reference to the seasons, is essential to the Chinese creed; and hence to this day, maugre the precession of the equinoxes, it retains its position in the estimation of almost all Chinese, learned and ignorant. The seasons still arrange themselves round the dial in exactly the same way, Winter going to the north, Spring to the east, Summer to the South, and Autumn to the west.

The Zodiac.

3. The most common and the earliest division of the ecliptic is that of the 28 mansions. These are of very unequal extent, and consequently very inconvenient for any purpose but that of astrology. The apportioning of 7 of these mansions to each of the cardinal points is also nothing more than an astrological device; but the Chinese student comes in contact with it so frequently, that some explanation of its origin seems very desirable. We must remember that the hour of midnight at the winter solstice is with the Chinese a grand epoch; a sort of repetition of the T'ae-keih or commencement of all things. Let the circle in the annexed figure represent the position of the ecliptic at midnight in mid-winter, in relation to the Chinese earth, represented by a square space in the centre. At the season and hour in question, in the time of Yaou, Leo would be in the meridian, and south of the zenith in the middle of China; Taurus would be in the west, and Scorpio in the east; and it is correctly inferred that Aquarius, though invisible, would be north of the nadir.



Accordingly, the seven winter mansions of which Aquarius is the centre are assigned to the north, and the seven summer mansions of which Leo is the centre are assigned to the south. Thus far the arrangement agrees with that already described according to the motion of the Great Bear. But the vernal mansions go to the west, and the autumnal ones to the east, reversing the previous direction of these two seasons, and in opposition to the prevailing notion of the Chinese that spring belongs to the east, &c. This discrepancy does not seem however to trouble their minds at all, and we may safely leave it unexplained.

The angular value of the 28 mansions varies from 1° to 30°, and modern books differ materially from the older ones as to the dimensions of each. Even the four great divisions differ more than 30° one from another. The following are their respective lengths as given in the introduction to Yung-ching's Shoo-king. The circle was divided into 365¼ degrees :—

The 7	Northern	Constellations	embrace	98¼ deg.
,,	Western	,,	,,	80 ,,
,,	Southern	,,	,,	112 ,,
,,	Eastern	,,	,,	75 ,,
			Total	365¼ deg.

This division of the ecliptic is, with some slight variations, common to the Arabians, the Hindoos, and the Chinese ;—a fact which seems to point to the common origin of these races, or to their inter-communication at a period of which history gives us as yet no information.

Besides this inconvenient system of unequal constellations or mansions, the Chinese have, in common with western nations and the Hindoos, the division of the Zodiac into twelve equal parts or signs. This improvement was probably also introduced in the end of the Chow, or the beginning of the Han dynasty. The Sinologue will see a reference to two of these signs in the Tso Chuen,[1] where they are mentioned for an astrological purpose, in connexion with the planet Jupiter. The following is a list of the Chinese signs, with the constellations to which they correspond. The commencement with Aries is optional, as the Chinese usually write them round a circle.

1 大梁 Aries-Taurus.
2 實沈 Taurus-Gemini.
3 鶉首 Gemini-Cancer.
4 鶉火 Cancer-Leo.
5 鶉尾 Leo-Virgo.
6 壽星 Virgo-Libra.
7 大火 Libra-Scorpio.
8 析木 Scorpio-Sagittarius.
9 星紀 Sagittarius-Capricorn.
10 玄枵 Capricorn-Aquarius.
11 娵訾 Aquarius-Pisces.
12 降婁 Pisces-Aries.

The commencement of the first month of spring between the 20th of January and the 19th of February is said to fall always within the 11th of these signs. This ought therefore to coincide with our Aquarius; and the fact that it includes part of Pisces might be taken as indicative of an earlier date than that of our Zodiacal nomenclature; but it seems rather to be an accommodation to the ancient traditions. We do not find that the ancient Chinese made much practical use of the 12 signs; and even to the present day the 28 mansions of the moon have retained their place in preference to the more scientific division.

[1] 左傳襄公二十八年.

4. Slowly and reluctantly did the Chinese astronomer awake to the recognition of the fact that the position of the equinoxes in the ecliptic was shifting from age to age.

Precession of the Equinoxes.

With the traditions of 2000 years embodied in the classical literature of his country, and engraven on the tablets of his memory, and with the alteration of a whole sign in the position of the equinoctial points staring him in the face, his mind remained sealed against the entrance of the new idea; and went on in its old ruts by sheer *vis-inertiæ*. Hipparchus (B.C. 160—125) discovered the precession of the equinoxes by comparing his own observations with those of Aristyllus and Timocharis, or others who preceded him by not more than two or three centuries; whereas the first man in China who took notice of the precession lived in the 4th century of the Christion era (Comm. on Canon of Yaou, p. 21). He was separated from Yaou by a period of 2600 years!

5. The invention of the cycle of 60 is ascribed to Hwang-te (B.C. 2,636), and in particular its application to years is affirmed to have commenced in his reign; but this is a mere fiction.

The Cycle of 60; and its Applications.

It was not applied to years even in the time of Confucius. The Cycle consists of two sets of characters; one set of 10, and one set of 12,—which are combined in couples, odd to odd and even to even, making in all sixty combinations.

The "twelve terrestrial branches," as they are called, were first invented, in all probability, to distinguish the twelve spaces into which the horizon is divided, as described above. Their names and order are as-follows:—

Months.

1 子 tsze, 2 丑 ch'ow, 3 寅 yin, 4 卯 maou, 5 辰 shin, 6 巳 sze,
7 午 woo, 8 未 we, 9 申 shin, 10 酉 yew, 11 戌 seuh, 12 亥 hae.

The common mode of expression, 建子, 建丑 &c., "to set up *tsze*," "to set up *ch'ow*," &c., refers to the tail of the Great Bear pointing to *tsze*, *ch'ow*, and the other ten divisions of the dial. *Tsze*, the first character always indicates due north, and the middle of winter.

It was an easy step, from the original application of the 'twelve branches' to the months, to a duodecimal division of the day; but according to native authorities this was not adopted till the time of Han. It does seem strange that the Chinese should have existed so long without any artificial division of the day; and yet in recording eclipses, where the time of the day is a most important item, it is never mentioned.

Hours.

The application of the cycle to days is undoubtedly a very ancient practice. But it would seem from a passage in the Shoo, Pt. II. Bk. IV., par. 8, that the days were originally arranged in tens *only*, by means of the 10 "celestial stems." These are:—

Days.

1 甲 keă, 2 乙 yih, 3 丙 ping, 4 丁 ting, 5 戊 mow,
6 己 ke, 7 庚 kăng, 8 辛 sin, 9 壬 jin, 10 癸 kwei.

Yu is made to say, "I remained with my wife only the days *sin*, *jin*, *kwei*, *keă*." These are the last three and the first of the above set of characters, and the natural inference from their use here is that they were invented to divide the month into three equal parts (three decades); and that in course of time they were combined with the twelve branches to make the famous Chinese cycle of *sixty*. The first mention of the

1 一日十二時始於漢. See Morrison's View of China, Chron. Tables.

cyclical name of a day is found in the Shoo, Pt. IV. Bk. IV. p. 1. It is said to have been in the 12th month of the first year of the emperor T'ae-këă. The current chronology makes this year to be B.C. 1,752. But the chronology is utterly valueless; and we have no sufficient data by which to verify the day. Moreover, this is the only instance of the use of the cycle which occurs before B.C. 1,121 of the same chronology. In the Books of Chow it is frequently employed.

Years.

The state of confusion in which Chinese chronology is found to be, down to the time of the Eastern Chow, and the fact that not a single instance of the appliention of the cycle to years can be found till after the classical period, are sufficient to satisfy us that this invaluable method of dating years was never used in ancient times. The first attempt to arrange the years in cycles of sixty is found in Sze-ma Ts'een's Historical Records, in a *table* constructed for the purpose of intercalation, and extending over a period of 76 years, the first year being B.C. 103. But instead of using the Chinese cyclical characters, he employs words of two and three syllables, which, considered from a Chinese point of view, must be pronounced barbarous. We give the names applied to the first thirteen years. Perhaps some one acquainted with the ancient language of the Hindoos may hereafter be able to identify them. The second word in each name has some connexion with the motion of the planet Jupiter; and Sze-ma says that *Shehť'e*, part of the first name, means Jupiter. His commentator adds that Jupiter belongs to the east, and is the essence of wood, the spirit of the Green god, *Ling-wei-jang*. This last word is one of six meaningless trisyllables, applied to the the god of the north pole and to the five elemental gods, during the Han dynasty, for which also we must seek a foreign origin. They are given below :—

Names of Years in Sze-ma Ts'een's History, probably of foreign origin.

B.C.	103	焉逢	攝提格	yenfung	shĕt'ekih.
	102	端蒙	單閼	twanmnug	tangoh.
	101	游兆	執徐	yewehaou	ehihseu.
	100	彊梧	大芒落	keangwoo	tamanglŏh.
	99	徒維	敦牂	t'oowei	tuntsang.
	98	祝犂	協洽	ehuhle	hĕĕheă.
	97	商橫	赤奮若	shanghung	eh'ihfunjŏ.
	96	昭陽	作噩	ch'aouyang	tsŏhgŏh.
	95	橫艾	閹茂	hunggae	yenmow.
	94	尙章	大淵獻	shangehang	tayuenheen.
	93	焉逢	困敦	yenfung	kw'antun.
	92	端蒙	汭漢	twanmung	juyhan.
	91	游兆	攝提格	yewchaou	shĕt'ekih.

Names of gods, probably of foreign origin.

The god of the north pole	北帝	*Yaou pih paou*	耀魄寶.
The Green god (wood)	青帝	*Ling wei jang*	靈威仰.
The Red god (fire)	赤帝	*Ch'ih p'eaou noo*	赤熛怒.
The Yellow god (earth)	黃帝	*Shay ch'oo new*	含樞紐.

The White god (metal)	白帝	*Pih chaou keu*	白招矩.
The Black god (water)	黑帝	*Heih kwang ke*	叶光紀.

Various attempts have been made to analyse the second word *Sheht'ekih*, (in Cantonese *Shipt'ai kak*. Is *Shipt'ai* intended to represent the Hindoo name of Jupiter,—Vrishaspati; and *kak* the Hindoo chacra, or cycle?) applied to the first year of Sze-ma Ts'een's Table; and to determine which of the 12 branches' it ought to be identified with. Sze-ma himself, besides saying that *sheht'e* is Jupiter, explains the term to mean the place of that planet in the ecliptic; and again, with strange inconsistency, he says elsewhere it is the star or constellation to which the tail of Ursa Major points. In a work called the 'Classic of Stars,'[1] *sheht'e* is said to denote a "spiritual instrument of western nations." Now this confusion of words without knowledge is easily accounted for on the supposition that the cycle of 60 years was introduced from the Hindoos, to whom the Chinese were indebted in the time of Sze-ma Ts'een for other things even more important. In justice to Sze-ma, however, or rather to the compilers of the Work that goes by his name, for it is the work of more than one hand, it ought to be stated that they saw that the motion of Jupiter was in the opposite direction to that in which the "12 branches" are reckoned, and would give them in the reverse order. They therefore had recourse again to the Great Bear; and explained that the character belonging to that month of any year when Jupiter rose before the sun in the east was the cyclical character for that year. They then tell us that, in the year B.C. 103, Jupiter rose in the morning during the first month, which is (寅) *yin*, the third of the 12 branches. This ought therefore to be the cyclical character for 103. But future chronologists made it (丑) *ch'ow*, the second. Probably they did this because the History says that Jupiter was in *ch'ow*. But if this was their reason, they overlooked the fact that on the following year the planet is said to be in (子) *tsze*, and again after another year has elapsed, he is in (亥) *hae*, going backwards over the characters. They evidently lighted upon the wrong expression. The original[2] runs thus:—"In the *sheht'ekih* year, the (陰) *yin* of the year, moving to the left, is in (寅) *yin*, and the star of the year (Jupiter) moving, in the opposite direction, to the right, is in *ch'ow*." The word (陰) *yin* here is too vague to be translated. It means any thing which is the reverse of the star, or the counter part of the star. Chinese scholars are fond of using this form of expression:—"The year is in *keah-tsze*;"[3] but probably very few ever reflect on the meaning of the phrase, or know that it has its origin in the above passage from the Historical Records, much less could they say for certain whether it is the *yin* of the year, or the *star* of the year, that they intend to say is "in *keah-tsze*."

The characters before in use for the cycle of 60 days were soon substituted for the longer names: but not without some diversity of opinion as to where the cycle should commence. In the chronological Tables given in the Historical Records the cyclical characters have been supplied by a later hand, from B.C. 840 downwards; but in every case the authority of the scholars of Tsin (A.D. 265-419) is quoted. Seu Kwang[4] seems to be most closely followed; but he was preceded in the same department of labour by Hwangfoo Meih,[5] and perhaps also by the inventor of the so-called Bamboo Books.[6] So then the cycle of 60 years cannot have commenced earlier than the Han,

1 星經. 2 史記,天官書. 3 歲在甲子. 4 徐廣.
5 皇甫謐. 6 竹書紀年.

and owes its present form to the scholars of Tsin; although the Chinese for the most part still glory in the delusion that it was invented by Hwangte, (60 × 75=) 4500 years ago.

6. The Chinese month has always been lunar; and as twelve lunations come short of a solar year by nearly 11 days, it is necessary from time to time to insert an extra month to preserve a general correspondence with the solar year. The statement of Yaou (Shoo, Pt. I. par. 8), that the year consists of 366 days, was made with a view to facilitate the process of intercalation which he ordered his astronomers to conduct. But to reckon the solar year at 366 days would occasion an error of a whole month in 40 years; so that in the course of his long reign of 100 years Yaou might have seen great cause to shorten the solar period. It would seem, however, that neither he nor his successors made any attempt to obtain more accurate numbers, and that in fact their intercalation was regulated by the natural recurrence of the seasons, and rude observations from year to year. During the Chow dynasty, intercalary months were placed at irregular intervals, but most frequently at the end of the year.

Intercalation.

The Chinese seem even then to have had no idea of the proper interval between two intercalations, which is now known to be 32 or 33 months on an average. The amount of error which they actually committed in the commencement of the year has been already referred to; and we now give a few examples gathered from the "Ch'un Ts'ew" of Confucius. According to the theory of later writers, the year ought always to have commenced between November 22 and December 22; but on the contrary we find that the year

B.C. 719	commenced		on January 16;
,, 703	,,		,, January 20;
,, 688	,,		,, January 4;
,, 685	,,		,, January 1;
,, 658	,,		,, January 3;
,, 626	,,		,, January 8;
,, 605	,,	on November 18;	
,, 583	,,	,, November 16;	
,, 556	,,	,, November 17;	
,, 540	,,	,, November 19;	
,, 529	,,	,, November 18;	
,, 526	,,	,, November 15.	

For an instance of the intercalary month placed at the end of the year on three successive occasions, the reader is referred to Sze-ma Ts'een's Chronological Tables,—Ts'in dynasty, years 207, 204, & 201, B.C. Each of these would be separated from the other by 36 lunations instead of 32; and a proportionate amount of error would be caused in the situation of the months.

In the second century before the Christian era, the Chinese made extraordinary efforts to open communication with the West. They explored due west as far as the borders of Persia. Beyond theno madic tribes of Huns and Scythians, their immediate neighbours, the Chinese travellers found nations comparatively civilised, dwelling in cities and towns. Their horses were far superior to any known in China, and were eagerly coveted by the emperor. They had wine made from grapes, which the rich preserved for many years. Among other objects of interest unknown in Eastern Asia are mentioned single humped camels (C. Arabicus) and ostrich-eggs. At the same time they became acquainted

Reform of the calendar.

with the northern parts of India,—Shindo (Scinde?), Dahea, &c.[1] Sze-ma Ts'een, who gives a full history of these discoveries, does not indeed tell us that they became acquainted with the cycle of Callippus, either through the Bactrians or the Hindoos; but there is scarcely a shadow of doubt that this was the case. In no other way can we account for the sudden appearance, in Ts'een's History, of a method so far in advance of anything known before in China, and one which had been already employed in the West for more than two centuries. The cycle of Callippus is simply this:— 4 × 19=76 years=27759 days=940 lunations. It must have been well known to Alexander, the pupil of Aristotle, and the conqueror of Sogdiana, Bactria, and the Punjab, B.C. 328—325. The reformation of the Chinese calendar by Sze-ma Ts'een and others, with the help of these numbers, dates from the winter solstice of the year 104 B.C. In order to make this epoch appear as perfect as possible, they overlooked minor differences, though amounting to a whole day in the case of the solstice, and declared that new moon, and winter, and midnight, all coincided, at the commencement of the first of the cycle. From this remarkable epoch all dates before and after were to be calculated by the new method. In constructing a calendar for short periods, or even for a century or two, the method was invaluable; but with unlimited faith in its perfection, the Chinese scholars of that day proceeded to solve by means of it all difficult problems of ancient chronology; and here of course it led them astray. We can easily see the amount of error which they committed in reckoning back 16 centuries to the first year of T'ae-keă, or ten centuries to the 13th year of Woo-wang. In round numbers, the error of the Metonic cycle, as modified by Callippus, amounts to one day in the time of new moon for every 300 years, and three days in the time of winter solstice for every 400 years. So then the scholars of Han, in calculating the day of new moon at the commencement of the Chow dynasty, made an error of three days. As Confucius has nowhere told us, and possibly could not tell, how many years the Chow dynasty had lasted up to his own time, the problem the chronologers had to solve was to find a year near the supposed date of Woo-wang, which should commence with the day *sin-maou*. Such a year being found would, according to the Shoo-king, Pt. V. Bk. III. par 1, be the 13th of king Woo. Calculated according to the Metonic cycle from the epoch of Han, the year in question is B.C. 1121. But if we attempt to verify this date by modern methods, we find that the supposed first new moon of 1121 would fall three days later than *sin-maou*, and moreover that the whole lunation would be before the winter solstice, and belong according to the Chinese theory to the preceding year. So then, if we are not prepared to reject all the dates in the Shoo-king as spurious, we have no alternative but to condemn the received chronology. But the chronology of the whole period embraced by the Shoo rests on nothing better than mere conjecture, and imperfect astronomical calculations, made after the reformation of the calendar in the 2nd century B.C. We can have no hesitation therefore in rejecting it.

It may be well to state here one or two additional arguments in favour of the view that the Chinese borrowed their astronomy from the West before the Christian era. It is stated by Sir J. F. Davis, in his work on *The Chinese*, Vol. II. p. 290, that the Hindoo cycle of sixty years "is a cycle of Jupiter, while that of the Chinese is a solar cycle." The learned author does not explain what he understands by "a solar cycle" of 60 years, nor does he give any authority for the statement. We have found, on the

[1] 身毒.大夏.

contrary, that the Chinese cycle, like the Hindoo one, is connected with the period of Jupiter. In the same page of the above work it is said, "Besides the lunar zodiac of twenty-eight mansions, the Hindoos *(unlike the Chinese)* have the solar, including twelve signs." But we have seen that the Chinese have also the twelve signs.

Another proof that the Chinese borrowed from the Hindoos is the use they made of conjunctions of the five planets. The rise of the Han dynasty, it is asserted, was marked by one of those conjunctions. And as the Hindoo era, *cali-yug*, commenced (B.C. 3102) with a conjunction of all the planets, so the Historian of Han places a conjunction of all the planets in the reign of Chuen-heuh (B.C. 2513—2436, mod. chr.), just at the time when that emperor is said to have corrected the calendar, and fixed the commencement of the year in February. The late Baron Bunsen, in his Work on Egypt (Bk. IV. Pt. IV.), has attempted to verify this conjunction of the planets; but this, as well as the credence he gives to the tablet of Yu, only shows his ignorance of the subject; and that he ought to have manifested more of a fellow feeling with the 'ignorant' and 'superstitious' and 'intolerant' missionaries, who mistook the inundation of Yaou for the flood of Noah. These ancient conjunctions of the planets are utterly unworthy of credit. There was a rough approximation to such a conjunction at the commencement of the Han dynasty, in May, 204 B.C. But the only real conjunction of the five on record is that of Sep. 15, 1186 A.D., in the Sung dynasty. The Chinese in this matter seem to have been servile imitators of the Hindoos; and the Hindoos in their turn borrowed from the Greeks. When the expression "ts'eih ching" (七政), "the seven directors," is taken in the sense of sun, moon, and five planets, and applied to days, the idea is obviously and confessedly western.

The Eclipse in the reign of Chung-k'ang.

7. Referring to the Shoo, Pt. III. Bk. IV. parag. 4, we find this sentence:—'On the first day of the last month of autumn the sun and moon did not meet harmoniously in Fang." Upon which there was beating of drums, and a general commotion such as the Chinese usually make on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. It is evident, from the quotation of the passage in the *Tso-chuen*, that an eclipse of the sun is meant, and also that the record existed in some form or other in the time of *Tso K'ew-ming*. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the genuineness of this part of the Shoo is open to great suspicion, and in particular, that the phrase 辰弗集于房, *lit.* "The heavenly bodies were not harmonious in the chamber," looks more like a modern form of speech, than a primitive way of denoting an eclipse of the sun. It occurs nowhere else; and although no other eclipse is mentioned in the Shoo, in the other classical writings eclipses of the sun are of common occurrence, and are uniformly denoted by 日有食之 "the sun was eaten." This seems more likely to be the older phrase. And again, with regard to the character 房 *fang*, it is evidently not taken in the Tso-ch'uen for the constellation that now goes by that name, but as equivalent to Shay (舍), any division or mansion of the Zodiac. This interpretation seems also to be favoured by several later writers. The ancient name of the constellation was *Ho* or *Ta-ho*, *i. e.* Scorpio, and it is only called *fang* in the Book of Rites.

But granting that an eclipse within that part of Scorpio which now goes by the name of *Fang* is intended, no such event could have been witnessed during the reign of Chung-k'ang, if we adopt the current chronology. The eclipse of the astronomers of T'ang, although it happens to agree with that of Gaubil, in being on the fifth year of Chung-k'ang, was reckoned according to some other chronology than that which

is current now, and was in fact the eclipse of 2127, which has recently come into favour, after Gaubil's has been set aside as invisible (*See Comm. in loc.*) The astronomers of T'ang distinctly state that it was in the year *kwei-tsze*, the 30th of the cycle of years; and on the day *kang-seŭh*, the 47th of the cycle of days. I have found them right even in the day; which implies a high degree of accuracy in their figures, considering that they were calculating an eclipse at the distance of nearly 3000 years. Is it possible that those Chinese astronomers were superior to Gaubil? or was their success in this instance accidental? It was perhaps too late in the day for the scholars of T'ang to fix the uncertain chronology by astronomical calculation, though those of Han practised this method freely with far inferior knowledge.

Those, however, who like the year 2127 as the date of the eclipse may adopt it now without fear of its being hereafter proved invisible. But it is well to keep in mind that eclipses satisfying the conditions are by no means rare. Eclipses of the sun, visible in the northern hemisphere in the sign Scorpio, might be looked for in any of the following years:—

B. C. 2154	2024	1894	1764
2135	2005	1875	1745
2127	1997	1867	1737
2108	1978	1848	1718

ECLIPSES RECORDED BY THE ANCIENT CHINESE.

RECORDED IN THE BOOK OF POETRY.						CALCULATION.				
Emperor's Name.	*Year of Reign.*	*Year of Cycle.*	*Moon.*	*Day of Cycle.*	No.	*Year* B.C.	*Month & day. New style.*	*Chinese Moon.*	*Day of Cycle.*	
幽王	6	2	X	28	I	775	August 29	X	28	Early in the morning, *scarcely visible.*
RECORDED IN THE CH'UN TS'EW.										
平王	51	58	II	6	I	719	February 14	III	6	Visible at sunrise.
桓王	11	9	VII	29 *total.*	II	708	July 8	VIII	29	Total about 3h. P.M.
莊王	2	23	X		III	694	October 3	XI	7	Visible—Afternoon.
惠王	1	42	III		IV	675	April 6	V	49	Sunset.
	8	49	VI	8	V	668	May 18	VI	8	Morning.
	9	50	XII	60	VI	667	November 3	XII	60	Morning.
	13	54	IX	7	VII	663	August 21	IX	7	Afternoon.
	22	3	IX	45	VIII	654	August 11	IX	45	Afternoon.
襄王	4	10	III	7	IX	647	March 29	V	7	Afternoon.
	7	13	V		X	644	January 28	III	21	*Not visible.*
	26	32	II	60	XI	625	January 26	III	60	Visible at Noon.
匡王	1	46	VI	38	XII	611	April 20	V	38	Sunrise.
定王	6	57	VII	1 *total.*	XIII	600	September 12	X	1	Total about 3h. 30m. P.M.
	8	59	IV	53	XIV	598	February 26	IV	53	Visible at Sunrise.
	15	6	VI	40	XV	591	October 5	XI	8	*Not visible.*
簡王	11	23	VI	3	XVI	574	May 1	VI	3	Visible at Noon.
	12	24	XII	54	XVII	573	October 17	XI	54	Morning.

ECLIPSES RECORDED BY THE ANCIENT CHINESE.—*Continued.*

靈王	13	39	II	32	XVIII	558	January	8	II	32	Noon.
	14	40	VIII	54	XIX	557	May	23	VI *	54	*Scarcely visible* at Sunrise
	19	45	X	53	XX	552	August	25	X	53	Noon.
	20	46	IX	47	XXI	551	August	13	IX	47	Noon.
	20	46	X	17	XXII	551	September		X		*No Eclipse.*
	22	48	II	10	XXIII	550	December	30	II	10	Visible at Sunrise.
	23	49	VII	1 *total.*	XXIV	548	June	12	VII	1	Total about 1h. 15m. P.M.
	23	49	VIII	30	XXV	548	July		VIII		*No Eclipse.*
	26	52	XII	12	XXVI	545	October	7	XI	12	Visible in the Morning.
景王	10	3	IV	41	XXVII	534	March	11	IV	41	Forenoon.
	18	11	VI	54	XXVIII	526	April	10	V	54	Forenoon.
	20	13	VI	11	XXIX	524	August	14	IX	10	Afternoon.
	24	17	VII	19	XXX	520	June	3	VII	19	Forenoon.
	25	18	XII	10	XXXI	519	November	18	XII	10	Afternoon.
敬王	2	20	V	32	XXXII	517	April	1	V	32	Sunrise.
	9	27	XII	48	XXXIII	510	November	7	XII	48	Forenoon.
	15	33	III	48	XXXIV	504	February	10	III	48	Noon.
	22	40	XI	3	XXXV	497	September	15	X	3	Forenoon.
	25	43	VIII	17	XXXVI	494	July	15	VIII	17	Forenoon.

* Intercalary

CHAPTER IV.

THE ANNALS OF THE BAMBOO BOOKS.

THE BAMBOO BOOKS IN GENERAL;—THEIR DISCOVERY AND SUBSEQUENT HISTORY.
THE ANNALS.
HOW FAR THE ANNALS ARE TO BE RELIED ON;—CONCLUSION FROM THEM AS TO THE GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE EARLY RECORDS OF THE SHOO.

1. Having made such frequent reference in the last chapter to the Bamboo Books, I have thought it would be well to devote a chapter specially to them, embodying the text, with a translation, of that portion of them which is most important, and from which the shorter scheme of Chinese chronology is derived. Some Sinologues, like Father De Mailla, have written about them without sufficient discrimination, and have not done them justice; while other students of chronology, like Freret and Bunsen, unable to examine them for themselves, have attached a greater value to them than can be fairly claimed. The student will be glad to have the ancient history of China, as indicated in them, in the same volume with the records of the Shoo; and it will be found that they give important corroboration to some of the views which I have advanced on the older portions of the classic.

What is meant by 'The Bamboo Books.'

'The Bamboo Books' is a comprehensive designation. It is not, indeed, so wide as De Mailla represents, when he says:—'It is the general name given to all ancient Books written on tablets of bamboo, before the manner of making paper was discovered.' Such books might be spoken and written of as 'Bamboo Books.' *The* Bamboo Books is the name appropriate to a large collection of ancient documents, discovered in A.D. 279, embracing nearly twenty different Works, which contained altogether between seventy and eighty chapters or Books.

1 See the first of the P. De Mailla's letters to Freret, prefixed to 'L'Histoire generale de la Chine.'

Manner of their Discovery.

The discovery of those Works is thus related in the history of the emperor Woo, the first of the sovereigns of Tsin, whose supremacy over the empire is acknowledged in chronology:—'In the 5th year of his reign under the title of Hëen-ning[2] [= A.D. 279, the year before the chronological commencement of the Tsin dynasty], some lawless parties in the department of Keih dug open the grave of king Seang of Wei [Died B.C. 295], and found a number of bamboo tablets, written over, in the small seal character, with more than 100,000 words; which were deposited in the imperial library.' But before the tablets were placed in the library, they had sustained various injury and mutilation. The emperor referred them to the principal scholars in the service of the government, to adjust the tablets in order, having first transcribed them in modern characters. The chief among these was one Wei Hăng,[3] famous for his knowledge of the old forms of the characters. He was assisted by Shuh Sih, Ho Këaou, Seun Heuh, and others,—all men of note in their day. In two years their labours were completed, and the tablets were placed in the library in order. De Mailla says that the scholars reported to the emperor unfavourably of the Bamboo Books:—that 'they were filled with reveries, extravagances, and manifest falsities.' I have not found in the Books of Tsin[7] that they gave any such sweeping decision. They made out the names of 15 different Works, the tablets of which, more or less complete, could be arranged together. Some of these Works were, indeed, full of extravagant legends and speculations;—they soon fell into neglect, if they have not entirely perished. There were two among them, however, of a different character:—a copy of the Yih King, in two Books, agreeing with that generally received; and a book of Annals, beginning with the reign of Hwang-te, and coming down to the 16th year of the last emperor of the Chow dynasty, B.C. 298. This was in 12 or 13 chapters.

If the scholars of Tsin sent in to the emperor any formal report of their labours, and of their judgment on the different portions of 'the Bamboo Books,' it has not been preserved; but we have the most satisfactory evidence of the points I have just stated, in the appendix or *l'envoi* affixed by Too Yu to his well known edition of the Tso Chuen.[8] He tells us, that on returning, in A.D. 280, from a

2 咸寧, 五年. See the Books of Tsin, 帝紀第三, p. 13. 3 衛恆. 4 束皙. 5 和嶠. 6 荀勗. 7 See in particular the history of Shuh Sih, 列傳, 第二十一. 8 杜預左傳, 後序.

military expedition to Woo, he completed his great Work, when his attention was called to the Bamboo Books which had been recently discovered; that, by the carelessness of the parties who first found them, they had suffered much damage; and that, when he saw them in the library, the portions most complete and distinct were a copy of the Yih King, and certain Annals, relating, in the latter part of them, more particularly, the affairs of the State of Tsin.

The reader will be conscious of a disposition to reject at once the account of the discovery of the Bamboo Books. He has read so much of the recovery of portions of the Shoo from the walls of houses, that he must be tired of this mode of finding lost treasures; and smiles when he is now called on to believe that an old tomb opened, and yielded its literary stores, long after the human remains that had been laid in it had mingled with the dust. From the death of king Sëang to B.C. 279 were 595 years;—so long had these Books been in the bosom of the earth. The speed, moreover, with which the tablets were transcribed and arranged was surprising. It is hard to credit that so much work was done in so brief time. Against the improbabilities in the case, however, we have to place the evidence which is given in support of it. The testimony of Too Yu, especially, a witness entirely competent and disinterested, and which was probably in A.D. 281 or 282, seems to place it beyond a doubt, that there had been a large discovery of ancient Works in a tomb a few years before, of which a most valuable portion was that which is now current under the name of 'The Annals of the Bamboo Books.' How far some of the other portions have been preserved, I am not able to say; but these Annals have held their place in the literature of China. They are mentioned in the catalogues of the Suy and T'ang dynasties.

How the Annals have kept their place in literature.

Shin Yŏ,[9] a scholar and officer of the Lëang dynasty, (A.D. 502—557) published an edition, with a commentary, in the 6th century. Under the Sung dynasty, Choo He made several references to them, not unfavourable. Two scholars of Yuen, Hoo Ying-lin[10] and Yang Shing-gan,[11] laboured upon them; and in the present dynasty five or six different editions and commentaries have been published;—showing that, notwithstanding the generally unfavourable opinion of scholars, the Work has not yet been put out of the court of criticism.

I now subjoin the text and a translation, with a few annotations.

9 沈約字休文. 10 胡應麟 11 楊升庵.

竹書紀年卷之一

黃帝軒轅氏

母曰附寶見大電繞北斗樞星光照郊野感而孕二十五月而生帝於壽丘弱而能言龍顏有聖德劾百神朝而使之應龍攻蚩尤戰虎豹熊羆四獸之力以女魃止淫雨天下既定聖德光被羣瑞畢臻有屈軼之草生於庭佞人入朝則草指之是以佞人不敢進

元年、帝即位、居有熊。初制冕服○

二十年、景雲見、以雲紀官。

有景雲之瑞赤方氣與青方氣相連赤方中有兩星青方中有一星凡三星皆黃色以天清明時見於攝提名曰景星帝黃服齋于中宮坐于玄扈洛水之上有鳳凰集不食生蟲不履生草

2. THE ANNALS OF THE BAMBOO BOOKS.

PART. I.

The reigns of Hwang-te; Che; Chuen-heuh; and Kuh.

I. HWANG-TE; DYNASTIC TITLE HËEN-YUEN.[1]

Note. His mother was called Foo-paou. She witnessed a great flash of lightning, which surrounded the star *ch'oo* (α Dubhe) of the Great Bear with a brightness that lightened all the country about her, and thereupon became pregnant. After 25 months, she gave birth to the emperor in Show-k'ew. When born, he could speak. His countenance was dragon-like; his virtue that of a sage. He could oblige the host of spirits to come to his court, and receive his orders. *He employed* Ying-lung to attack Ch'e-yew, the fight with whom was maintained by the help of tigers, panthers, bears, and grisly bears. By means of the *Heavenly* lady Pă, he stopped the extraordinary rains *caused by the enemy.* When the empire was settled, his sage virtue was brightly extended, and all sorts of auspicious indications appeared. The grass K'euh-yih grew in the court-yard of the palace. When a glib-tongued person was entering the court, this grass pointed to him, so that such men did not dare to present themselves.[2]

1 In his 1st year, when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Yew-hëung.[3] He in-
2 vented the cap with pendents, and the robes to match. In his 20th year, brilliant clouds appeared; and he arranged his officers by names taken from the colours of the clouds.[4]

Note. The auspicious omen of brilliant clouds was in this way:—The vapours of the red quarter [the south] extended so as to join those of the green [the east]. In the red quarter were two stars, and in the green, one;—all of a yellow colour, which appeared, when the heavens were clear and bright, in Shĕ-t'e, and were named the brilliant stars. The emperor in yellow robes fasted in the Middle palace. When he was sitting in *a boat on the* Yuen-hoo, above *its junction with* the Lŏ, there came together phœnixes, male and female. They would not eat any living insect, nor tread on

I. 1 Sze-ma Ts'ëen says that Hwang-te's name was Hëen-yuen; and many others take 氏 here as=名. It seems to me preferable to take it as in the case of Yaou, who was 陶唐氏; and of Shun's 有虞氏 See the Introductory notes to the Canons of Yaou and Shun. Hëen-yuen may have reference to the invention of carriages, which is commonly ascribed to Hwang-te, though these Annals do not mention it; or it may have been the name of a place. There are many methods of accounting for it.

2 This and other notes which follow are supposed by some to be a portion of the text of the Annals. The more likely opinion is, that they are additions to the text by difft. hands;—several of them, but not all, by Shin Yŏ. As they are not many, I have translated them; but they abound so much in extravagant, monstrous, statements, and besides are so full of errors, that I will rarely occupy space with comments on them.

3 Yew-hëung must be the name of a State. It is referred to what was called 'new Ch'ing' (新鄭), in the pres. Ho-nan. 4 The chiefs

或止帝之東園或巢於阿閣或鳴於庭
其雄自歌其雌自舞麒麟在囿神鳥來
儀有大螻如羊大螾如虹
帝以土氣勝遂以土德王

五十年、秋七月、庚申、鳳鳥至、帝祭于洛水。

庚申天霧三日三夜晝昏帝問天老力
牧容成曰於公何如天老曰臣聞之國
安其主好文則鳳凰居之國亂其主好
武則鳳凰去之今鳳凰翔於東郊而樂
之其鳴音中夷則與天相副以是觀之
天有嚴教以賜帝帝勿犯也召史卜之
龜燋史曰臣不能占也其問之聖人帝
曰已問天老力牧容成矣史北面再拜
曰龜不違聖智故燋霧既除游于洛水
之上見大魚殺五牲以醮之天乃甚雨
七日七夜魚流於海得圖書焉龍圖出
河龜書出洛赤文篆字以授軒轅接萬
神於明庭今塞
門谷口是也

五十九年、貫胸氏來賓。長股氏來賓〇七
十七年、昌意降居若水。產帝乾荒〇一百

living grass. Some of them abode in the emperor's eastern garden: some built their nests about the corniced galleries *of the palace;* and some sang in the courtyard, the females gambolling to the notes of the males. *K'e-lins also* appeared in the parks; and *other* spirit-like birds came with their measured movements. Four-horned *low* were produced as large as a goat, and the *yin* worms like rainbows. The emperor, considering that the influence of earth was thus predominant, reigned by the virtue of earth.

3 In his 50th year,[5] in the autumn, in the 7th month, on *the day* Kang-shin [57th of cycle], phœnixes, male and female, arrived. The emperor sacrificed at the river Loh.

Note. Beginning with Kăng-shin, the heavens were wrapt in mist for three days and three nights. The emperor asked T'ëen-laou, Leih-muh, and Yung-shing, what they thought of it. T'ëen-laou said, 'I have heard this:—When a kingdom is tranquil, and its ruler is fond of peace, then phœnixes come and dwell in it; when a kingdom is disordered, and its ruler is fond of war, then the phœnixes leave it. Now the phœnixes fly about in your eastern borders rejoicing, the notes of their singing all exactly harmonious, in mutual accord with Heaven. Looking at the thing in this way, Heaven is giving your majesty grave instructions, which you must not disobey.' *The emperor then* called the recorder to divine about the thing, when the tortoise-shell was *only* scorched. The recorder said, 'I cannot divine it; you must ask your sage men.' The emperor replied, 'I have asked T'ëen-laou, Leih-muh, and Yung-shing.' The recorder then did obeisance, twice, with his face to the earth, and said, 'The tortoise will not go against their sage wisdom, and therefore its shell is only scorched.'

When the mists were removed, he made an excursion on the Lŏ, and saw a great fish; and sacrificed to it with five victims, whereupon torrents of rain came down for seven days and seven nights, when the fish floated off the sea, and the emperor obtained the map-writings. The dragon-writing came forth from the Ho, and the tortoise-writing from the Lŏ.

In red lines, and the seal character, they were given to Hëen-yuen. He entertained the myriad spirits in Ming-t'ing, the present valley of Han-mun.

4 In his 59th year, the chief of 'The Perforated Breasts'[6] came to make his sub-
5 mission. So also did the chief of 'The Long Legs.'[6] In his 77th year,
Ch'ang-e[7] left the court, and dwelt by the Jŏ-water; he begat the emperor K'ëen-
6 hwang. In his 100th year, the earth was rent. The emperor went on high.[9]

of the difft. departments were called—'He of the green cloud; he of the white cloud (白雲氏), &c. 5 Some editions read here—'the 57th year,' instead of the 50th.

6 'The Perforated Breasts' and 'The Long Legs' are of course fabulous. We read of them, and other equally monstrous barbarian tribes, in the 'Classic of Mountains and Seas' (山海經). 7 Ch'ang-e was a son (1st or 2d is debated) of Hwang-te, and, not being able for the empire, was sent away to a State near the Jŏ-water, in the pres. Sze-ch'uen. Others have it that he went away himself, in virtuous humility;—all is fabulous. 8 When this son of

年地裂。帝陟。帝王之崩皆曰陟書稱新陟王謂新崩也帝以土德王應地裂而陟葬羣臣有左徹者感思帝德取衣冠几杖而朝饗之諸侯大夫歲時朝焉

帝摯少昊氏

母曰女節見星如虹下流華渚既而夢接意感生少昊登帝位有鳳凰之瑞或曰名清不居帝位帥鳥師居西方以鳥紀官

帝顓頊高陽氏

母曰女樞見瑤光之星貫月如虹感己於幽房之宮生顓頊於若水首戴干戈有聖德生十年而佐少昊氏、二十而登帝位

元年、帝卽位、居濮〇十三年、初作歷象〇二十一年、作承雲之樂〇三十年、帝產伯鯀、居天穆之陽〇七十八

Note. The death of emperors and kings is thus spoken of as a going on high. In the Shoo we have 'the recently ascended king,' for the recently deceased [Pt. V. BK. XXIII. 3]. Hwang-te reigned by the virtue of earth;—it was right that his death should be preceded by the rending of the earth. After he was buried, one of his ministers, named Tso-ch'ĕ, affected by the thought of the emperor's virtue, took his clothes, cap, bench, and stick, and offered sacrifice to them in a temple. The princes and great officers every year paid their court before them.

II. THE EMPEROR CHE; DYNASTIC TITLE SHAOU-HAOU.[1]

Note. His mother was called Neu-tsëë. She witnessed a star like a rainbow come floating down the stream to the islet of Hwá. Thereafter she dreamed she had received it, and was moved in her mind, and bore Shaou-haou. When he ascended the throne, there was the auspicious omen of phœnixes. Some say that his name was Ts'ing, and that he did not occupy the throne. He led an army of birds, and dwelt in the west, where he arranged his officers by *names taken from* birds.

III. THE EMPEROR CHUEN-HEUH; DYNASTIC TITLE KAOU-YANG.[1]

Note. His mother was called Neu-ch'oo. She witnessed the Yaou-kwang star (η Benetnasch) go through the moon like a rainbow, when it moved herself in the palace of Yew-fang, after which she brought forth Chuen-heuh near the Jŏ-water. On his head he bore a shield and spear; and he had the virtue of a sage. When 10 years old, he assisted Shaou-haou; and when 20, he ascended the imperial throne.

1 In his 1st year, when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Puh. In his 13th
2 year, he invented calendaric calculations and delineations *of the heavenly bodies.*
3 In his 21st year, he made the *piece of* music called 'The Answer to the Clouds.'
4 In his 30th year, he begat Pih-k'wăn, who dwelt in the south of T'ëen-muh.
5 In his 78th year, he died. Shuh-k'e made disorder, and was made an end of by the prince of Sin.

Ch'ang-e was emperor, we do not know; some identify him with Chuen-heuh; others make that emperor his son. 8 陟. See the last par. of the Canon of Shun.—Many accounts say that Hwang-te did not die, but went up to Heaven on a dragon. Hăng Ch'in-fung gives the following passage, quoted by some writers as from the Bamboo Books:—黃帝既仙去,其臣有左徹者,削木爲黃帝之像,帥諸侯朝奉之, 'Hwang-te having gone away as one of the Immortals, Tso-ch'ĕ, one of his ministers, cut an image of him in wood, and led the princes to pay court and reverence to it.' Here was idolatry at a very early time.—This statement was no doubt in one of the Bamboo Books, but not in the Annals. The same may be said of another,—that this 'Tso-ch'ĕ raised Chuen-heuh to the throne, 7 years after Hwang-te's death.'

II. 1 Some editions of the Annals give this notice as an addition of Shin Yŏ's. Others separate the name and title from the note, and put them in the text.—Sze-ma Ts'ëen does not give this emperor Che at all. There are many discussions about him, whether he was a son of Hwang-te, or a grandson; or whether he was not rather descended from Fuh-he. His title of Shaou-haou would seem to be in relation with Fuh-he's of T'ae-haou.

III. 1 Chuen-heuh was a son, or a grandson of Ch'ang-e mentioned above. The title of Kaou-

年、帝陟。術器作亂、辛侯滅之。

帝嚳高辛氏 生而騈齒、有聖德、初封辛侯、代高陽氏王天下。使瞽人拊鞞鼓、擊鐘磬、鳳皇鼓翼而舞。

元年、帝即位、居亳。○十六年、帝使重帥師滅有鄶。○四十五年、帝錫唐侯命。○六十三年、帝陟。

帝子摯立九年而廢

IV. THE EMPEROR KUH; DYNASTIC TITLE KAOU-SIN.

Note. He was born with double rows of teeth; and had the virtue of a sage. He was at first made prince of Sin, and afterwards succeeded to Kaou-yang as monarch of the empire. He made blind men beat drums, and strike bells and sounding stones, at which phœnixes flapped their wings, and gambolled.

1 In his 1st year, when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Poh. In his 16th year,
2 he made Ch'ung lead an army, and extinguish the State of Yew-kwae. In his
3 45th year, he conferred on the prince of T'ang the appointment to be his successor.
4 In his 63d year, he died.

Note. The emperor's son Che was deposed, after having been appointed nine years.

yang must be derived from some place where he ruled; but two places of this name are assigned to him at different periods of his life:—the 1st in the pres. dis. of Ke, dep. of K'ae-fung, Ho-nan; the 2d in the dep. of Paou-ting, Chih-le.

2 This Puh was probably in the pres. dep. of Tung-ch'ang, Shan-tung. 3 Comp. 歷象, in Can. of Yaou, p. 2. Some editions read 12th instead of 13th. 4 Hăng Ch'in-fung would remove this notice to the 20th year of Hwang-te. 5 This Pih K'wăn, or baron K'wăn, is commonly supposed to be the father of Yu the Great; but in that case K'wăn would be well on to 200 years old, when Yaou calls him to regulate the waters. T'ëen-muh was a mountain, '20,000 feet high,' acc. to the Classic of Mountains and Seas; and on the north of the Jŏ-water, acc. to one of the sporadic passages of the Bamboo Books, found elsewhere (是惟若陽). 術器云云, generally appears as a note, but it belongs to the text. Shuh-k'e is said to have been a descendant of Shin-nung, and son of the emp. Kuh.

IV. 1 Kuh was the grandson of Yuen-heaou (元囂), one of Hwang-te's sons. Where the principality of Sin, from which he has his dynastic name, was, seems not to be known. See the dict. *in voc.* 2 This was probably what was afterwards the southern Pŏ. See introd. note to 'The Speech of T'ang.' 3 Yew-kwae was in the pres. dis. of Yung-yang, dep. of K'ae-fung. On who Ch'ung was, see the notes of Hăng Ch'in-fung. 4 The prince of T'ang is Yaou. See on the title of 'The Book of T'ang.' I must translate 錫唐侯命 as I have done. Comp. 錫虞舜命, under the 70th year of Yaou below. The difficulty in the way of the construction is the concluding note about the emperor's son Che; but this may be got over, by transferring it, as an appendix to this par. His appointment was to the succession, and his unworthiness being proved, his father himself deposed him from his place as heir, and gave the succession to his younger brother Yaou. Ch'in-fung argues for this construction, and re-arrangement of the text. I had adopted the construction, however, before reading his remarks.

竹書紀年卷之二

帝堯陶唐氏

母曰慶都生於斗維之野常有黃雲覆其上及長觀于三河常有龍隨之一旦龍負圖而至其文要曰赤受天祐眉八彩鬚髮尺餘長七尺二寸面銳上豐下足履翼宿既而陰風四合赤龍感之孕十四月而生堯於丹陵其狀如圖及長身長十尺有聖德封於唐夢攀天而上、高辛氏衰天下歸之

元年丙子、帝即位、居冀。命羲和歷象○五年、初巡狩四岳○七年、有麟○十二年、初治兵○十六年、渠搜氏來賓○十九年、命共工治河○二十九年、春、僬僥氏來朝、貢沒羽○四十二年、景星見于翼○五十年、帝游于首山、乘素車玄駒○五十三年、帝祭于洛○五十八年、帝使后稷、放帝子朱

PART. II.

The reigns of Yaou and Shun.

I. EMPEROR YAOU; DYNASTIC TITLE, T'AOU AND T'ANG.

Note. His mother was called K'ing-too. She was born in the wild of Tow-wei, and was always overshadowed by a yellow cloud. After she was grown up, whenever she looked into any of the three Ho, there was a dragon following her. One morning the dragon came with a picture and writing. The substance of the writing was:—'The red one has received the favour of Heaven.' The eyebrows *of the figure* were like the character 八, and of variegated colours. The whiskers were more then a cubit long; and the height was 7 cub. 2 in. The face was sharp above, and broad below. The feet trode on the constellation Yih. After this came darkness and winds on every side; and the red dragon made *K'ing-too* pregnant. Her time lasted 14 months, when she brought forth Yaou in Tan-ling. His appearance was like that in the picture. When he was grown up, his height was ten cubits. He had the virtue of a sage, and was invested with the principality of T'ang. He dreamed that he climbed up to heaven. When Kaou-shin was decaying, the empire turned to him.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ping-tsze* 2 (13th of cycle;=B.C. 2,145), when he came
to the throne, he dwelt in K'e; 3 and commanded He and Ho to make calendaric
2 calculations and delineations *of the heavenly bodies*.4 In his 5th year, he made
3 the first tour of inspection to the four mountains. In his 7th year, there was a
5 *k'e-lin*. In his 12th year, he formed the first standing army. In his
6 15th year, the chief of K'eu-sow came to make his submission. In his 19th year,
7 he ordered the minister of Works 8 to undertake the regulation of the Ho. In
his 29th year, the chief of the Pigmies 9 came to court in token of homage, and offered
8 as tribute their feathers which sank in water. In his 42d year, a brilliant
9 star appeared in Yih [? Crater]. In his 59th year, he travelled for pleasure
about mount Show,10 in a plain carriage drawn by dark-coloured horses.
11 In his 53d year, he sacrificed near the Loh. In his 58th year, he caused

I. 1 See on 'The Songs of the Five Sons,' p. 7. 2 This is the 1st determination of a year by cycle names in the Annals. We fix the year to be B.C. 2,145, by calculating back on the cycle from the 6th year of king Yew of Chow, which (as we have seen) is certainly known. I shall call attention below to the fact that all these cycle names of the years in the Annals were introduced into them after their recovery or discovery. 3 K'e is of course K'e-chow.

於丹水()六十一年、命崇伯鯀治河○六十九年、黜崇伯鯀○七十年、春、正月、帝使四岳錫虞舜命。

帝在位七十年景星出翼鳳凰在庭朱草生嘉禾秀甘露潤醴泉出日月如合璧五星如聯珠廚中自生肉其薄如箑搖動則風生食物寒而不臭名曰箑脯又有草夾階而生月朔始生一莢月半而生十五莢十六日以後日落一莢及晦而盡月小則一莢焦而不落名曰蓂莢一曰歷莢洪水既平歸功於舜將以天下禪之乃潔齊修壇場於河洛擇良日率舜等升首山遵河渚有五老游焉蓋五星之精也相謂曰河圖將來告帝以期知我者重瞳黃姚五老因飛爲流星上入昴二月辛丑昧明禮備至於日昃榮光出河休氣四塞白雲起回風搖乃有龍馬銜甲赤文綠色緣壇而上吐甲圖而去甲似龜背廣九尺其圖以白玉爲檢赤玉爲柙泥以黃金約以青繩檢文曰闓色授帝舜言虞夏當授天命帝乃寫其言藏於東序後二年二月仲辛率羣

his son Choo to be sent in banishment by prince Tseih to Tan-shwuy. In his 61st year, he ordered the baron K'wan of Ts'ung to regulate the Ho. In his 69th year, he degraded K'wan. In his 70th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, he caused the *chief* of the four mountains to convey to Shun of Yu his charge *to succeed to the throne.*

Note. When the emperor had been on the throne 70 years, a brilliant star issued from the constellation Yih, and phœnixes appeared in the courtyards of the palace; the pearl grass grew, and the admirable grain flourished; sweet dews moistened the ground, and crystal springs issued from the hills; the sun and moon appeared like a pair of gems, and the five planets looked like threaded pearls. In the *imperial* kitchen there appeared of itself a piece of flesh, as thin as a fan, which, when shaken, raised such a wind that all eatables were kept cool and did not spoil. It was called the fan flitch. A kind of grass, moreover, grew on each side of the palace stairs. On the 1st day of the month, it produced one pod, and so on, every day a pod, to the 15th; while on the 16th one pod fell off, and so on, every day a pod, to the last day of the month; and if the month was a short one (of 29 days), one pod shrivelled up, without falling. It was called the felicitous bean, and the calendar bean. When the flooded waters were assuaged, the emperor, attributing the merit of that to Shun, wished to resign in his favour. He thereon purified himself and fasted, built altars near the Ho and the Lŏ, chose a good day, and conducted Shun and others up mount Show. Among the islets of the Ho, there were five old men, walking about, who were the spirits of the five planets. They said to one another, 'The river scheme will come and tell the emperor of the time. He who knows us is the double-pupilled yellow Yaou.' The five old men on this flew away like flowing stars, and ascended into the constellation Maou. On the 2d month, on the sin-chow day, between the dark and light, the ceremonies were all prepared; and when the day began to decline, a glorious light came forth from the Ho, and beautiful vapours filled all the horizon; white clouds rose up, and returning winds blew all about. Then a dragon-horse appeared, bearing in his mouth a scaly cuirass, with red lines on a green ground, ascended the altar, laid down the scheme, and went away. The cuirass was like a tortoise shell, nine cubits broad. The scheme contained a tally of white gem, in a casket of red gem, covered with yellow gold, and bound with a green string. On the tally were the words, 'With pleased countenance given to the emperor Shun'. It said also that Yu and Hëa should receive the appointment of Heaven. The emperor wrote these words, and deposited them in the Eastern college. Two years afterwards, in the 2d month, he led out all his ministers, and dropped a *peih* in the Lŏ. The ceremony over, he retired, and waited for the decline of the day. Then

It is a wide word. 4 See on Can. of Yaou, p. 2. 5 The 'four mountains' are those mentioned in the Can. of Shun, p. 8. 6 兵 is to be taken here in the sense of soldiers, and not merely as weapons of war. 7 See on 'The Tribute of Yu,' Pt. i., p. 83. 8 I should take 共工 as a proper name, but for the Can. of Shun, p. 21. 9 The nation of Pigmies, like the 'Perforated Breasts' and 'Long Legs,' is mentioned in the classic of the Hills and Seas. The 括地志 places it

臣沈璧于洛禮畢退俟至于下昃赤光起元龜負書而出背甲赤文成字止于壇其書言當禪舜遂讓舜

七十一年、帝命二女嬪于舜○七十三年、春、正月、舜受終于文祖○七十四年、虞舜初巡狩四岳○七十五年、司空禹治河○七十六年、司空伐曹魏之戎克之○八十六年、司空入覲、贄用元圭○八十七年、初建十有二州○八十九年、作游宮于陶○九十年、帝游居于陶○九十七年、司空巡十有二州○一百年、帝陟于陶。

帝子丹朱避舜于房陵舜讓不克朱遂封于房爲虞賓三年舜即天子之位

帝舜有虞氏

母曰握登見大虹意感而生舜於姚墟目重瞳子故名重華龍顏大口黑色身長六尺一寸舜父母憎舜使其塗廩自下焚之舜服鳥工衣服飛去又使浚井自上填之以石舜服龍工衣自旁而

a red light appeared; a tortoise rose from the waters, with a writing in red lines on its back, and rested on the altar. The writing said that he should resign the throne to Shun, which accordingly the emperor did.

15 In his 71st year, he commanded his two daughters to become wives to Shun.
16 In his 73d year, in the spring, in the 1st month, Shun received the resignation of the
17 emperor in *the temple of* the accomplished ancestor. In his 74th year, Shun of
18 Yu made his first tour of inspection to the four mountains. In his 75th year, Yu,
19 the superintendent of Works, regulated the Ho. In his 76th year, the super-
20 intendent of Works smote the hordes of Ts'aou and Wei,[12] and subdued them. In his 86th year, the superintendent of Works had an audience, using for his article of
21 introduction a dark-coloured mace. In his 87th year, he instituted the division
22 *of the* empire into 12 provinces. In his 89th year, he made a pleasure palace in
23 T'aou. In his 90th year, he took up his residence for relaxation in T'aou.
24 In his 97th year, the superintendent of Works made a tour of survey through the 12
25 provinces. In his 100th year, he died in T'aou.

Note. The emperor's son Choo of Tan kept away from Shun in Fang-ling. Shun tried to yield the throne to him, but in vain. Choo was then invested with T'ang, and became the guest of Yu. After three years, Shun ascended the throne of the son of Heaven.

II. THE EMPEROR SHUN; DYNASTIC TITLE YEW-YU.[1]

Note. His mother was named Uh-tăng. She saw a large rainbow, and her thoughts were so affected by it, that she bore Shun in Yaou-heu. His eyes had double pupils, whence he was named 'Double Brightness.' He had a dragon countenance, a large mouth, and a black body, 6 cubits, 1 inch long. Shun's parents hated him. They made him plaster a granary, and set fire to it beneath:—he had on birds'-work clothes, and flew away. They also made him deepen a well, and filled it with stones from above:—he had on dragons'-work clothes, and got out by the side. He ploughed in Leih. He dreamed that his eyebrows were as long as his hair. Accordingly, he was raised and employed.

on the north of the Roman empire (在大秦國北). 10 Mount Show is the Luy-show of 'The Tribute of Yu,' Pt. ii. 1. 11 Tan-shwuy is referred to the pres. dis. of Nan-yang, dep. Nan-yang, Ho-nan. There was there, no doubt, a stream called Tan.

12 Ts'aou and Wei are two well known States in the time of the Chow;—the former lay in the pres. Shan-tung, the latter in Shen-se. I am not sure that those in the text were the same. They would seem too far apart.

II. 1 See note on the name of Part II. of the Shoo. 2 西王母,—lit., 'the mother

出耕於歷夢眉
長於髮遂登庸
元年、己未、帝即位、居冀。作大韶之樂。
帝即位、蓂莢生於階、鳳凰巢於庭、擊石拊石以
歌九韶、百獸率舞、景星出于房、地出乘黃之馬
三年、命皋陶作刑○九年、西王母來朝。
西王母之來朝
獻白環玉玦
十四年、卿雲見、命禹代虞事。
在位十有四年奏鐘石笙管未罷而天大雷雨
疾風發屋拔木桴鼓播地鐘磬亂行舞人頓伏
一樂正狂走舜乃擁琁持衡而笑曰明哉天下非
一人之天下也亦乃見于鐘石笙筦乎乃薦禹
于天使行天子事也于時和氣普應慶雲興焉
若烟非烟若雲非雲郁郁紛紛蕭索輪囷百工
相和而歌慶雲帝乃倡之曰慶雲爛兮糺縵縵
兮日月光華旦復旦兮羣臣咸進稽首曰明明
上天爛然星陳日月光華弘于一人帝乃再歌
曰日月有常星辰有行四時從經萬姓允誠於
予論樂配天之靈遷于聖賢莫不咸聽鼚乎鼓
之軒乎舞之精華以竭褰裳去之於是八風循

1 In his 1st year, which was *ke-wei* (56th of cycle, = B.C. 2,042), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in K'e; and made the music called Ta-shaou.

Note. On his accession, the felicitous bean grew about the stairs, and phœnixes nested in the courts. When they beat and tapped the musical stones, to accompany the nine performances of the Shaou, all the beasts came after one another gambolling. A brilliant star came out in Fang. The earth produced the horse Shing-hwang.

2 In his 3d year, he commanded Kaou-yaou to make *the code of* punishments.
3 In his 9th year, *messengers* from the western Wang-moo[2] came to do homage.

Note. The coming to court from the western Wang-moo was to present white stone rings and archers' thimbles of gem.

4 In his 14th year, auspicious clouds appeared; and he ordered Yu to consult about affairs for him.

Note. In the 14th year of Shun's reign, at a grand performance with bells, musical stones, organs, and flutes, before the service was concluded, there came a great storm of thunder and rain. A violent wind overthrew houses, and tore up trees. The drumsticks and drums were scattered on the ground, and the bells and stones dashed about confusedly. The dancers fell prostrate, and the director of the music ran madly away; but Shun, keeping hold of the frames from which the bells and stones were suspended, laughed and said, 'How clear it is that the empire is not one man's empire! It is signified by these bells, stones, organs, and flutes.' On this he presented Yu to Heaven, and made him perform actions proper to the emperor; whereupon harmonious vapours responded on all sides, and felicitous clouds were seen. They were like smoke, and yet not smoke; like clouds, and yet not clouds; brilliantly confused; twisting and whirling. The officers in mutual harmony sang of those felicitous clouds, the emperor thus leading them on:—'How bright are ye, felicitous clouds! In what order are ye gathered together! The brightness of the sun and moon Is repeated from morn to morn. All the ministers then advanced, and bowing low, said:—'Brilliant are the heavens above, Where the shining stars are arranged. The brightness of the sun and moon Enlarge our one man.' The emperor sang again, 'The sun and moon are constant; The stars and other heavenly bodies have their motions. The four seasons observe their rule. The people are sincere in all their services. When I think of music, The intelligences that respond to Heaven Seem to be transferred to the sages and the worthies. All things listen to it. How do its rolling sounds thrill! How does it inspire the dance!' When the essential brightness was exhausted, the clouds shrivelled up and disappeared. Thereupon

of the king of the west,' or 'the queen-mother of the west.' But the characters are merely the name of a State or kingdom in the distant west. See Hăng's Comm. *in loc.*

3 The prince of Hea is Yu. See the introd. note on the name of the third Part of the Shoo.

通慶雲叢聚蟠龍奮迅於其藏蛟魚踊躍於其淵龜鼈咸出於其穴遷虞而事夏舜乃設壇於河依堯故事至于下昃榮光休至黃龍負圖長三十二尺廣九尺出于壇畔赤文綠錯其文言當禪禹

十五年、帝命夏后有事于太室○十七年、春、二月、入學、初用萬○二十五年、息慎氏來朝、貢弓矢○二十九年、帝命子義鈞、封于商○三十年、葬后育于渭○三十二年、帝命夏后總師、遂陟方岳○三十三年、春、正月、夏后受命于神宗、遂復九州○三十五年、帝命夏后征有苗、有苗氏來朝○四十二年、玄都氏來朝、貢寶玉○四十七年、冬、隕霜不殺草木○四十九年、帝居于鳴條○五十年、帝陟。

義鈞封于商是謂商均后育娥皇也鳴條有蒼梧之山帝崩遂葬焉今海州

the eight winds all blew genially, and *other* felicitous clouds collected in masses. The crouching dragons came hurriedly out of their dens; iguanadons and fishes leaped up from their deeps; tortoises and turtles came out from their holes,—removing from Yu to serve Hea. Shun then raised an altar at the Ho, as Yaou had done before. When the day declined, there came a fine and glorious light; and a yellow dragon issued and came to the altar, bearing a scheme on his back, 32 cubits long and 9 cubits broad, in lines of red and green intermingled, the words of which were that he should resign in favour of Yu.

5 In his 15th year, he commanded the prince of Hea to conduct the *sacrificial*
6 duties in the Grand apartment. In his 17th year, in the spring, in the 2d month, when he entered the college, he used for the first time the myriad *dance*.[5]
7 In his 25th year, the prince of Seih-shin came to do homage, and paid tribute of
8 bows and arrows. In his 29th year, the emperor invested his son E-keun with
9 *the principality of* Shang. In his 30th year, he buried queen Yuh near the Wei.

Note. Queen Yuh was Ngo-hwang.

10 In his 32d year, he commanded the prince of Hea to take the superintendence
11 of the people, who thereupon visited the mountains of the four quarters.[7] In his 33d year, in the spring, in the first month, the prince of Hea received the appointment *to be successor*, in *the temple of* the spiritual ancestor; and restored the division
12 *of the empire* into nine provinces. In his 35th year, he commanded the prince of Hea to lead a punitive expedition against the Yew-mëaou. The prince of Yew-
13 mëaou came to court and did homage. In his 42d year, the chief of Heuen-too
14 came to court, and paid as tribute precious articles and gems. In his 47th year,
15 the hoar-frosts of winter did not kill the grass or trees. In his 49th year, he
16 dwelt in Ming-t'ëaou.[8] In his 50th year, he died.

Note. E-keun had been invested with Shang, and is called Keun of Shang. Queen Yuh was Ngo-hwang. In Ming-t'ëaou was the hill of Ts'ang-woo. There Shun died and was buried. It is now Hae-chow.

4 The classic of Hills and Seas makes 太室 the name of a mountain. The meaning in the transl. is much preferable;—the principal apartment in the ancestral temple. 5 萬 is here the name of a dance (萬, 舞名也). 6 Seih-shin;—elsewhere Suh-shin. 7 Comp. 'The Counsels of Yu,' p. 9. 夏后 is to be understood as the subject of 陟, lit. 'to ascend,' but here='to visit.'

8 See on the last par. of the Can. of Shun.—Some strange passages are gathered from other portions of the Bamboo Books, and supposed to have belonged to 'The Annals,' which give quite a different account of the relations between Yaou and Shun. They make Shun dethrone Yaou, and keep him a prisoner, raise Choo for a time to the throne, and then displace him; and thereafter allow no intercourse between father and son. See Hăng Ch'in fung's Supplement to the Annals, in the last chapter of his Work.

竹書紀年卷之二

帝禹夏后氏

母曰修已出行見流星貫昴夢接意感既而吞神珠修已背剖而生禹於石紐虎鼻大口兩耳參鏤首戴鉤鈐胸有玉斗足文履已故名文命長有聖德長九尺九寸夢自洗於河取水飲之又有白狐九尾之瑞當堯之世舜舉之禹觀於河有長人白面魚身出曰吾河精也呼禹曰文命治水言訖授禹河圖言治水之事乃退入于淵禹治水既畢天錫玄珪以告成功夏道將興草木暢茂青龍止于郊祝融之神降于崇山乃受舜禪即天子之位洛出龜書是爲洪範三年喪畢都于陽城

元年、壬子、帝即位、居冀。頒夏時于邦國○二年、咎陶薨○五年、巡狩、會諸侯于塗山。

PART. III.

The dynasty of Hea.

I. THE EMPEROR YU; DYNASTIC TITLE, HEA-HOW.

Note. His mother was called Sew-ke. She saw a falling star, which went through the constellation *Maou*, and in a dream her thoughts were moved till she became pregnant, after which she swallowed a spirits' pearl. Her back opened *in due time*, and she gave birth to Yu in Shih-new. He had a tiger nose and a large mouth. His ears had three orifices. His head bore *the resemblance* of *the stars* Kow and K'een. On his breast seemed a *figure* in gem of the Great Bear, and in the lines of his feet he seemed to tread on the character 已;—hence he was called Wăn-ming. When he grew up, he had the virtue of a sage, and was 9 cub. 6 in. long. He dreamt that he was bathing in the Ho, and drank up the water. He had also the happy omen of a white fox with 9 tails. In the time of Yaou, Shun brought him forward. As he was looking at the Ho, a tall man, with a white face and fish's body, came out and said, 'I am the spirit of the Ho.' He then called Yu, and said, 'Wăn-ming shall regulate the waters.' Having so spoken, he gave Yu a chart of the Ho, containing all about the regulating of the waters; and returned into the deep. When Yu had done regulating the waters, Heaven gave him a dark coloured mace, with which to announce his completed work. When the fortunes of Hea were about to rise, all vegetation was luxuriant, green dragons lay in the borders, and the spirit of Chuh-yung descended on mount Ts'ung:—Shun resigned, and Yu ascended the throne. The Lŏ produced the tortoise Book, called 'The great Plan.' When the three years of mourning were over, he made his capital in Yang-shing.

1 In his 1st year, which was *jin-tsze* (49th of cycle,=B.C. 1,989), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in K'e. He published the seasons of Hea throughout the
3 regions and States. In his 2d year, Kaou-yaou died. In his 5th year, he made a tour of inspection, and assembled the princes at mount T'oo.[1]

I. 1 Mount T'oo,—see on the 'Yih and Tseih', par. 8. 2 The name of Hwuy-k'e remains in the dis. so called, dep. of Shaou-hing, Chĕ-keang. Many wonderful stories are related of the chief of Fang-fung; but all agree that Yu killed him because he came late to the meeting.—Among other notices of Yu, which are not in the Annals, but are elsewhere found, quoted as from them, is this,—that 'from Hwang-te to Yu were 30 generations,' or reigns (黄帝至禹爲世三十世). If this were ever really in the Annals, much of them must be lost.

南巡狩濟江中流有二黃龍負舟舟人皆懼禹笑曰吾受命于天屈力以養人生性也死命也奚憂龍哉龍于是曳尾而逝

八年、春、會諸侯于會稽、殺防風氏。夏、六月、雨金于夏邑。秋、八月、帝陟于會稽。

禹立四十五年禹薦益於天七年禹崩三年喪畢天下歸啟

帝啟

元年、癸亥、帝即位于夏邑、大饗諸侯于鈞臺、諸侯從帝、歸于冀都、大饗諸侯于璿臺。○二年、費侯伯益、出就國。王帥師、伐有扈、大戰于甘。○六年、伯益薨、祠之。○八年、帝使孟涂如巴涖訟。○十年、帝巡狩、舞九韶于天穆之野。○十一年、放王季子武觀、于西河。○十五年、武觀以西河叛、彭伯壽帥師征西河、武觀來歸。○十六年、陟。

Note. On his way to the south, when crossing the Këang, in the middle of the stream, two yellow dragons took the boat on their backs. The people were all afraid; but Yu laughed and said, 'I received my appointment from Heaven, and labour with all my strength to nourish men. To be born is the course of nature; to die is by *Heaven's* decree. Why be troubled by the dragons?' On this the dragons went away, dragging their tails.

4 In his 8th year, he assembled the princes at Hwuy-k'e,[2] when he put the chief of Fang-fung to death. In the summer, in the 6th month, it rained gold in the *capital* city of Hea. In the autumn, in the 8th month, he died at Hwuy-k'e.

Note. Yu reigned (as associate, or as sovereign) 45 years. He presented Yih to Heaven, and died seven years after. When the three years of mourning were ended, the empire turned to K'e (his son).

II. THE EMPEROR K'E.

1 In his 1st year, which was *kwei-hae*[1] (60th of cycle, =B.C. 1,978), when he came to the throne in the *capital* city of Hea,[2] he made a great feast to the princes in the tower of Keun,[3] after which they followed him back to the capital in K'e, when he
2 made a *second* great feast to them in the tower of Seuen. In his 2d year, Pih-yih, the prince of Pe, left *the court*, and went to his State. The king led his forces
3 to punish the prince of Hoo, when there was a great battle in Kan.[4] In his 6th
4 year, Pih-yih died, and *the emperor* appointed a sacrifice to him.[5] In his 8th
5 year, he sent Mang T'oo to Pa, to preside over litigations. In his 10th year, he made a tour of inspection, and celebrated a complete service of Shun's music in the
6 wilderness of T'een-muh. In his 11th year, he banished his youngest son,
7 Woo-kwan, beyond the western Ho. In his 15th year, Woo-kwan with the people about the western Ho rebelled. The baron Show of P'ang led a force to
8 punish them, when Woo-kwan returned to his allegiance. In his 14th year, the king died.

II. 1 From 壬子, the 1st year of Yu, to this 癸亥, both inclusive, are twelve years; Yu must have died in 己未, leaving 3 complete years, before K'e's accession. This is the rule in these Annals all through the Hea dyn. The years of mourning are left between the deceased emperor and his successor; but this interregnum varies from 2 to 4 years. 2 This is the city in par. 4 of the last reign. Yu had moved his capital, or made a second one. A dis. of Kwei-tih dep. is still so called. Near or in this was the tower of Keun. 諸侯從 may be construed by itself:—'the princes agreed to follow him;' as if the feast had been a political gathering to secure the throne to K'e. 4 See 'The Speech at Kan.' 5 This account does not agree with the account of the death of Yih, which is often attributed to the Annals, and which was no doubt in some of the Bamboo Books; viz. that 'Yih was aiming at the throne, and K'e put him to death' (益干啟立. 啟殺之).

帝太康

元年、癸未、帝卽位、居斟鄩、畋于洛表、羿入居斟鄩。○四年、陟。

帝仲康

元年、己丑、帝卽位、居斟鄩。○五年、秋、九月、庚戌、朔、日有食之、命胤侯帥師、征羲和。○六年、錫昆吾命作伯。○七年、陟。世子相出居商邱、依邳侯。

帝相

元年、戊戌、帝卽位、居商。征淮夷○二年、征風夷黃夷。○七年、于夷來賓。○八年、寒浞殺羿、使其子澆居過。○九年、相居于斟灌○十五年、商侯相土作乘馬、遂遷于商邱。○二十年、寒浞滅戈○二十六年、寒浞使其子澆、帥

III. The emperor T'ae-k'ang.

1 In his 1st year, which was *kwei-wei* (20th of cycle, = B.C. 1,957), when he came
to the throne, he dwelt at Chin-sin. He went hunting beyond the Loh, when E
2 entered and occupied Chin-sin. In his 4th year, he died.

IV. The emperor Chung-k'ang.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ke-ch'ow* (26th of cycle, = B.C. 1,951), when the em-
2 peror came to the throne, he dwelt in Chin-sin. In his 5th year, in the autumn,
in the 9th month, on the day kăng-seuh (47th of cycle), which was the first day of
the month, there was an eclipse of the sun, when he ordered the prince of Yin to
3 lead the imperial forces to punish He and Ho.[1] In his 6th year, he conferred
4 on *the prince of* Keun-woo the appointment of leader among the princes.[2] In his
7th year, he died. His son Sëang went away, and dwelt in Shang-k'ew,[3] where he
was supported by the prince of P'ei.[4]

V. The emperor Seang.

1 In his 1st year, which was *mow-seuh* (35th of cycle, = B.C. 1,942), when he came to
the throne, he dwelt in Shang;[1] and led a punitive expedition against the hordes of
2 the Hwae. In his 3d year, he proceeded against the hordes of Fung and Hwang.
4 In his 7th year, the hordes of Yu came to make their submission. In his
8th year, Han-tsuh put E to death, and made his own son Këaou dwell in Ko.[2]
6 In his 9th year, Seang dwelt in Chin-kwan.[3] In his 15th year, Seang-
t'oo, the prince of Shang, prepared carriages and horses, and removed to Shang-
8 k'ew. In his 20th year, Han-tsuh extinguished *the House of* Ko.[4] In his
26th year, Han-tsuh made his son Këaou lead an army, and extinguish *the House of*

III. 1 The site of Chin-sin is not well ascertained. The dict. places it in the dis. of Wei (濰縣) dep. of Lae-chow, Shan-tung. Others—more correctly, I think,—refer it to the dis. of Kung, dep. of Ho-nan. 2 See on 'The Songs of the Five Sons.'

IV. 1 See on the 'Punitive Expedition of Yin.' 2 There is repeated mention below of 昆吾氏, and therefore I take the two characters here as in the transl. The country of Keun-woo was the 衛 of subsequent times. 伯 here = 霸, chief or leader among the princes. When the five *pa* are not all referred to the dyn. of Chow, this chief of Keun-woo heads the list. 3 Shang-k'ew is still the name of a dis. in the dep. Kwei-tih. For 依邳侯 some copies read 依同姓諸侯斟灌斟鄩.

V. 1 *I. e.* in Shang-k'ew, the chief city of the Shang family, which now begins to come into prominence. 2 This Ko is ref. to the dis. of

師滅斟灌○二十七年、澆伐斟鄩、大戰于濰、覆其舟、滅之○二十八年、寒浞使其子澆弒帝、后緡歸于有仍、伯靡出奔鬲。

斟灌之墟是爲帝邱后緡方娠逃出自竇歸于有仍伯靡奔有鬲氏

夏世子少康生、丙寅年○少康自有仍奔虞、乙酉年○伯靡自鬲帥斟鄩斟灌之師、以伐浞、世子少康、使汝艾伐過、殺澆、甲辰年○伯子杼、帥師滅戈○伯靡殺寒浞、少康自綸、歸于夏邑、乙巳年

明年后緡生少康既長爲仍牧正惎澆能戒之澆使椒求之將至仍少康逃奔有虞爲之庖正以除其害虞思於是妻之以二姚而邑諸綸有田一成有衆一旅能布其德而兆其謀以收夏衆撫其官職夏之遺臣伯靡自有鬲氏收二斟之燼以伐浞浞恃澆皆康娛日忘其惡而不爲備少康使汝艾諜澆初浞娶純

9 Chin-kwan. In his 27th year, Këaou attacked Chin-sin. There was a great battle in Wei, when the boat *of the prince of Chin-sin* was overturned, and he was
10 put to death.[5] In his 28th year, Han-tsuh made his son Këaou murder the emperor. The empress Min fled to Yew-jing;[6] and Pih-mei made his escape, and fled to Kih.[7]

Note. The site of Chin-kwan was what was Te-k'ew. The empress Min, who was pregnant, made her escape by a hole, and returned to *her father, the prince of* Jing. Pih-mei fled to the chief of Kih.

11 The heir of the line of Hea, Shaou-k'ang, was born in the year *ping-yin* (=B.C.
12 1,914). He fled from Yew-jing to Yu,[9] in the year *yih-yew* (=B.C. 1,895).
13 Pih-mei led the forces of Chin-sin and Chin-kwan from Kih to attack Tsuh; and the heir-son Shaou-k'ang sent Joo-e to attack Ko; and put Këaou to death, in the year *këă-shin* (=B.C. 1,876). His eldest son, Ch'oo, led a force against Ko, and extin-
14 guished it. Pih-mei put Han-tsuh to death, and Shaou-k'ang returned from Lun to the capital of Hea, in the year *yih-ke* (=B.C. 1,875).

Note. In the year after *her flight*, the empress Min gave birth to Shaou-k'ang, who became, when he was grown up, chief herdsman in Jing, and was on the watch against the evil designs of Keaou. Këaou having sent Tsëaou to look for him, Shaou-k'ang fled, before his arrival, to Yu, where he became chief cook. Sze, *the prince* of Yu, gave him his two daughters in marriage, and the city of Lun. There his fields were a *le* square; and his followers amounted to 500. He displayed his virtue, and formed his plans to collect the multitudes of Hea, and raise the hopes of the old officers. An old servant of Hea, called Pih-mei, issuing from Kih, collected all the people that were left of the two Chin, to attack Tsuh. Tsuh trusted in Këaou, and felt quite at ease, giving no thought to his wickedness, and making no preparations. *At the same time*, Shaou-k'ang sent Joo-e to spy out Keaou's condition. Now Tsuh had married a daughter of Shun-woo, by whom he had a son who died early, leaving a widow called Neu-k'e. Këaou obliged *one* Yu to go to her house, and pretend that he had something to ask of her. On this Neu-k'e mended his lower clothes, and they passed the night in the same house. Joo-e sent a party, took them by surprise, and cut off the head of Neu-k'e. Keaou, being very strong and swift, *made his escape*; E then

Yih (掖縣) in Lae-chow. Këaou and a brother are said to have been the sons of Han-tsuh by the wife of E; but they must have been born before E's death. See concluding note in Pt. III. of the Shoo. 3 Chin-kwan is ref.—but not certainly—to the dis. of Show-kwang, dep. Ts'ing-chow, Shan-tung. 4 This Ko lay between the States of Sung and Ch'ing. 5 This Chin-sin would agree with the dis. of Wei. Were there two places of the same name?

6 Yew-jing was in the pres. sub. dep. of Tung-p'ing, dep. of T'ae-ngan, Shan-tung. 7 Kih was in the pres. dis. of P'ing-yuen, dep. Tse-nan.

狐氏有子早死其婦曰女岐寡居澆强圉往至其戶陽有所求女岐爲之縫裳共舍而宿汝艾夜使人襲斷其首乃女岐也澆旣多力又善走艾乃田獵放犬逐獸因嗾澆顛隕乃斬澆以歸于少康於是夏衆滅浞奉少康歸于夏邑諸侯始聞之立爲天子祀夏配天不失舊物

帝少康

元年、丙午、帝卽位、諸侯來朝、賓虞公○二年、方夷來賓○三年、復田稷。

后稷之後不窋失官至是而復

十一年、使商侯冥治河○十八年、遷于原○二十一年、陟。

帝杼

元年、己巳、帝卽位、居原○五年、自原遷于老邱○八年、征于東海、及三壽、得一狐九尾○十三年、商侯冥死于河○十七年、陟。

杼或作帝宁一曰伯杼杼能帥禹者也故夏后氏報焉

hunted him, and let loose a dog, which seized him, so that he fell, when they cut off his head, with which E returned to Shaou-k'ang. After this the multitudes of Hea put Tsuh to death, and carried Shaou-k'ang back to the capital. As soon as the princes heard of it, they raised him to the throne, to sacrifice to his ancestors along with the sacrifices to Heaven; and thus the old possession was not lost.

VI. THE EMPEROR SHAOU-K'ANG.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ping-woo* (43d of cycle, = B.C. 1,874), when he came to the throne, the princes came to court to do homage. He entertained the duke of Yu
2 as his guest. In his 2d year, the hordes of Fang came to make their submission.
3 In his 3d year, he restored *the descendant of prince* Tseih, the minister of Agriculture.

Note. Puh-fuh, a descendant of prince Tseih, had lost the office, which was now restored.

5 In his 11th year, he caused Ming, the prince of Shang, to regulate the Ho. In
6 his 18th year, he removed to Yuen.[2] In his 21st year, he died.

VII. THE EMPEROR CH'OO.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ke-sze* (6th of cycle, = B.C. 1,851), when he came to
2 the throne, he dwelt in Yuen. In his 5th year, he removed from Yuen to Laou-
3 k'ew. In his 8th year, he went on a punitive expedition towards the eastern
4 sea, as far as San-show, and got a fox with 9 tails. In his 13th year, Ming, the
5 prince of Shang, died, *pursuing his labours* on the Ho. In his 17th year, he died.

Note. The name Ch'oo is written with a difft. character (宁). The emperor is also called Pih-ch'oo. *There was a younger brother*, a worthy descendant of Yu, who was therefore rewarded by the emperor.

Who Mei was is all uncertain. He had been, say many, an adherent of E. This is very unlikely. He appears here a strong partizan of the House of Hea. 9 Yu was in the pres. dis. of Yu-shing, dep. Kwei-tih.

VI. 1 The descendant of Tseih here intended, as restored to the ministry of Agriculture, was probably the famous Kung-lew. 2 Yuen is ref. to the pres. dis. of Tse-yuen, dep. Hwae-k'ing, Ho-nan.

VII. 1 Laou-k'ew is referred to the dis. of Ch'in-lew, dep. of K'ae-fung.

帝芬

元年、戊子、帝即位〇三年、九夷來御〇十六年、洛伯用、與河伯馮夷鬭〇三十三年、封昆吾氏子、于有蘇〇三十六年、作圜土〇四十四年、陟。

芬或曰芬發

帝芒

元年、壬申、帝即位、以玄珪賓于河〇十三年、東狩于海、獲大魚〇三十三年、商侯遷于殷〇五十八年、陟。

芒或曰帝荒

帝泄

元年、辛未、帝即位〇十二年、殷侯子亥、賓于有易、有易殺而放之〇十六年、殷侯微、以河伯之師伐有易、殺其君綿臣。

VIII. THE EMPEROR FUN.

1 His 1st year was *mow-tsze* (25th of cycle, = B.C. 1,832), when he came to the
2 throne. In his 2d year, the 9 wild tribes of the east came to perform service.
3 In his 16th year, Yung, the baron of Loh, fought with Fung-e, the baron of Ho.[2]
5 In his 33d year, he appointed the son of the chief of Keun-woo to Soo.[3] In
6 his 36th year, he made a circular enclosure *for a prison*.[4] In his 44th year, he died.

Note. Fun is by some called Fun-fă.

IX. THE EMPEROR MANG.

1 In his 1st year, which was *jin-shin* (9th of cycle, = B.C. 1,788), when he came to
2 the throne, he *went* with the dark-coloured mace to receive the *baron of* Ho.[1] In his 13th year, on a tour of inspection to the east as far as the sea, he got a large fish.
4 In his 33d year, the prince of Shang removed to Yin.[2] In his 58th year, he died.

Note. Mang is in some editions called the emperor Hwang.

X. THE EMPEROR SËEH.

1 His 1st year was *sin-wei* (8th of cycle, = B.C. 1,729), when he came to the throne.
2 In his 12th year, Tsze-hae, prince of Yin, went as guest to Yew-yih, the chief of
3 which put him to death, and sent away *his followers*. In his 16th year, Wei, prince of Yin, with the forces of the baron of Ho, attacked Yew-yih,[1] and killed its ruler Mëen-chin.

VIII. 1 夷 is to be taken here in its proper meaning of 'wild tribes of the east.' 御=侍御, 'to wait upon and serve,'—perhaps as warders, guards, &c. 2 Fung-e appears in many writers as a monster or spiritual being. He is evidently in the text merely the chief of the State Ho, or charged with the care of the Ho. 3 Soo was in Tse-yuen, above. 4 All prisons, it is said, in the three dynasties, were circular.

IX. 1 I have translated acc. to the view of Hăng Ch'in-fung:—以元珪往聘河伯耳; but perhaps some service to the Ho is meant. The mace is that of Yu the Great. 2 This Yin is ref. to the dis. of Shang-shwuy, dep. Ch'in-chow.

X. 1 There is a small dep. in Chih-le, called Yih-chow, which may correspond to the ancient Yew-yih.

殷侯子亥賓于有易而淫焉有易之君緜臣殺而放之故殷侯上甲微假師于河伯以伐有易滅之遂殺其君緜臣中葉衰而上甲微復興故殷人報焉

二十一年、命畎夷、白夷、玄夷、風夷、赤夷、黃夷○二十五年、陟。

帝不降

元年、己亥、帝卽位○六年、伐九苑○三十五年、殷滅皮氏○五十九年、遜位于弟扃。

帝扃

元年、戊戌、帝卽位○十年、帝不降陟。

三代之世內禪惟不降實有聖德

十八年、陟。

帝廑

一名胤甲

元年、己未、帝卽位、居西河○四年、作西音。

Note. The prince of of Yin. Tsze-hae, visited Yew-yih, and was guilty of licentious conduct, so that the ruler of Yew-yih, Mëen-chin, slew him, and drove *his followers* away. In consequence of this, Shang-këă-wei of Yin obtained the services of the army of the baron of Ho, attacked and extinguished the State of Yew-yih, putting Mëen-chin to death. For a time Yin had decayed, but when Shang-këă-wei revived its power, the people avenged the wrong that had been done.

4 In his 21st year, he conferred regular dignities on the chiefs of the hordes of
5 K'euen, of the white hordes, the dark hordes, the hordes of Fung, the red hordes, and the yellow hordes. In his 25th year, he died.

XI. THE EMPEROR PUH-KËANG.

1 His 1st year, was *ke-hae* (36th of cycle, = B.C. 1,701), when he came to the
2 throne. In his 6th year, he attacked *the country of* Kew-yuen.[1] In his
4 35th year, Yin made an end of the House of P'e.[2] In his 59th year, he resigned the throne to his younger brother Këung.

XII. THE EMPEROR KËUNG.

1 His 1st year, was *mow-seuh* (35th of cycle, = B.C. 1,642), when he came to the
2 throne. In his 10th year, the emperor Puh-këang died.

Note. In the period of the three dynasties there was only one resignation of the throne,—that by Puh-këang. He must have had the virtue of a sage.

3 In his 18th year, he died.

XIII. THE EMPEROR KIN.

Note. Also called Yin-këă.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ke-wei* (56th of cycle, = B.C. 1,621), when he came
2 to the throne, he dwelt on the west of the Ho.[1] In his 4th year, he made the music of the West. The chief of Keun-woo removed to Heu.[2]

XI. 1 Kew-yuen=the 'nine pasturages,' probably a tract of flat country in the pres. Chih-le.

2 The territory of P'e was in the pres. dis. of Ho-tsin, dep. Keang Chow, Shan-se. It is observed that the extinction of this State was the 1st step of the kind, taken by Shang, to the imperial sway.

XIII. 1 That is, he lived in Shen-se. 'The western Ho' denotes the country west of K'e-chow. 2 Heu corresponded, probably, to the pres. Heu Chow, Ho-nan.

昆吾氏遷于許。己姓名樊封于衞夏衰爲伯遷于舊許

八年、天有祅孽、十日並出、其年陟。

帝孔甲

元年、乙巳、帝即位、居西河。廢豕韋氏、使劉累豢龍。○三年、王畋于萯山。○五年、作東音。○七年、劉累遷于魯陽。

王好事鬼神肆行淫亂諸侯化之夏政始衰田于東陽萯山天大風晦盲孔甲迷惑入于民室主人方乳或曰后來見良日也之子必大吉或又曰不勝也之子必有殃孔甲聞之曰以爲余一人子夫誰殃之乃取其子以歸既長爲斧所戕乃作破斧之歌是爲東音劉累所畜龍一雌死潛醢以食夏后夏后饗之既而使求之懼而遷于魯陽其後爲范氏

九年、陟。殷侯復歸于商邱。

帝昊

昊一作皐

Note. The surname *of the founder of Keun-woo* was Ke, and his name Tan. He had been invested with Wei, and when Hea was decaying, *the chief of the House* was Head of the princes, and removed to old Heu.

5 In his 8th year, there was an inauspicious portent in the sky;—ten suns appeared together. In that year the emperor died.

XIV. The emperor K'ung-kea.

1 In his 1st year, which was *yih-sze* (mistake for *ke-sze*, 6th of cycle, = B.C. 1,611), when he came to the throne, he dwelt on the west of the Ho. He displaced the
2 chief of Ch'e-wei, and appointed Lew-luy to feed the dragons.[1] In his 3d year,
3 the king hunted on mount Foo.[2] In his 5th year, he made the music of the East.
4 In his 7th year, Lew Luy removed to Loo-yang.[3]

Note. The king was superstitious, and acted in a disorderly and licentious way. The princes became like him, and the govt. of Hea began to go to decay. He was hunting on mount Foo of Tung-yang, when in a great wind the sky was all overcast. The emperor lost his way, and went into the family of a peasant, whose wife had just been confined. Some said, 'The emperor has come to see you;—it is a good day. This child will have great good fortune.' Some said, 'Not so. This child will be unfortunate.'—When K'ung-këă heard this, he said, 'Let it be the child of me, the emperor; then who can harm it?' Accordingly he took the child with him; but when it was grown up, it was killed by a hatchet, on which he made the song of 'Break the Hatchet;'—what is called 'The music of the East.'

A female dragon of those which Lew Luy had the keeping of died, when he privately made pickle of it, and set it before the emperor, who enjoyed it; and ordered Luy to look for the missing dragon. Luy was afraid, and removed to Loo-yang, where his descendants became the Fan family.

5 In his 9th year, he died. The prince of Yin returned to Shang-k'ew.

XV. The emperor Haou.

Note. Also called Kaou.

XIV. 1 The State of Ch'e-wei is ref. to a place in the dep. of Ta-ming, Chih-le. It is hard to say what is meant by feeding the dragons, though there are many legends about it. 2 It is strange how the title of 'king' is here employed for 'emperor.' 3 Or 'to the south of mount Loo;' in the pres. dis. of Loo-san, dep. Joo chow, Ho-nan.

元年、庚辰、帝即位。使豕韋氏復國。

夏衰昆吾豕韋相繼爲伯

三年、陟。

帝發

一名后敬或曰發惠

元年、乙酉、帝即位。諸夷賓于王門、再保墉會于上池。諸夷入舞○七年、陟。泰山震。

帝癸

一名桀

元年、壬辰、帝即位、居斟鄩○三年、築傾宮。毀容臺。畎夷入于岐以叛○六年、岐踵戎來賓○十年、五星錯行、夜中星隕如雨。地震。伊洛竭○十一年、會諸侯于仍、有緡氏逃歸、遂滅有緡○十三年、遷于河南。初作輦○十四年、扁帥師伐岷山。

1 His 1st year was *kang-shin* (17th of cycle, = B.C. 1,600), when he came to the throne. He restored the representative of the House of Ch'e-wei to his State.

Note. In the decay of the Hëa, chiefs of Kenn-woo and Ch'e-wei succeeded one another as Head of the princes.

2 In his 3d year he died.

XVI. THE EMPEROR FAII.

Note. Also called the emperor King; and Fă-hwuy.

1 In his 1st year, which was *yih-yew* (22d of cycle, = B.C. 1,595), when he came to
the throne, various wild tribes came and made their submission at the king's gate.[1]
He again repaired the walls. There was a meeting on the upper pool, when the wild
2 people came in, and performed their dances. In his 7th year, he died. Mount
T'ae shook.

XVII. THE EMPEROR KWEI.

Note. Called also Këë.

1 In his 1st year, which was *jin-shin* (29th of cycle, = B.C. 1,588), when he came to
2 the throne, he dwelt in Chin-sin. In his 3d year, he built the K'ing palace,
and pulled down the Yung tower.[2] The K'euen hordes penetrated as far as K'e, with
3 the standard of revolt.[3] In his 6th year, the hordes of K'e-chung[4] came to
4 make their submission. In his 10th year, the five planets went out of their
courses. In the night, stars fell like rain. The earth shook. The E and Loh became
5 dry. In his 11th year, he assembled the princes in Jing, when the chief of Yew-min
6 fled home, on which the emperor extinguished Yew-min.[5] In his 13th year, he
removed to the south of the Ho.[6] He made for the first time men-drawn carriages.[7]
7 In his 14th year, Pëen led the imperial forces, and smote Min-san.[8]

XV. 1 王門 should probably be 玉門, 'the gate of gems,'—one of the gates of the palace, so called.

XVI. 1 The meaning of 再保至池 is very much debated. See Hăng Ch'in-fung, *in loc.*

XVII. 1 This, no doubt, was in the dis. of Kung, dep. Ho-nan. 2 For conjectures on the meaning of the names here, see Hăng, *in loc.* 3 Hăng thinks this par. belongs to the reign of king Muh or king E of Chow. 4 The country of K'e-chung, (岐=跂) or 'the people who walked on their toes,' without the heel touching the ground, is placed beyond the Moving sands. 5 See on the time of Shaou-k'ang. The Min *family* occupied the State of Jing. 6. Some city is intended; but commentators are not agreed which. 7 These

癸命扁伐山民山民進女于桀二人曰琬曰琰后愛二人女無子焉斲其名于苕華之玉苕是琬華是琰而棄其元妃于洛曰妹喜於傾宮飾瑤臺居之

十五年、商侯履遷于亳○十七年、商使伊尹來朝○二十年、伊尹歸于商、及汝鳩汝方、會于北門○二十一年、商師征有洛、克之、遂征荆、荆降○二十二年、商侯履來朝、命囚履于夏臺○二十三年、釋商侯履。諸侯遂賓于商○二十六年、商滅溫○二十八年、昆吾氏伐商、會諸侯于景亳、遂征韋、商師取韋、遂征顧。太史令終古出奔商○二十九年、商師取顧。三日竝出。費伯昌、出奔商。冬十月、鑿山穿陵、以通于河○三十年、瞿山崩。殺其大夫關龍逢。商師征昆吾。冬、聆隧災○三十一年、商自陑征夏邑克昆吾、

Note. Some copies read San-min, or hill-people. Kwei ordered Pëen to attack San-min, whose prince presented Këë with two ladies, called Yuen and Yen. The emperor loved them, tho' they had no children; and had their names cut on the gems Teaou and Hwa. That on the T'eaou was Yuen; on the Hwa, Yen. He also sent away his first wife Me-he to Lŏ, placing her in the Yaou tower of the K'ing palace.

8 In his 15th year, Le, prince of Shang, removed to Poh.[9]

Note. This was the 1st year of T'ang the Successful.

10 In his 15th year, Shang made E Yin come to court. In his 20th year, E Yin,
11 returning to Shang, met with Joo Kew and Joo Fang at the north gate. In his 21st year, the forces of Shang went on a punitive expedition against the prince of Lŏ, and subdued him. They then went against King,[10] which made submission. In
12 his 22d year, Le, prince of Shang, came to court, when the emperor ordered him to be
13 imprisoned in the tower of Hea.[11] In his 23d year, he set Le at liberty, when the
14 princes went and offered their submission to Shang. In his 26th year, Shang ex-
15 tinguished Wun.[12] In his 28th year, the chief of Keun-woo attacked Shang. Shang assembled the princes in King-poh[13] and proceeded against Wei, which its forces took. They then proceeded against Koo. The Grand recorder Chung Koo left the court
16 and fled to Shang. In his 29th year, the forces of Shang took Koo.[15] Three suns appeared together. The prince of Pe, Ch'ang, left the court and fled to Shang. In the winter, in the 10th month, they chisselled through mountains, and tunnelled hills, to
17 open a communication with the Ho.[16] In his 30th year, there was a fall of mount K'en.[17] *The emperor* put to death his great officer Kwan Lung-fung. The forces of Shang marched to punish Keun-woo. In the winter, there was a fire in Ling-suy.[18]
18 In his 31st year, Shang proceeded by way of Urh against the capital of Hea; and overcame Keun-woo. Amid great thunder and rain a battle was fought in Ming-

carriages are said to have been made for Me-he, Këë's wife. 8 The comm. identify this Min-san with a Mung-san (蒙山);—perhaps corresp. to Mung-san, dep. Ya-chow, in Sze-ch'uen. 9 This was the 'southern Pŏ.' 10 King;—known afterwards as Ts'oo.

11 This was a State prison;—near Chin-sin. 12 The pres. dis. of Wun, dep. Hwae-k'ing. 13 This is said to have been the 'northern Pŏ.' 14 Probably=Ch'e-wei. 15 Supposed to have been in pres. dis. of Wun-ching, dep. Ts'aou-chow, Shan-tung. 16 This should not have been done in the winter.

大雷雨、戰于鳴條、夏師敗績、桀出奔三朡、商師征三朡、戰于郕、獲桀于焦門、放之于南巢。

自禹至桀十七世有王與無王用歲四百七十一年

t'eaou, when the army of Hea was defeated. Këeh fled away to San-tsung,[19] against which the army of Shang proceeded. A battle was fought at Ching,[20] and Këeh was taken in Tsëaou-mun. He was then banished away to Nan-ch'aou.

Note. From Yu to Këĕ were 17 reigns. Calculating reigns and interregnums, the dynasty lasted 471 years.

17 K'eu is better known as mount Chin (岑山). 18 See the comment of Sun Che-luh, cited by Hăng. For 耹 some read 聆.

19 San-tsung is ref. to the dis. of Ting-t'aou, dep. Ts'aou-chow. 20 In the sub. dep. of Tung-p'ing, T'ae-ngan.

竹書紀年卷之四

殷商成湯

名履

湯有七名而九征放桀于南巢而還諸侯八譯而來者千八百國奇肱氏以車至乃同尊天乙履爲天子三讓遂即天子之位初高辛氏之世妃曰簡狄以春分玄鳥至之日從帝祀郊禖與其妹浴于玄邱之水有玄鳥銜卵而墜之五色甚好二人競取覆以玉筐簡狄先得而吞之遂孕胸剖而生契長爲堯司徒成功於民受封於商後十三世生主癸主癸之妃曰扶都見白氣貫月意感以乙日生湯號天乙豐下銳上晳而有顊句身而揚聲長九尺臂有四肘是爲成湯湯在亳能修其德伊摯將應湯命夢乘船過日月之旁湯乃東至于洛觀帝堯之壇沈璧退立黃魚雙踴黑鳥隨之止于壇化爲黑玉又有黑龜竝赤文成字

PART. IV.

The Dynasty of Shang.

1. T'ang the Successful, of Shang or Yin.

Note. His name was Le. T'ang, *indeed*, had 7 names, and conducted 9 punitive expeditions. When he returned from confining Këë in Nan-ch'aou, the princes, having 8 interpreters, came to him, to the number of 1,800. The chief of the 'Wonderful Arms' also came in his chariot. They all wished him, Teen-yih Le, to assume the imperial dignity, to which, after declining thrice, he acceded.

In ancient times, the empress of Kaou-sin, called Këen-teih, at the vernal equinox, when the dark swallow made its appearance, had followed her husband to the suburbs to pray for a son, and was bathing with her sister in the Water of Heuen-k'ew, when a dark swallow dropt from her mouth a beautifully variegated egg. The two sisters strove to cover it with baskets which they had; but Këen-teih succeeded in getting it. She swallowed it, became pregnant, and by-and-by her chest opened, and she gave birth to Sëë. When he grew up, he was minister of Instruction to Yaou, who conferred on him the principality of Shang because of his services to the people.

After 13 generations, Sëë's descendant, Choo-kwei, was born, whose wife was called Foo-too. She saw a white vapour go through the moon; was moved to pregnancy; and on the day Yih bore T'ang, who was therefore styled T'ëen-yih. The lower part of his face was broad, and it tapered above;—it was white and whiskered. His body was one-sided, and his voice was loud. He was 9 cubits high, and his arms had four joints. He became T'ang the Successful.

T'ang lived in Pŏ, and cultivated his virtue. When E Chi was about to comply with T'ang's invitation, he dreamed that he passed by the sun and moon in a boat.

T'ang came east to Lŏ, to see the altar of Yaou. He dropped a gem in the water, and stood at some distance. Lo! yellow fishes leaped up in pairs; a black bird followed him, and stood on the altar, where it changed into a black gem. There was also a black tortoise, with red lines forming characters, which said that Këë of Hea was unprincipled, and that T'ang should supersede him. At the same time, the spirit of T'aou-wuh was seen on mount P'ei. Another spirit, dragging a white wolf, with a hook in his mouth, entered the court of Shang. The virtue of metal waxed powerful;

言夏桀無道湯當代之檮杌之神見于邳山有神牽白狼銜鉤而入商朝金德將盛銀自山溢湯將奉天命放桀夢及天而舐之遂有天下商人後改天下之號曰殷

十八年、癸亥、王即位、居亳。始屋夏社○十九年、大旱。氐羌來貢○二十年、大旱。夏桀卒于亭山、禁弦歌舞○二十一年、大旱。鑄金幣○二十二年、大旱○二十三年、大旱○二十四年、大旱、王禱于桑林、雨○二十五年、作大濩樂。初巡狩、定獻令○二十七年、遷九鼎于商邑○二十九年、陟。

外丙

名勝、

元年、乙亥、王即位、居亳、命卿士伊尹○二年、陟。

silver overflowed from the hills. When T'ang was about to put Këë away, in reverence of the command of Heaven, he dreamed that he went to the sky, and licked it. After this he became possessor of the empire. The people of Shang afterwards changed the title of the dynasty into Yin.

1 In his 18th year, which was *kwei-hae* (60th of cycle, = B.C. 1,557), when he came
to the throne, he dwelt in Poh.2 He roofed over, for the first time, the altar to the
2 spirits of the land dedicated by the House of Hea.3 In his 19th year, there was
a great drought. The people of Te-këang came and made their submission.4
3 In his 20th year, there was a great drought. Këeh of Hea died at mount T'ing, when
4 it was forbidden to play on stringed instruments, to sing and to dance. In his
6 21st year, there was the great drought. He cast metal money 5 In his 22d and
7 23d years, the drought continued. In his 24th year, the drought still continuing,
8 the king prayed in the mulberry forest, and it rained.6 In his 25th year, he
made the music of Ta-hoo.7 He went for the first time on a tour of inspection, and
9 fixed the rules for offerings. In his 27th year, he removed the nine vases to the
10 capital of Shang. In his 29th year, he died.

II. WAE-PING.

Note. Named Shing.

1 In his 1st year, which was *yih-hae* (12th of cycle, = B.C. 1,545), when the king 1
came to the throne, he dwelt in Poh; and confirmed the appointment of E Yin as
2 prime minister.2 In his 2d year, he died.

I. 1 The years of T'ang are counted from his accession to the principality of Shang, B.C. 1,574. 2 This was, probably, the western Pŏ,—in the pres. dis. Yen-sze, dep. Ho-nan. 3 T'ang had wished to remove the altars of Hea. Diverted from that purpose, he 'housed' them, or roofed them over,—to remain a monument of the justice of Heaven. 4 See in the She, the 5th of the Praise-songs of Shang. 5 This is understood to have been done for the poor, that they might redeem their children whom they had sold in the famine. 6 See the prayer of T'ang, from Mih-tsze, in the proleg. to Mencius, pp. 116,117. It is singular the Shoo says nothing of this drought. Sze-ma Ts'een says it lasted 7 years; the Ch'un-Ts'ew of Leu, 5 years; these Annals, 6 years. Ts'ëen makes Shwang-lin the name of a wilderness; others say—'the wood of mt. Shwang.' 7 大濩=大護, 'great salvation;'—celebrating T'ang's exploits and prayers.

II. 1 王, 'king,' here replaces 帝, applied in these Annals to the sovereigns of Hea. 2 We must take 命 here in this way. See Hăng, *in loc.*

仲壬

名庸、

元年丁丑、王即位、居亳、命卿士伊尹〇四年、陟。

太甲

名至、

元年辛巳、王即位、居亳、命卿士伊尹、伊尹放太甲于桐、乃自立。

約按伊尹自立蓋誤以攝政爲眞爾

七年、王潛出自桐、殺伊尹、天大霧三日、乃立其子伊陟、伊奮、命復其父之田宅、而中分之。

約按此文與前後不類蓋後世所益

十年、大饗于太廟。初祀方明〇十二年、陟。

沃丁

名絢

III. CHUNG-JIN.

Note. Named Yung.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ting-ch'ow* (14th of cycle, = B.C. 1,543), when he came
2 to the throne, he dwelt in Poh, and confirmed the appointment of E Yin. In his 4th year, he died.

IV. T'AE-KËAH.

Note. Named Che.

1 In his 1st year, which was *sin-sze* (18th of cycle, = B.C. 1,539), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Poh, and confirmed the appointment of E Yin. E Yin sent T'ae-këah away, and confined him in T'ung, seizing the throne himself.[1]

Note by Yŏ. It is a mistake to say this. The truth is that he only acted as regent.

2 In his 7th year, the king privately escaped from T'ung, and put E Yin to death. The sky was overspread with mists for three days, when he raised to office Yin's sons, E Chih and E Fun, ordered their father's fields and houses to be restored, and equally divided between them.

Note by Yŏ. This par. does not accord with the text before and after it. It is, probably, the addition of an after time.

3 In his 10th year, he celebrated a great service to all his ancestors in the Grand ancestral temple. For the first time he sacrificed to the Intelligences of the *four*
4 quarters.[2] In his 12th year, he died.

V. YUH-TING.

Note. Named Heuen.

IV. 1 This and the next notice are so diff't. from the current and classical accounts of E Yin and T'ae-këă, that the friends of these Annals are in great perplexity about them. Hăng Ch'in-fung would refer them to the 'Fragmentary Words' of the Bamboo Books. Seu Wăn-tsing contents himself with saying, after the original commentator, that they are the additions of a later hand.

2 方明=四方之神明. This is the easiest interpretation. Some suppose the 六宗 of Can. of Shun, p. 5, to be meant.

元年、癸巳、王即位、居亳。命卿士咎單○八年、祠保衡○十九年、陟。

小庚 名辨

元年、壬子、王即位、居亳○五年、陟。

小甲 名高

元年、丁巳、王即位、居亳○十七年、陟。

雍巳 名伷

元年、甲戌、王即位、居亳○十二年、陟。

太戊 名密

元年、丙戌、王即位、居亳。命卿士伊陟臣扈○

1 In his 1st year, which was *kwei-sze* (30th of cycle, = B.C. 1,527), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Poh; and confirmed the appointment of Kaou Shen as prime
3 minister. In his 8th year, he appointed sacrifices to Paou-hang.[1] In his 19th year, he died.

VI. SËAOU-KANG.

Note. Named Pëen.

1 In his 1st year, which was *jin-tsze* (49th of cycle, = B.C. 1,508), when he came to
2 the throne, he dwelt in Poh. In his 5th year, he died.

VII. SËAOU-KËAH.

Note. Named Kaou.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ting-sze* (54th of cycle, = B.C. 1,503), when he came to
2 the throne, he dwelt in Poh. In his 17th year, he died.

VIII. YUNG-KE.

Note. Named Tëen.

1 In his 1st year, which was *këah-seuh* (11th of cycle, = B.C. 1,486), when he came to
2 the throne, he dwelt in Poh. In his 12th year, he died.

IX. T'AE-MOW.

Note. Named Meih.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ping-seuh* (23d of cycle, = B.C. 1,474), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Poh, and confirmed the appointments[1] of E Chih and Chin

V. 1 This was E Yin. See on the T'ae-këă, Pt. i. p. l.

IX. 1 From the 15th notice in the preface to the Shoo, Chin-hoo would seem to have been alive in T'ang's time, so that in T'ae-mow's time, acc. to the current chron., he must have been nearly 200 years old. Even acc. to these Annals, he must have been over 100.

七年、有桑穀生于朝○十一年、命巫咸禱于山川○二十六年、西戎來賓。王使王孟聘西戎○三十一年、命費侯中衍爲車正○三十五年、作寅車○四十六年、大有年○五十八年、城蒲姑○六十一年、東九夷來賓○七十五年、陟。

太戊遇祥桑側身修行三年之後遠方慕明德重譯而至者七十六國商道復興廟爲太宗

仲丁

名莊

元年、辛丑、王卽位、自亳遷于囂、于河上○六年、征藍夷○九年、陟。

外壬

名發

元年、庚戌、王卽位、居囂。邳人姺人叛○十年、陟。

1 Hoo, as his principal ministers. In his 7th year, a mulberry tree and a stalk
2 of grain grew up together in the court. In his 11th year, he commanded Woo
3 Hëen to pray to the hills and rivers. In his 26th year, the hordes of the West
came to make their submission. He sent Wang Măng, as his envoy, with presents
4 to those hordes. In his 31st year, he appointed Chung-yen, prince of Pe, to be
6 master of his carriages. In his 35th year, he made *yin* carriages.[2] In his
7 46th year, there was a very abundant harvest. In his 58th year, he walled
8 P'oo-koo.[3] In his 61st year, the nine hordes of the East came to make their
9 submission. In his 75th year, he died.

Note. After T'ae-mow met with the warning mulberry tree, he inclined himself to the cultivation of his conduct; and after 3 years, there were 76 States from distant regions, which sent messengers, with interpreters, to his court, in admiration of his wise virtue. The fortunes of Shang again revived. His sacrificial title was T'ae-tsung.

x. Chung-ting.

Note. Named Chwang.

1 In his 1st year, which was *sin-ch'ow* (38th of cycle, = B.C. 1,399), when he came
2 to the throne, he removed from Poh to Gaou[1] on the Ho. In his 6th year, he
3 went on an expedition against the hordes of Lan.[2] In his 9th year, he died.

xi. Wae-jin.

Note. Named Fă.

1 In his 1st year, which was *kang-seuh* (47th of cycle, = B.C. 1,390), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Gaou. The people of P'ei[1] and of Sëen[2] revolted.
2 In his 10th year, he died.

2 Hăng Ch'in-fung says these carriages were of roots of the mulberry tree;—perhaps, referring to their colour.

3 Probably in the pres. dis. of Pŏ-hing, dep. Ts'ing-chow, Shan-tung.

x. 1 Gaou was on a mount Gaou (敖山), in the pres. dis. of Ho-yin, dep. K'ae-fung. Up to this time, the capital had been the western Pŏ. 2 Perhaps in the dis. of Yang-k'euh, dep. T'ae-yuen, Shan-se.

xi. 1 P'ei—the pres. sub. dep. of P'ei Chow, dep. of Seu-chow, Këang-soo. 2 The dis. of Ch'in-lew, dep. K'ae-fung.

河亶甲

名整。

元年、庚申、王卽位、自囂遷于相○三年、彭伯克邳○四年、征藍夷○五年、姺人入于班方、彭伯、韋伯、伐班方、姺人來賓○九年、陟。

祖乙

名滕。

元年、己巳、王卽位、自相遷于耿、命彭伯韋伯○二年、圮于耿、自耿遷于庇○三年、命卿士巫賢○八年、城庇○十五年、命邠侯高圉○十九年、陟。

祖乙之世商道復興廟爲中宗

祖辛

名旦

元年、戊子、王卽位、居庇○十四年、陟。

XII. HO-TAN-KËAH.

Note. Named Ching.

1 In his 1st year, which was *kang-shin* (57th of cycle, = B.C. 1,380), when he came
2 to the throne, he removed from Gaou to Sëang.[1] In his 3d year, the baron of P'ang
3 subdued P'ei. In his 4th year, he made an expedition against the hordes of Lan.
4 In his 5th year, the people of Sëen entered the region of Pan, when the barons of P'ang and Wei attacked it, and the people of Sëen came to make their submission.
5 In his 9th year, he died.

XIII. TSOO-YIH.

Note. Named T'ăng.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ke-sze* (6th of cycle, = B.C. 1,371), when he came to the throne, he removed from Sëang to Kăng.[1] He gave appointments to the barons of
2 P'ang and Wei.[2] In his 2d year, Kăng was inundated, when he removed to
3 Pe.[3] In his 3d year, he confirmed the appointment of Woo Heen as prime
5 minister. In his 8th year, he walled Pe.[3] In his 15th year, he gave an
6 appointment to Kaou-yu, prince of Pin.[4] In his 19th year, he died.

Note. The fortunes of Shang flourished again under Tsoo-yih. His sacrificial title was Chung-tsung.

XIV. TSOO-SIN.

Note. Named Tan.

In his 1st year, which was *mow-tsze* (25th of cycle, = B.C. 1,352), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Pe. In his 14th year, he died.

XII. 1 In the pres. dis. of Ngan-yang, dep. Chang-tih, Ho-nan.

XIII. 1 In the pres. dis. of Ho-tsin, Këang Chow, Shan-se. 2 What appointments is not said. Many comm. say—'The appoint. of Pa, or chiefs of the princes;' but the text will not bear that construction. 3 Some would go away to the dis. of P'ing-hëang, dep. Shun-tih, Chih-le, for this Pe;—which is very unlikely. 4 In Pin Chow, Shen-se. Kaou-yu was a descendant of Kung-lew. Here was the seat of the Chow family.

開甲
名踰
元年壬寅、王卽位、居庇○五年、陟。

祖丁
名新
元年丁未、王卽位、居庇○九年、陟。

南庚
名更
元年丙辰、王卽位、居庇○三年、遷于奄○六年、陟。

陽甲
名和一名和甲
元年壬戌、王卽位、居奄○三年、西征丹山戎○四年、陟。

盤庚
名旬

XV. K'AE-KËAH.

Note. Named Yu.

1 In his 1st year, which was *jin-yin* (39th of cycle, = B.C. 1,338), when he came to
2 the throne, he dwelt in Pe. In his 5th year, he died.

XVI. TSOO-TING.

Note. Named Sin.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ting-we* (44th of cycle, = B.C. 1,333), when he came to
2 the throne, he dwelt in Pe. In his 9th year, he died.

XVII. NAN-KANG.

Note. Named Kăng.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ping-shin* (53d of cycle, = B.C. 1,324), when he came
3 to the throne, he dwelt in Pe. In his 3d year, he removed to Yen.[1] In his
6th year, he died.

XVIII. YANG-KËAH.

Note. Named Ho. Some style him Ho-këă.

1 In his 1st year, which was *jin-seuh* (59th of cycle, B.C. 1,318), when he came to
2 the throne, he dwelt in Yen. In his 3d year, he made an expedition to the west
3 against the hordes of mount Tan. In his 4th year, he died.

XIX. PWAN-KANG.

Note. Named Seun.

XVII. 1 Yen is no better known than Pe. Some make it out to have been in Shan-tung, in Loo.

XIX. 1 Probably in the dis. of Loo-san, dep. of Joo, Ho-nan. 2 The 'northern Mung'— northern Pŏ, what is called 'King Pŏ,' under

元年、丙寅、王卽位、居奄○七年、應侯來朝○十四年、自奄遷于北蒙曰殷○十五年、營殷邑○十九年、命邠侯亞圉○二十八年、陟。

小辛 名頌

元年、甲午、王卽位、居殷○三年、陟。

小乙 名斂

元年、丁酉、王卽位、居殷○六年、命世子武丁、居于河、學于甘盤○十年、陟。

武丁 名昭

元年、丁未、王卽位、居殷、命卿士甘盤○三年、夢求傅說、得之○六年、命卿士傅說、視學養老○十二年、報祀上甲微○二十五年、王子孝已、卒

1 In his 1st year, which was *ping-yin* (3d of cycle, = B.C. 1,314), when he came to
2 the throne, he dwelt in Yen. In his 7th year, the prince of Ying[1] came to do
3 homage. In his 14th year, he removed from Yen, to the northern Mung,[2] which
5 was called Yin. In his 15th year, he built the city of Yin. In his 19th year,
6 he confirmed the appointment of A-yu, prince of Pin. In his 28th year, he died.

XX. Seaou-sin.

Note. Named Sung.

1 In his 1st year, which was *keah-woo* (31st of cycle, = B.C. 1,286), when he came
2 to the throne, he dwelt in Yin. In his 3d year, he died.

XXI. Seaou-yih.

Note. Named Lëen.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ting-yew* (34th of cycle, = B.C. 1,283), when he came
2 to the throne, he dwelt in Yin. In his 6th year, he ordered his heir-son, Woo-ting,
3 to dwell by the Ho, and study under Kan Pwan. In his 11th year, he died.

XXII. Woo-ting.

Note. Named Ch'aou.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ting-we* (44th of cycle, = B.C. 1,273), when he dwelt in
2 Yin, he confirmed the appointment of Kan Pwan as prime minister.[1] In his 3d
3 year, in consequence of a dream, he sought for Foo-yuĕ, and found him. In his
6th year, he confirmed Foo-yuĕ in the dignity of prime minister; and inspected the
4 schools where they nourished the aged.[2] In his 12th year, he offered a sacrifice
5 of thanksgiving to Shang-keah Wei.[3] In his 25th year, his son Heaou-e died in

the 28th year of Këĕ's reign; and Yin under the reign of the emperor Mang.

XXII. 1 See on the Charge to Yuĕ, Pt. iii., par. 1. 2 These schools were asylums. They were called schools, because the aged who were supported in them would enforce the duties of filial duty and submission. 3 See the note above, on the 16th year of the emp. Mang. 4 To which he had been banished, many say,

于野○二十九年、肜祭太廟、有雉來○三十二年、伐鬼方、次于荆○三十四年、王師克鬼方、氐羌來賓○四十三年、王師滅大彭○五十年、征豕韋、克之○五十九年、陟。

王般之大仁也力行王道不敢荒寧嘉靖殷邦至于小大無時或怨是時輿地東不過江黃西不過氐羌南不過荆蠻北不過朔方而頌聲作禮廢而復起廟號高宗

祖庚

名曜

元年丙午、王卽位、居殷、作高宗之訓○十一年、陟。

祖甲

名載

元年丁巳、王卽位、居殷○十二年、征西戎。冬、王返自西戎○十三年、西戎來賓、命邠侯組紺○二十四年、重作湯刑○二十七年、命王子囂、王子良○三十三年、陟。

1 a wilderness.[4] In his 29th year, at the supplementary sacrifice in the Grand
2 ancestral temple, a pheasant made its appearance.[5] In his 32d year, he smote the
3 country of the demons,[6] and camped in King. In his 34th year, the king's forces subdued the Demon-region, when the tribes of Te-keang came and made their sub
4 mission. In his 43d year, his forces extinguished the State of Ta-p'ang.
6 In his 50th year, he led an expedition against Ch'e-wei, and subdued it. In his 9th year, he died.

Note. Woo-ting was the great benevolent sovereign of Yin. Vigorously did he carry out the royal principles, not allowing himself in idleness. Admirably did he still the States of Yin, so that, great or small, they never murmured against him. In his time, the empire, on the East, did not extend beyond the Këang and Hwang; on the West, it did not extend beyond Te-këang; on the South, it did not extend beyond King and Man; on the North, it did not extend beyond Sŏ-fang. But Praise-songs were heard again, and ceremonies revived from their decay. He received the sacrificial title of Kaou-tsung.

XXIII. Tsoo-kang.

Note. Named Yaou.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ping-woo* (43d of cycle, = B.C. 1,214), when he came to
2 the throne, he dwelt in Yin; and made 'The Instructions of Kaou-tsung.' In his 11th year, he died.

XXIV. Tsoo-këah.

Note. Named Tsae.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ting-sze* (54th of cycle, = B.C. 1,203), when he came to
2 the throne, he dwelt in Yin. In his 12th year, he led a punitive expedition
3 against the hordes of the West; from which he returned in the winter. In his 13th year, the hordes of the West came to make their submission. He confirmed
4 the appointment of Tsoo-kan, prince of Pin. In his 24th year, he established
5 anew the penal statutes of T'ang. In his 27th year, he gave appointments to his
6 sons, Gaou and Lëang. In his 33d year, he died.

by his father. But this may be an invention of future times. 5 See the ixth of the Books of Shang. 6 See the concluding note to the said Book.

王舊在野、及即位、知小人之依、能保惠庶民、不侮鰥寡、迨其末也、繁刑以攜遠、殷道復衰。

馮辛

名先、史記作廩辛、

元年、庚寅、王即位、居殷○四年、陟。

庚丁

名囂、

元年、甲午、王即位、居殷○八年、陟。

武乙

名瞿、

元年、壬寅、王即位、居殷、邠遷于岐周○三年、自殷遷于河北。命周公亶父、賜以岐邑○十五年、自河北遷于沬○二十一年、周公亶父薨○二十四年、周師伐程、戰于畢、克之○三十年、周師伐義渠、乃獲其君以歸○三十四年、周公季歷

Note. This king had lived, when young, away from the court, so that, when he came to the throne, he knew the necessities of the inferior people, protected them with kindness, and allowed no contumely to the wifeless and widows. Towards the end of his reign, however, by multiplying punishments, he alienated the people of distant regions; and the fortunes of Yin again decayed.

XXV. FUNG-SIN.

Note. Styled Lin-sin in the Historical Records. His name was Sëen.

1 In his 1st year, which was *kang-yin* (27th of cycle, = B.C. 1,170), when he came
2 to the throne, he dwelt in Yin. In his 4th year, he died.

XXVI. KANG-TING.

Note. Named Gaou.

1 In his 1st year, which was *këah-woo* (31st of cycle, = B.C. 1,166), when he came to
2 the throne, he dwelt in Yin. In his 8th year, he died.

XXVII. WOO-YIH.

Note. Named K'eu.

1 In his 1st year, which was *jin-yin* (39th of cycle, = B.C. 1,158), he dwelt in Yin.
2 *The prince of* Pin removed to Chow near mount K'e.[1] In his 3d year, the king
removed from Yin to the north of the Ho.[2] He confirmed the dignity of T'an-foo as
3 duke of Chow, and conferred on him the city of K'e. In his 15th year, he
4 removed from *the place he then occupied on* the north of the Ho to Mei.[3] In
5 his 21st year, T'an-foo, duke of Chow, died. In his 24th year, the forces of Chow
6 smote Ch'ing. A battle was fought at Peih, which was subdued.[4] In his 30th
year, the forces of Chow attacked E-k'eu,[5] and returned with its ruler as a captive.
7 In his 34th year, Ke-leih, duke of Chow, came and did homage at court, when
the king conferred on him 30 *le* of ground, ten pairs of gems, and ten horses.

XXVII. 1 The prince of Pin, who made this removal, was T'an-foo, or king T'ae, celebrated in the She, and by Mencius. K'e-san is still the name of a dis. in Fung-ts'ëang dep., Shen-se. By this move the House of Chow brought its principal seat nearly 100 miles farther east. 2 I agree with Ch'in-fung that it is better not to try to identify this 'North of the Ho' with any particular site. 3 See on the 'Announcement about Drunkenness,' par. 1.
4 Ch'ing and Peih were in the dis. of Heen-ning. dep. Se-gan. 5 In the pres. dep. of

來朝、王賜地三十里、玉十瑴、馬十匹〇三十五年、周公季歷、伐西落鬼戎。王畋于河渭、大雷震死。

文丁

史記作太丁非名托

元年、丁丑、王卽位、居殷〇二年、周公季歷、伐燕京之戎、敗績〇三年、洹水一日三絶〇四年、周公季歷、伐余無之戎、克之、命爲牧師〇五年、周作程邑〇七年、周公季歷、伐始呼之戎、克之〇十一年、周公季歷、伐翳徒之戎、獲其三大夫來獻捷、王殺季歷。

王嘉季歷之功錫之圭瓚秬鬯九命爲伯旣而執諸塞庫季歷困而死因謂文丁殺季歷

十二年、有鳳集於岐山〇十三年、陟。

8 In his 35th year, Ke-leih, duke of Chow, smote the demon hordes of the Western tribes.6 The king was hunting between the Ho and the Wei, when he was frightened to death by a great thunderstorm.

XXVIII. WAN-TING.

Note. Wrongly styled T'ae-ting in the Historical Records. His name was T'ŏ.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ting-ch'ow* (14th of cycle, = B.C. 1,123), when he came
2 to the throne, he dwelt in Yin.1 In his 2d year, Ke-leih, duke of Chow, attacked
3 the hordes of Yen-king,2 and was defeated. In his 3d year, the Yuen-water
4 thrice ceased to flow in one day. In his 4th year, Ke-leih attacked the hordes
of Yu-woo, and subdued them, after which he received the dignity of Pastor and
6 Teacher. In his 5th year, Chow built the city of Ch'ing. In his 7th year,
7 Ke-leih attacked the hordes of Ch'e-hoo, and subdued them. In his 11th year,
Ke-leih smote the hordes of E-t'oo, and, having taken their three great chiefs, came with them to court to report his victory. The king put Ke-leih to death.

Note. The king *at first* appreciated the services of Ke-leih, gave him a libation mace, with flavoured spirits of the black millet, and the nine ensigns of distinction as chief of the princes; and after all that, he confined him in the house of restraint, so that Ke-leih died from the trouble, and gave occasion to the saying that Wăn-ting killed him.

8 In his 12th year, phœnixes collected on mount K'e.

Note. This was the 1st year of king Wăn of Chow.

9 In his 15th year, the king died.

K'ing-yang, Kan-suh. 6 These 'demon hordes' are diff't. from the people of the 'demon region,' subdued by Woo-ting. 落=部落, a tribe.

XXVIII. 1 There is a note here that 'he returned from Mei to Yin.' But Ch'in-fung denies this, and argues that, while his father had moved from the old capital, T'ŏ had continued always in it. 2 The hill of Yen-king was in the pres. dis. of Tsing-lŏ, dep. of Yin, Shan-se. 3 There is nothing improbable in this. The sovereign of the decaying dynasty might, in a sudden fit of jealousy, thus make away with the Head of the rising House. As the fact, however, is not elsewhere mentioned, the friends of the Annals labour to explain away the passage, or to show that it is corrupted.

帝乙

名羨

元年、庚寅、王即位、居殷○三年、王命南仲、西拒昆夷、城朔方。夏、六月、周地震○九年、陟。

帝辛

名受、即紂也、曰受辛

元年、己亥、王即位、居殷、命九侯周侯邢侯、周侯爲西伯昌○三年、有雀生鸇○四年、大蒐于黎。作炮烙之刑○五年、夏築南單之臺。雨土于亳○六年、西伯初禴于畢○九年、王師伐有蘇、獲妲己以歸。作瓊室、立玉門○十年、夏、六月、王畋于西郊○十七年、西伯伐翟。冬、王遊於淇○二十一年、春、正月、諸侯朝周。伯夷、叔齊、自孤竹歸于周○二十二年、冬、大蒐于渭

XXIX. TE-YIH.

Note. Named Sëen.

1 In his 1st year, which was *kang-yin* (27th of cycle, = B.C. 1,110), when he came
2 to the throne, he dwelt in Yin. In his 3d year, he ordered Nan Chung to oppose the hordes of Keun on the west, and to wall *the city of* Soh-fang. In the summer, in
3 the 6th month, there was an earthquake in Chow. In his 9th year, he died.

XXX. TE-SIN.

Note. Named Show. This was Chow. He is also called Show-sin.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ke-hae* (36th of cycle, = B.C. 1,101), when he came to the throne, he dwelt in Yin. He gave appointments to the princes of K'ew, Chow, and Yu.

Note. The prince of Chow was Ch'ang, chief of the West.

3 In his 3d year, a sparrow produced a hawk. In his 4th year, he had a great
4 hunting in Le.[1] He invented the punishment of Roasting.[2] In his 5th year, in the summer, he built the tower of Nan-tan.[3] There was a shower of earth in Poh.
5 In his 6th year, the chief of the west offered sacrifice for the first time to his an-
6 cestors in Peih.[4] In his 9th year, the royal forces attacked the State of Soo, and brought away Tan-ke as a captive. *The king* made an apartment for her, with
7 walls of carnation stone, and the doors all-adorned with gems. In his 10th year,
8 in the summer, in the 6th month, he hunted in the western borders. In his 17th year, the chief of the west smote the Teih.[5] In the winter, the king made a pleasure
9 excursion in K'e.[6] In his 21st year, in the spring, in the 1st month, the princes went to Chow to do homage. Pih-e and Shuh-ts'e[7] betook themselves to Chow
10 from Koo-chuh. In his 22d year, in the winter, he had a great hunting along

XXX. 1 九 here is read as 仇. It was the name of a State, which was also called 鬼,—probably in the pres. dep. of Chang-tih, Ho-nan. The three princes here seem to have been the three *kung*. 2 See on the ixth of the Books of Shang. 3 What is called in the Shoo 'the Stag tower.' 4 Ke-leih had been buried in Peih. Ch'in-fung supposes this was a sacrifice at his tomb. 5 These were different tribes, occupying the northern regions, west of the Ho. 6 The pres. dis. of K'e, dep. Wei-hwuy. 7 See the Ana., V., xxii., *et al.*

○二十三年、囚西伯于羑里○二十九年、
釋西伯、諸侯逆西伯歸于程○三十年、春、
三月、西伯率諸侯入貢○三十一年、西伯
治兵于畢、得呂尙以爲師○三十二年、五
星聚于房。有赤烏集于周社。密人侵阮、西
伯帥師伐密○三十三年、密人降于周師、
遂遷于程。王錫命西伯、得專征伐。

約按文王受命九年大統未集
蓋得專征伐受命自此年始

三十四年、周師取耆及邗、遂伐崇、崇人降。
冬、十二月、昆夷侵周○三十五年、周大饑、
西伯自程遷于豐○三十六年、春正月、諸
侯朝于周、遂伐昆夷。西伯使世子發營鎬
○三十七年、周作辟雍○三十九年、大夫
辛甲出奔周○四十年、周作靈臺。王使膠
鬲求玉于周○四十一年、春、三月、西伯昌
薨、周文王葬畢、畢西於豐三十里○四十二年、周武王元年西
伯發、受丹書于呂尙。有女子化爲丈夫○

11 the Wei. In his 23d year, he imprisoned the chief of the west in Yew-le.[8]

12 In his 29th year, he liberated the chief of the west, who was met by *many of* the

13 princes, and escorted back to Ch'ing. In his 30th year, in the spring, in the 3d month, the chief of the west led the princes to the court with their tributes. In

14 his 31st year, the chief of the west began to form a regular army in Peih, with Leu

15 Shang as its commander. In his 32d year, there was a conjunction of the five planets in Fang. A red crow lighted on the altar to the spirits of the land in Chow. The people of Meih invaded Yuen, when the chief of the west led a force against

16 Meih.[9] In his 33d year, the people of Meih surrendered to the army of Chow, and were removed to Ch'ing. The king granted power to the chief of the west to punish and attack *offending* States on his own discretion.

Note by Yŏ. King Wăn thus for 9 years received the appointment *of Heaven;* and the empire was not yet all secured by him *at his death.* His plenipotent authority to punish and attack, in which the will of Heaven might be seen, commenced in this year.

17 In his 34th year, the forces of Chow took K'e and Yu; and then attacked Ts'ung, which surrendered. In the winter, in the 12th month, the hordes of Keun overran

18 Chow. In the 35th year, there was a great famine in Chow; when the chief of

19 the west removed from Ch'ing to Fung. In his 36th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, the princes went to court at Chow, and then they smote the hordes of

20 Keun. The chief of the west made his heir-son Fă build Haou. In his 37th

21 year, *the duke of* Chow built an imperial college.[9] In his 39th year, the great

22 officer Sin-këah fled to Chow. In his 40th year, *the duke of* Chow made the

23 spirit-tower. The king sent Kaou-kih to seek for gems in Chow.[10] In his 41st year, in the spring, in the 3d month, Ch'ang, the chief of the west, died.

Note. King Wăn of Chow was buried in Peih;—30 *le* west from Fung.

24 In his 42d year,—(the 1st year of king Woo of Chow)—Fah chief of the west, received the vermilion book from Leu shang.[11] A girl changed into a man. In his

8 In the dis. of T'ang-yin, dep. Chang-tih.
9 Both Meih and Yuen were in the pres. dep. of P'ing-lëang, Kan-suh. 9 The building of a P'eih-yung in Chow was the exercising an imperial prerogative. See on the She, Pt. II, Bk. III., Ode. ii.
10 There is a story of a tablet of gem belonging to the princes of Chow, which Show coveted,

四十三年、春、大閱。嶢山崩()四十四年、西伯發伐黎○四十七年、內史向摯出奔周()四十八年、夷羊見。二日並出○五十一年、冬、十一月、戊子、周師渡盟津而還。王囚箕子、殺王子比干、微子出奔○五十二年、庚寅、周始伐殷。秋、周師次于鮮原。冬、十有二月、周師有事于上帝、庸、蜀、羌、髳、微、盧、彭、濮、從周師伐殷。伐殷至邢邱更名邢邱曰懷

湯滅夏以至于受二十九王用歲四百九十六年

25 43d year, in the spring, he had a grand review. *Part of* mount K'aou fell down.
26 In his 44th year, Fah smote Le. In his 47th year, the recorder of the Interior,
27 Hëang Che, fled to Chow. In his 48th year, the E goat[12] was seen. Two suns
28 appeared together. In his 51st year, in the winter, in the 11th month, on the day *mow-tsze* (25th of cycle), the army of Chow crossed the ford of Mang; but returned. The king imprisoned the viscount of K'e; and put his relative, Pe-kan, to
29 death; while the viscount of Wei fled away. In his 52d year, which was *kang-yin* (27th of cycle), Chow made its first attack on Yin. In the autumn, the army of Chow camped in the plain of Sëen. In the winter, in the 12th month, it sacrificed to God. The tribes of Yung, Shuh, Këang, Maou, Wei, Loo, P'ang, and Puh, followed Chow to the attack of Yin.[14]

Note. They marched to Hing-k'ew, the name of which was changed to Hwae.
From the extinction of Hea by T'ang to Show were 29 kings, and 496 years.

and wished thus to get for himself. 11 This was a book of Counsels, containing the principles of Hwang-te, and Chuen-heuh. 12 This was a prodigious thing, 'a spirit-like animal,'—variously described. 13 This was in K'e Chow. 14 See on 'Speech at Muh.'

竹書紀年卷之五

周武王

名發初高辛氏之世妃曰姜嫄助祭郊禖見大人迹履之當時歆如有人道感已遂有身而生男以爲不祥棄之隘巷牛羊避而不踐又送之山林之中會伐林者又取而置寒冰上大鳥以一翼藉覆之姜嫄以爲異乃收養焉名之曰棄枝頤有異相長爲堯稷官有功於民后稷之孫曰公劉有德諸侯皆以天子之禮待之初黃帝之世識言曰西北爲王期在甲子昌制命發行誅旦行道及公劉之後十三世而生季歷季歷之十年飛龍盈於殷之牧野此蓋聖人在下位將起之符也季歷之妃曰大任夢長人感已溲于豕牢而生昌是爲周文王龍顏虎肩身長十尺胸有四乳大王曰吾世當有興者其在昌乎季歷之兄曰太伯知天命在昌適越終身不反弟仲雍從之故季歷爲嗣以及昌昌爲西伯作邑於豐文王之妃曰太姒夢商庭生棘太子發

PART V.

The dynasty of Chow.

I. KING WOO.

Note. Named Fă. Of old time, Këang Yuen, the wife of the emperor Kaou-sin, was assisting him at a sacrifice in the borders in order to obtain a son, when she saw the footstep of a large man, and trod upon it. At the instant she felt after a certain manner, and, becoming pregnant, by and by gave birth to a son. Thinking the whole thing unlucky, she threw the child away in a narrow lane, but the goats and cattle avoided it, and did not trample on it. She then placed it in a wood, where it was found by a woodcutter. She took it then, and laid it upon the ice, and there a large bird came and covered it with one of his wings. Këang Yuen, surprised by all this, received the child at last, and nursed him, giving him the name of 'Cast-away.'

The lower part of the child's face was largely developed, and his appearance altogether extraordinary. When he was grown up, he became minister of Agriculture to Yaou, and rendered great services to the people. He is known as prince Tseih. His grandson Kung-lew was eminently virtuous, so that the princes behaved to him with the same ceremonies as they did to the emperor.

In the time of Hwang-te, there had been a prophecy, to the effect that 'the chief of the west should become king, in a certain *keă-tsze* year; that Ch'ang should lay the foundations of the dignity, Fă exercise the judgments necessary to it, and Tan develope its principles.' In the 13th generation, accordingly, from Kung-lew, Ke-leih was born; and in his 10th year, a multitude of flying dragons filled the pasture lands of Yin;—an emblem of a sage in an inferior position, who should in course of time rise to his proper distinction.

The wife of Ke-leih was called T'ae-jin, who became pregnant after dreaming that she had been with a tall man. Afterwards, when relieving nature, she gave birth to Ch'ang. This Ch'ang became king Wăn of Chow. He had a dragon's countenance, with a tiger's shoulders; was 10 cubits high; and had 4 nipples on his chest. *His grandfather*, king T'ae, said, 'It will be Ch'ang, in whom our family shall rise to distinction.' Ke-leih's eldest brother was T'ae-pih who, knowing

植梓樹於闕間化爲松栢棫柞以告文王文王幣率羣臣與發竝拜吉夢季秋之甲子赤爵銜書及豐置于昌戶昌拜稽首受其文要曰姬昌蒼帝子亡殷者紂王將畋史編卜之曰將大獲非熊非羆天遺汝師以佐昌臣太祖史疇爲禹卜畋得皋陶其兆類此至于磻溪之水呂尚釣於涯王下趨拜曰望公七年乃今見光景于斯尚立變名答曰望釣得玉璜其文要曰姬受命昌來提撰爾洛鈐報在齊尚出游見赤人自洛出授尚書命曰呂佐昌者子文王夢日月著其身又鸑鷟鳴於岐山孟春六日五緯聚房後有鳳凰銜書游文王之都書文曰殷帝無道虐亂天下皇命已移不得復久靈祇遠離百神吹去五星聚房昭理四海文王既沒太子發代立是爲武王武王駢齒望羊將伐紂至于孟津八百諸侯不期而會咸曰紂可伐矣武王不從及紂殺比干囚箕子微子去之乃伐紂渡孟津中流白魚躍入王舟王俯取魚長三尺目下有赤文成字言紂可伐王寫以世字魚文消燔魚以告天有火自天止於王屋流爲赤烏烏銜穀焉穀者紀后稷之德火者燔魚以告天天

that Heaven's purpose was to be realized in Ch'ang, went away to Yuĕ, and never returned. His next brother, Chung-yung, followed this example; so that Ke-leih remained to be his father's heir, and the succession descended to Ch'ang, who became chief of the West, and made his capital city in Fung.

The wife of king Wăn was called T'ae-sze. She dreamed that in the courtyard of the imperial palace there were thorns growing, while her eldest son Fă planted some *tsze* trees about their own gate, which changed into a fir, a cypress, a *yih*, and a *tsŏ*. This dream she told to king Wăn, who prepared gifts, and led his ministers along with Fă to give thanks for it.

On the kĕă-tsze day, in the last month of autumn, a red bird came to Fung with a writing in its beak, which it put down at the door of Ch'ang. Ch'ang received it with a reverential obeisance, and found the writing to this effect:—'Ke Ch'ang is the son of the God of the empyrean. The destroyer of Yin is Chow.' The king was about to go to hunt, when the recorder Pëen divined the meaning of this writing, and said:—'You will get great spoil; but not a bear nor a grisly bear. Heaven is sending a Grand-tutor to aid you. My ancestor, the recorder Ch'ow, divined once for Yu about hunting; and then he met with Kaou-yaou,—from an omen like that which has now occurred.' The hunting party went on, and at the water of P'wan-k'e, there was Leu Shang, fishing on the bank. The king descended, hastened to him, and said with a bow, 'I have been hoping to meet with you for seven years, and now I find you here.' Shang instantly changed his name at these words, and answered, 'I, Hope (the looked for), fished up a semicircular gem with this inscription:—"Ke has received the appointment of Heaven; Ch'ang will come and take it up. You have fished this up in the Lŏ, and will have your reward in Ts'e."'

Shang went out *one day* rambling, when he saw a red man come out from the Lŏ, who gave him a writing, with the words:—'As a backbone, you must assist Ch'ang.'

King Wăn dreamt that he was clothed with the sun and moon. A phœnix duck sang on mount K'e. In the first month of spring, on the 6th day, the five planets had a conjunction in Fang. Afterwards a male and female phœnix went about Wăn's capital with a writing in their beaks, which said:—'The emperor of Yin has no principle, but oppresses and disorders the empire. The great decree is removed; Yin cannot enjoy it longer. The powerful spirits of the earth have left it; all the spirits are whistled away. The conjunction of the five planets in Fang brightens all within the four seas.'

When king Wan was dead, his eldest son Fă ruled in his stead. His teeth were one piece of bone, and he had a shepherd's eyes. When he was about to attack Chow, and had reached the ford of Măng, 800 princes came together, without any previous understanding, all saying, 'Show may be smitten.' King Woo, however, did not listen to them; but when Show had killed Pe-kan, imprisoned the viscount of K'e, and was abandoned by the viscount of Wei, then he assailed him. When he was crossing the river at the ford of Măng, in the middle of the stream, a white fish leaped into the king's boat. The king stooped down and took it up. It was 3 cubits long, and under its eyes were red lines which formed the characters—'Chow may be smitten.' The king wrote over them the character for 'dynasty,' and the words disappeared. After this he burned the fish in sacrifice, and announced the event to Heaven. Lo! fire came down from heaven, and rested over Wang-uh, gradually floating away into a red bird, with a stalk of grain in its beak. The

火流下應以吉也遂東伐紂勝於牧野兵不血刃而天下歸之乃封呂尚於齊周德既隆草木茂盛蒿堪爲宮室因名蒿室既有天下遂都于鎬

十二年、辛卯、王率西夷諸侯伐殷、敗之于坶野、王親禽受于南單之臺、遂分天之明、立受子祿父、是爲武庚。夏四月、王歸于豐、饗于太廟、命監殷、遂狩於管。作大武樂。〇十三年、巢伯來賓。薦殷于太廟、遂大封諸侯。秋大有年。〇十四年、王有疾、周文公禱于壇墠、作金縢。〇十五年、肅慎氏來賓。初狩方岳、誥于沬邑。冬遷九鼎于洛。〇十六年、箕子來朝。秋王師滅蒲姑。〇十七年、命王世子誦于東宮。冬十有二月王陟、年五十四。

grain was in commemoration of the virtue of prince Tseih; the fire was an auspicious response from heaven to the burnt-offering of the fish.

Woo then went eastward and attacked Show, whom he vanquished in the wilderness of Muh. His soldiers did not need to stain their swords with blood, *so easily* did the empire turn to him. He invested Leu Shang with the principality of Ts'e. Through the abundance of the virtue of Chow, all vegetation was most luxuriant; even the southernwood could supply materials for building a palace, and hence we have the name—'southernwood house.' When he was possessed of the empire, Woo fixed his capital in Haou.

1 In his 12th year, which was *sin-maou* (28th of cycle, = B.C. 1,049), the king led
the tribes of the west and the princes to attack Yin, and defeated *Show* in the wilder-
ness of Muh. He took with his own hand Show prisoner in the tower of Nan-tan;[2]
and entered into the participation of the bright appointment of Heaven,[3] setting up,
to continue the sacrifices to his ancestors, Luh-foo, the son of Show, known as Woo-
kang.[4] In the summer, in the 4th month, he returned to Fung, and sacrificed in the
ancestral temple. He appointed Inspectors of Yin, and went himself on a tour of
2 inspection to Kwan.[5] He made the music Ta-woo. In his 13th year, the baron
of Ch'aou came to make his submission. He presented *the captives of Yin* in the
Grand ancestral temple;[6] and afterwards granted great investitures to the princes.
3 In the autumn there was a very abundant harvest. In his 14th year, the king
was unwell, when the duke Wan of Chow prayed *for him* on an altar-area, and
4 made 'The Metal-bound Coffer.'[7] In his 15th year, the prince of Suhshin came
to make his submission. He made his first tour of inspection to the mountains of
the four quarters, and made an announcement to the cities of Me.[8] In the winter, he
5 removed the nine tripods to Loh. In his 16th year, the viscount of Ke came to
6 do homage. In the autumn, the royal forces extinguished P'oo-koo. In his
17th year, he appointed his heir-son Sung in the eastern palace to be his successor.
In the winter, in the 12th month, he died, being 94 years old.

I. 1 Reckoning from the 42d year of Show, when Woo succeeded his father, as duke of Chow. 2 禽=擒. See the acct. of Show's death in the note on par. 1 of 'The Successful Completion of the War.' 3 It is diffi. to translate 分天之明. I take 明=明命. Some take 分 as by mistake for 受: but I have brought out the same meaning which that would give. The text will not allow the meaning of—'before day-break' (天尙未明), which Wăn-tsing gives. 4 The 立 or 'setting' up of Show's son is to be understood only as I have indicated. There was no participation of the empire with him, as the 分 preceding seems to make Biot suppose. 5 See the note on par. 12 of 'The Metal-bound Coffer.' 6 That is, he presented the left ears which had been cut off. See the She, Pt III., Bk. I. Ode vii., 8. 7 See the Shoo Pt. V., Bk. VI.. 8 This was 'The Announcement about Drunkenness;' but see, in the notes on that Bk. of the Shoo, the controversies about the date and the author. 沬邑=沬邦.

成王

名誦

元年、丁酉、春正月、王卽位、命冢宰周文公總百官。庚午、周公誥諸侯于皇門。夏六月、葬武王于畢。秋、王加元服。武庚以殷叛。周文公出居于東。○二年、奄人徐人、及淮夷入于邶以叛。秋、大雷電以風、王逆周文公于郊、遂伐殷。○三年、王師滅殷、殺武庚祿父、遷殷民于衞、遂伐奄、滅蒲姑。姑與四國作亂故周文公伐之。○四年、春正月、初朝于廟。夏四月、初嘗麥。王師伐淮夷、遂入奄。○五年、春正月、王在奄、遷其君于蒲姑。夏五月、王至自奄。遷殷民于洛邑、遂營成周。○六年、大蒐于岐陽。○七年、周公復政于王。春二月、王如豐。三月、召康公如洛度邑。甲子、周文公誥多士于成周、遂城東都。王如東都、諸侯來朝。

II. King Ching.

Note. Named Sung.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ting-yew* (34th of cycle, = B.C. 1,043), in the spring, in the 1st month, when he came to the throne, he ordered the prime minister, duke Wăn of Chow, to take the leadership of all the officers. On the day *kang-woo* (7th of cycle), the duke of Chow made an announcement to the princes at the great gate.[1] In the summer, in the 6th month, they buried king Woo in Peih. In the autumn, the king assumed the covering for the head.[2] Woo-kăng with the people of Yin rebelled. Duke Wăn of Chow left the court to reside in the east.[3]

2 In his 2d year, the people of Yen and of Seu, with the hordes of the Hwae, entered Pei[4] with the standard of rebellion. In the autumn, there was a great storm of thunder and lightning, with wind, when the king met the duke of Chow in the borders; and immediately after, they smote Yin.

3 In the 3d year, the king's armies extinguished Yin; Woo-kăng Luh-foo was put to death; the people of Yin were removed to Wei;[5] Yen was forthwith invaded; and P'oo-koo was extinguished.[6]

Note. Koo was aiding in the rebellion of the four kingdoms; and therefore the duke of Chow extinguished it.

4 In his 4th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, he first gave audience *to the princes* in *his father's* temple. In the summer, in the 4th month, he first tasted *the first fruits of* the wheat.[7] The army smote the hordes of the Hwae, and then entered Yen.

5 In his 5th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, the king was in Yen, and removed its ruler to P'oo-koo. In the summer, in the 5th month, he came from Yen, and removed the people of Yin to the city of Loh; and thereon proceeded to build Ching-chow.

6 In his 6th year, he made a grand hunting expedition on the south of mount K'e.

7 In his 7th year, the duke of Chow restored the government to the

II. 2 The 'great gate' was on the left of the 5th or last of the principal gates of the palace. The duke would harangue the nobles in the usual place of 'Audience of govt.' 2 元=首, 'the head.' 'The dress for the head'=the cap. King Ching was now, it is generally said, 14 years old. His capping=the acknowledgement of him as king. 3 See on 'The Metal-bound Coffer,' pp. 12, 13. 4 The portion of Yin, ruled by the king's uncle, Ch'oo. 5 See on the 9th of the Books of Chow. 6 This was said to be done in the last reign. 7 See

冬、王歸自東都。立高圉廟○八年、春正月、王初蒞阼親政。命魯侯禽父、齊侯伋、遷庶殷于魯。作象舞。冬十月、王師滅唐、遷其民于杜○九年、春正月、有事于太廟、初用勺。肅慎氏來朝、王使榮伯錫肅慎氏命○十年、王命唐叔虞爲侯。越裳氏來朝。周文公出居于豐○十一年、春正月、王如豐。唐叔獻嘉禾、王命唐叔歸禾于周文公。王命周平公治東都。

約按周平公卽君陳周公之子伯禽之弟

十二年、王師燕師城韓、王錫韓侯命○十三年、王師會齊侯魯侯伐戎。夏六月、魯大禘于周公廟○十四年、齊師圍曲城、克之。冬、洛邑告成○十八年、春正月、王如洛邑、定鼎。鳳凰見、遂有事于河。

king. In the spring, in the 2d month, the king went to Fung. In the 3d month, duke K'ang of Shaou went to Loh, to measure *the ground for* the city. On the day *këah-tsze* (1st of cycle), the duke Wăn of Chow made an announcement to the numerous officers in Ching-chow; and thereon they walled the eastern capital. The king then went to it, and the princes came to do him homage. In the winter, he
8 returned from it, and appointed *anew* a shrine to Kaou-yu.[8] In his 8th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, he first took his position as imperial host, and administered the government for himself. He gave orders to K'in-foo, prince of Loo, and K'eih, prince of Ts'e, to remove the multitudes of Yin to Loo. He made the pantomimic dance, called Sëang. In the winter, in the 10th month, his forces extinguished
9 the State of T'ang,[9] and removed its people to Too.[10] In his 9th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, he had a great sacrificial service in the grand ancestral temple, when he first used the *choh*.[11] The chief of Suh-shin came to do homage,
10 when the king employed the baron of Yung to convey his Charge to him.[12] In his 10th year, he appointed his brother Yu of T'ang to be *head of all the* princes.[13] The chief of Yueh-chang[14] appeared to do homage. The duke of Chow left the court,
11 and resided in Fung. In his 11th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, the king went to Fung. His brother of T'ang presented a stalk of fine grain, and was ordered to convey it to the duke Wăn of Chow. The king appointed duke P'ing of Chow to govern the eastern capital.[15]

Note by Yŏ. This duke P'ing of Chow is Keun-ch'in, the son of the duke of Chow, and younger brother of Pih-k'in.

12 In his 12th year, the king's forces and those of Yen walled Han;[16] and the king
13 gave a Charge to the prince of Han. In his 13th year, the king's forces assembled with *those of* the princes of Ts'e and Loo, and smote the hordes of the Jung. In the summer, in the 6th month, *the prince of* Loo offered the grand imperial sacrifice in
14 the temple of the duke of Chow. In his 14th year, the forces of Ts'e invested the city of K'euh,[17] and subdued it. In the winter, the announcement was made of
15 the completion of Loh. In his 18th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, the king went to Loh, and settled *the place of* the tripods there. Phœnixes made their appearance, and a sacrifice was offered near the Ho.

on the Le Ke, Bk. IV., Pt. iii., p. 17. 8 See on the 15th year of Tsoo-yih. 9 Occupied by descendants of Yaou;—in the pres. dis. of Yih-shing, dep. P'ing-yang. 10 In the dis. of Ch'ang-gan, dep. Se-gan. 11 The *chŏ* was a song, with music, made by the duke of Chow, and used at a certain part of the service. 勺=汋=酌. 12 See the Pref. to the Shoo, 56th Notice. 13 There is no end of difficulty in fixing the meaning of this sentence. 14 See the Introductory note to the xxist of the Books of Chow. 15 That is—'appointed him who was subsequently duke P'ing of Chow.' *The* duke of Chow was not yet dead. 16 Prob. in the pres. dis of Koo-ngan, dep. of Shun-t'ëen. Not far from Yen. 17 A place of an eastern tribe, in the pres. dep. of Tung-lae. 18 See on the xxth of the Books of Chow.

武王沒成王少周公旦攝政七年制禮作樂神鳥鳳凰見蓂莢生乃與成王觀于河洛沈璧禮畢王退俟至于日昃榮光出幕河青雲浮至青龍臨壇銜玄甲之圖坐之而去禮于洛亦如之玄龜青龍止于壇背甲刻書赤文成字周公援筆以世文寫之書成文消龜墮甲而去其言自周公訖于秦漢盛衰之符麒麟遊苑鳳凰翔庭成王援琴而歌曰鳳凰翔兮於紫庭余何德兮以感靈賴先王兮恩澤臻于胥樂兮民以寧

十九年、王巡狩侯甸方岳、召康公從、歸于宗周、遂正百官、黜豐侯〇二十一年、除治象。周文公薨于豐〇二十二年、葬周文公于畢〇二十四年、於越來賓〇二十五年、王大會諸侯于東都、四夷來賓。冬十月、歸自東都、大事于太廟〇三十年、離戎來賓。

約按離戎驪山之戎也爲林氏所伐告于成王

Note. When king Woo died, king Ching was still young; and Tan, duke of Chow, acted as regent for 7 years. He made the institutions and music of the dynasty. Spirit-like birds and phœnixes appeared; and the mysterious bean grew up. After this he went with king Ching to view the Ho and the Lŏ. Having dropt a gem into the water, and finished all the ceremonies, the king retired and waited till the day declined. Then rays of glory came out, and shrouded all the Ho; and green clouds came floating in the sky. A green dragon came to the altar, carrying in his mouth a dark-coloured shell, with a figure on it, which he placed on the altar, and went away. They did in the same way at the Lŏ, and the same things happened. On the shell in red lines were characters, which the duke of Chow copied in the current forms of the age. When his writing was finished, the tortoise dropped the shell, and went away. The writing was all about the rise and fall in the fortunes of the empire down to the dynasties of Ts'in and Han. K'e-lins wandered in the parks; phœnixes flew about in the courtyards; king Ching took a lute, and sang:—

'The phœnixes fly
All around my hall.
What virtue have I
So spirits to call?

'From the former kings
This influence comes;
Theirs the joy that rings
In the people's homes.'

16 In his 19th year, the king made a tour of inspection to the *how* and *teen* domains,
and to the four mountains, the duke K'ang of Shaou being in attendance on him.
When he returned to Tsung-chow, he settled the various orders of officers,[18] and
17 degraded the prince of Fung.[19] In his 21st year, he removed the representations
18 of the penal laws.[20] The duke Wan of Chow died in Fung. In his 22d year,
19 he buried duke Wan in Peih. In his 24th year, *the chief of* Yu-yueh came to
20 make his submission.[21] In his 25th year, the king held a great assembly of the
princes in the eastern capital, when the wild tribes of the four quarters came to make
their submission. In the winter, in the 10th month, he returned from the eastern
21 capital, and performed a great service in the grand ancestral temple. In his 30th
year, the hordes of Le came to make their submission.

Note by Yŏ. The hordes of Le belonged to mount Le. They had been smitten by the chief of Lin, who announced the event to king Ching.

19 It is said that when king Woo occupied Haou as his capital, he granted Fung as the appanage of one of his younger brothers, whom Ching degraded for drunkenness. 20 Such representations were hung up before one of the palace gates, and perhaps the gates of public offices generally. Ching thought the people were now so accustomed to the rule of Chow, and acquainted with the laws, that they did not need the lessons of such figures and descriptions. 21 The rulers of Yuĕ, called Yu-yuĕ

三十三年、王遊于卷阿、召康公從、歸于宗周。命王世子釗、如房逆女、房伯祈歸于宗周○三十四年、雨金于咸陽。

約按咸陽天雨金三年國有大喪

三十七年、夏四月、乙丑、王陟。

康王

名釗

元年、甲戌、春正月、王即位、命冢宰召康公、總百官。諸侯朝于豐宮○三年、定樂歌、吉禘于先王、申戒農官、告于廟○六年、齊太公薨○九年、唐遷于晉、作宮而美、王使人讓之○十二年、夏六月、壬申、王如豐、錫畢公命。秋、毛懿公薨○十六年、錫齊侯伋命。王南巡狩、至九江廬山○十九年、魯侯禽父薨○二十一年、魯築茅闕門○二

22 In his 33d year, the king rambled in Keuen-o,[22] with duke K'ang of Shaou in attendance, and then returned to Tsung-chow. He ordered his heir-son Ch'aou to go to Fang[23] to bring home his bride. K'e, the baron of Fang, escorted her to Tsung-
23 chow. In his 34th year, it rained gold in Hëen-yang.[24]

Note by Yŏ. It rained gold in Hëen-yang; and in 3 years, the empire sustained a great loss.

24 In his 37th year, in the summer, in the 4th month, on the day *yih-ch'ow* (2d of cycle), the king died.

III. King K'ang.

Note. Named Ch'aou.

1 In his 1st year, which was *keah-seuh* (11th of cycle, = B.C. 1,006), in the spring, in the 1st month, when he came to the throne, he ordered the prime minister, duke K'ang of Shaou, to take the leadership of all the officers. The princes did homage
2 in the palace of Fung. In his 3d year, he fixed the songs for the different musical performances. The period of mourning being over, he offered the imperial sacrifice to his predecessor.[2] He renewed the admonitions to the officers of agriculture,[3] and
3 announced them in the ancestral temple. In his 6th year, duke T'ae of Ts'e
4 died.[4] In his 9th year, *the prince* of T'ang removed to Tsin,[5] and made a palace
5 in a beautiful style. The king sent and reproved him. In his 12th year, in the summer, in the 6th month, on the *jin-shin* day (9th of cycle), the king went to Fung, and gave his Charge to the duke of Peih.[6] In the autumn, duke E of Maou died.
6 In his 16th year, he give a Charge to K'eih, the duke of Ts'e. He went south
7 on a tour of inspection, as far as mount Loo of Kew-keang. In his 19th year,
8 K'in-foo, prince of Loo, died. In his 21st year, the prince of Loo made *a palace*, with the sentry lofts above the gates covered with rushes. In his

(于, or 於, 越), were descendants of Yu the Great. The capital was on the north of Hwuy-k'e. 22 See on the She, Pt. III., Bk. II., Ode. viii. 23 The pres. dis. of Fang, dep. Yun-yang, Hoo-pih. Here, it is said, Shun placed Choo, the son of Yaou. 24 A dis. of dep. Se-ngan. Here Ke-leih had at one time his capital.

III. 1 The duke of Chow had made the music; king K'ang now fixed the songs for different pieces. 2 That is, he made all the necessary changes connected with the introduction of his father's shrine into the temple, and sacrificed to him. 3 Supposed to be in 3d of the 2d Bk. of the Praise-songs of Chow. 4 It would appear from 'The Testamentary Charge,' par. 10, that he was dead before this. 5 This change of site was not great. 6 See the xxivth of the Books of Chow. 7 Here the battle about the

十四年、召康公薨○二十六年、秋九月、己
未、王陟。

昭王

名瑕

元年、庚子、春正月、王卽位、復設象魏○六
年、王錫郇伯命。冬十二月、桃李華○十四
年、夏四月、恒星不見。秋七月、魯人弑其君
宰○十六年、伐楚涉漢、遇大兕○十九年、
春、有星孛于紫微。祭公辛伯從王伐楚、天
大曀、雉兎皆震、喪六師于漢。王陟。

穆王

名滿

元年、己未、春正月、王卽位、作昭宮、命辛伯
餘靡。冬十月、築祇宮于南鄭。

自武王至穆王享國百
年穆王以下都于西鄭

9 44th year, duke K'ang of Shaou died. In his 26th year, in the autumn, in the 9th month, on the day *ke-wei* (56th of cycle), the king died.

IV. KING CH'AOU.

Note. Named Hëa.

1 In his 1st year, which was *kang-tsze* (37th of cycle, = B.C. 980), in the spring, in the 1st month, when the king came to the throne, he restored the practice of suspend-
2 ing the representations of the penal laws. In his 6th year, he gave a Charge to the baron of Seun. In the winter, in the 12th month, peach trees and plum trees
3 were in flower. In his 14th year, in the summer, in the 4th month, the regular stars were invisible. In the autumn, in the 7th month, the people of Loo killed
4 their ruler Tsae. In his 16th year, *the king* attacked Ts'oo; and, in crossing
5 the Han, met with a large rhinoceros. In his 19th year, in the spring, a comet appeared in the space Tsze-mei.[2] The duke of Tse[3] and the baron of Sin[4] followed the king against Ts'oo. The heavens were dark and tempestuous. Pheasants and hares were terrified. The king's six armies perished in the Han. The king died.

V. KING MUH.

Note. Named Mwan.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ke-wei* (56th of cycle, = B.C. 961), in the spring, in the 1st month, after he came to the throne, he built the palace of Ch'aou, and gave a Charge to Yu-mei, the baron of Sin. In the winter, in the 10th month, he built the palace of Che in Nan-ch'ing.[2]

Note. From king Woo to Muh, the empire was possessed 100 years. From Muh downwards the capital was in Se-ch'ing.

'Nine Keang' is fought over again. See on 'The Tribute of Yu.'

IV. 1 In dis. of E-she, dep. P'oo-chow, Shan-se. 2 Including the stars about the north pole. 3 In Ch'ing Chow, dep. K'ae-fung. Its chiefs were of the family of the duke of Chow. 4 In the dis. Ch'ang-tsze, dep. Loo-ngan, Shan-se.

V. 1 This palace is supposed to have been somehow in commemoration of his father, king Ch'aou. The baron of Sin is represented in some accounts as having rescued him from the Han, though he died in consequence of the fright and injuries received. 2 In Hwa Chow, dep. T'ung-chow, Shen-se. 3 In the

六年、春、徐子誕來朝、錫命爲伯○八年、春、北唐來賓、獻一驪馬、是生騄耳○九年、築春宮王所居有鄭宮春宮○十一年、王命卿士祭公謀父○十二年、毛公班、共公利、逢公固、帥師從王、伐犬戎。冬十月、王北巡狩、遂征犬戎○十三年、春、祭公帥師、從王西征、次于陽紆。秋七月、西戎來賓。徐戎侵洛。冬十月、造父御王入于宗周○十四年、王帥楚子伐徐戎、克之、夏四月、王畋于軍邱。五月、作范宮。秋九月、翟人侵畢。冬蒐于萍澤。作虎牢○十五年、春正月、留昆氏來賓。作重璧臺。冬、王觀于鹽澤一作王幸安邑觀鹽池非是○十六年、霍侯舊薨。王命造父封于趙○十七年、王西征至昆侖邱、見西王母、其年、

2 In the 6th year, Tan, the viscount of Seu,[3] came to do homage, when the title of
3 baron was conferred on him. In his 8th year, *the chief* of the northern T'ang came to do homage, and presented a very swift mare, which produced *the famous*
4 Luh-urh.[4] In his 9th year, he built the Spring palace.

Note. The king resided in the spring palace, and that of Ch'ing.

5 In his 11th year, he gave additional distinction and a Charge to Mow-foo, duke of
6 Tse, the prime minister. In his 12th year, Pan, duke of Maou, Le, duke of Kung,[5] and Koo, duke of Fung, led their forces, in attendance on the king, against the hordes of the K'euen. In the winter, in the 10th month, the king being on a tour
7 of inspection in the north, punished those hordes. In his 13th year, the duke of Tse attended the king with his forces on an expedition to the west, when they encamped in Yang.[6] In the autumn, in the 7th month, the hordes of the west came to make their submission. The hordes of Seu invaded Loh. In the winter, Ts'aou-foo
8 drove the king *in triumph* into Tsung-chow. In his 14th year, he led the viscount of Ts'oo against the hordes of Seu, and subdued them. In the summer, in the 4th month, he hunted in Keun-k'ew. In the 5th month, he made the palace of Fan. In autumn, in the 9th month, the people of Teih invaded Peih. In the winter, there
9 was a grand hunting in the marsh of P'ing.[8] He built Foo-laou.[9] In his 15th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, the chief of Lew-keun came to make his submission. The king made the tower of Chung-peih. In the winter, he surveyed the Salt marsh.[11]

Note. One copy has here:—'The king went to Ngan-yih, and viewed the Salt pond.' This is wrong.

10 In his 16th year, Kew, prince of Hoh, died. The king gave a Charge to Ts'aou-
11 foo, and invested him with Chaou.[12] In his 17th year, he went on a punitive expedition to mount Keun-lun; and saw the western Wang-moo. That year the chief

pres. dep. of Seu-chow, Keang-soo. 4 King Muh was famous for his horses; he had several,—'Spurn the earth,' 'Mount the clouds,' &c. 5 Should probably be Tsing (井). 6 Undetermined. Some say it was in K'e-chow; others, in Ts'in; others far beyond, 3,000 *le* from Ts ung-chow. 7 An ancestor of the House of Ts'in, famous for his skilful and rapid driving. 8 Probably in dis. of Hea-yih, dep. Kwei-tih. It was near the capital of the early kings of Hea. 9 That is 'Tigers' Hold,' in dis. of Ke-shwuy, dep. K'ae-fung. Muh kept tigers here. 10 That is of 'storied *peih* gems.' 11 Supposed to be in the very distant west. Biot says:—'The great lake of the country of Cashgar.' 12 Dis. of Chaou-

西王母來朝、賓于昭宮。秋八月、遷戎于太原。

王北征、行流沙千里、積羽千里、征犬戎、取其五王以東。西征于青鳥所解三危山。西征還履天下、億有九萬里。

十八年、春正月、王居祗宮、諸侯來朝○二十一年、祭文公薨○二十四年、王命左史戎夫作記○三十五年、荊人入徐、毛伯遷帥師、敗荊人于泲○三十七年、大起九師、東至于九江、架黿鼉以爲梁、遂伐越、至于紆。荊人來貢○三十九年、王會諸侯于塗山○四十五年、魯侯濞薨○五十一年、作呂刑、命甫侯于豐○五十五年、王陟于祗宮。

共王

名繄

元年、甲寅、春正月、王即位○四年、王師滅密○九年、春正月、丁亥、王使內史良、錫毛伯遷命○十二年、王陟。

of Wang-moo came to court, and was lodged in the palace of Ch'aou. In the autumn, in the 8th month, *certain* hordes were removed to T'ae-yuen.

Note. The king, in his expeditions to the north, travelled over the country of the Moving Sands, for 1,000 *le*, and that of 'Heaps of Feathers,' for 1,000 *le*. Then he subdued the hordes of the K'euen, and returned to the east, with their five kings as captives. Westwards, he pushed his expeditions to where the green birds cast their feathers (the hill of San-wei). On these expeditions he travelled over 190,000 *le*.

12 In his 18th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, he dwelt in the palace of Che,
13 where the princes came and did homage. In his 21st year, duke Wăn of Tse
14 died. In his 24th year, he ordered Jung-foo, the recorder of the Left, to make a
15 Record.[13] In his 35th year, the people of King entered Seu, when Ts'ëen, baron
16 of Maou, led his forces, and defeated them near the Tse.[14] In his 37th year, the
king raised a great force of nine hosts, and proceeded eastward to Këw-keang, where
he crossed the water on a bridge of tortoises and iguanadons piled up.[15] After this,
he smote the people of Yuĕ as far as Yu. The people of King came with tribute.
18 In his 39th year, he assembled the princes at mount T'oo. In his 45th year,
19 Pe, prince of Loo, died. In his 51st year, he made the code of Leu on Punish-
20 ments, and gave a Charge to the prince of P'oo in Fung.[16] In his 59th year, he
died in the palace of Che.

VI. KING KUNG.

Note. Named E.

1 His 1st year was *këah-yin* (51st of cycle, = B.C. 906), when he came to the
3 throne. In his 4th year, the royal forces extinguished Meih. In his 9th
year, in the spring, in the 1st month, on the day *ting-hae* (24th of cycle), the king
made Lëang, the recorder of the Interior, convey a Charge to Ts'ëen, baron of Maou.
4 In his 12th year, the king died.

shing, dep. P'ing-yang. 13 It is understood that this Record was a history of the rise and fall of dynasties and States, down to the commencement of the Chow dyn. King Muh had come to himself, and was ashamed of his wars, wanderings, and extravagance. 14 泲=濟. See the Tribute of Yu, Pt. ii. p. 10. 15 Hăng makes this out to be only a bridge of boats 16. See the 27th of the Books of Chow.

懿王

名堅

元年、丙寅、春正月、王即位、天再旦于鄭○七年、西戎侵鎬○十三年、翟人侵岐○十五年、王自宗周、遷于槐里○十七年、魯厲公擢薨○二十一年、虢公帥師、北伐犬戎、敗逋○二十五年、王陟。

懿王之世興居無節號令不時挈壺氏不能共其職諸侯於是攜德

孝王

名辟方

元年、辛卯、春正月、王即位、命申侯伐西戎○五年、西戎來獻馬○七年、冬大雨雹、江漢冰、牛馬死

是年厲王生

○八年、初牧于汧渭○九年、王陟。

VII. KING E.

Note. Named Këen.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ping-yin* (3d of cycle, = B.C. 894), when he came to
2 the throne, there were two sunrisings in Ch'ing. In his 7th year, the hordes
3 of the west invaded Haou. In his 13th year, the people of Teih invaded K'e.
4 In his 16th year, the king removed from Tsung-chow to Hwae-le.[1] In his
6 17th year, Chih, the duke Le of Loo, died. In his 21st year, the duke of K'woh led his forces north, against the hordes of the K'euen, by whom he was defeated and
7 put to flight. In his 25th year, the king died.

Note. The movements of king E were without proper regulation; the orders of his government were ill-timed; the holder of the *time*-jar did not attend to his duty:—and the consequence was that the princes began to lose their virtue.

VIII. KING HEAOU.

Note. Named Peih-fang.

1 In his 1st year, which was *sin-maou* (28th of cycle, = B.C. 869), in the spring, in the 1st month, when he came to the throne, he ordered the prince of Shin[1] to smite the
2 hordes of the west. In his 3d year, the hordes of the west came, and presented
3 horses. In his 7th year, there were great rain and lightnings about the Këang and the Han; and oxen and horses died.

Note. In this year king Le was born.

4 In his 8th year, they made pasture grounds for the first time of the country about
5 the Keen and the Wei.[2] In his 9th year, the king died.

VII. 1 Given as in the dis. of Hing-p'ing, dep. Se-ngan (Biot). Hăng Ch'in-fung contends this was a different place, and that the site is not known. He strongly repudiates the idea that in the movement of king E, or the previous one of Muh to Ch'ing, we are to understand anything like a transference of the capital.

VIII. 1 In dis. of Nan-yang, dep. Nan-yang, Ho-nan. 2 Fei-tsze, of the House of Ts'in, was employed to look after the king's horses here.

夷王

名燮

元年、庚子、春正月、王即位○二年、蜀人、呂人、來獻瓊玉。賓于河、用介珪○三年、王致諸侯、烹齊哀公于鼎○六年、王獵于社林、獲犀牛一、以歸○七年、虢公帥師伐太原之戎、至于俞泉、獲馬千匹。冬、雨雹、大如礪。楚子熊渠伐庸、至于鄂○八年、王有疾、諸侯祈于山川。王陟。

厲王

名胡○居彘有汾水焉故又曰汾王

元年、戊申、春正月、王即位、作夷宮、命卿士榮夷公落。楚人來獻龜貝○三年、淮夷侵洛、王命虢公長父伐之、不克。齊獻公山薨○六年、楚子延卒○八年、初監謗、芮伯良夫戒百官于朝○十一年、西戎入于犬邱

IX. KING E.

Note. Named Sëë.

1 His 1st year was *kang-tsze* (37th of cycle, = B.C. 860), when he came to the
2 throne. In his 2d year, the people of Shuh[1] and the people of Leu[2] came to present carnation and other gems. *The king* performed a service of homage to the Ho,
3 using the large mace.[3] In his 3d year, he assembled the princes, and boiled duke
4 Gae of Ts'e in a tripod.[4] In his 6th year, when hunting in the forest of Shay,[5] he
5 captured a rhinoceros, and carried it home. In his 7th year, the duke of Kwoh led his forces, and smote the hordes of T'ae-yuen as far as Yu-ts'euen, capturing 1,000 horses. In the winter, there was a storm of hail as large as whetstones. Hëung-k'eu,
6 the viscount of Ts'oo, smote the country of Yung[6] as far as Goh.[7] In his 8th year, the king was ill, when the princes prayed to the hills and streams. The king died.

X. KING LE.

Note. Named Hoo. He dwelt at Che, where there is the Fun-water, and hence he is styled also king Fun.

1 In his 1st year, which was *mow-shin* (45th of cycle, = B.C. 852), when he came to the throne, he built the palace of E,[1] and gave a Charge to the prime minister Loh, the duke E of Yung.[2] The people of Ts'oo presented tortoise and other shells. In
2 his 3d year, the hordes of Hwae invaded Loh, when the king ordered Ch'ang-foo, duke of Kwoh, to act against them, which he did without effect. Shan, the duke Hëen
4 of Ts'e, died. In his 6th year, Yen, viscount of Ts'oo, died. In his 8th year, he began the watch for any who reviled him.[3] Lëang-foo, the baron of Juy,[4]
5 cautioned all the officers in the court. In his 11th year, the hordes of the west

IX. 1 Dep. of Ching-too, Sze-ch'uen. 2 In the pres. dis. of Sin-ts'ae, dep. Joo-ning, Ho-nan. 3 See under the 1st year of the emp. Mang of the Hea dynasty. I know not whether this service was connected with the reception of the people of Leu and Shuh, or not. 4 See the history of the House of Ts'e (齊世家), in the Historical Records. 5 Hăng would change 社 into 杜. 6 In dis. Chuh-san, dep. Yun-yang, Hoo-pih. 7 In dis. of Woo-ch'ang.

X. 1 As king Muh built a palace after the name of his father, king Ch'aou. 2 Yung must be the name of a principality. The dict., however, says nothing of this on the character. 3 Acc. to the Chow Joo, the king employed

○十二年、王亡、奔彘。國人圍王宮、執召穆公之子、殺之○十三年、王在彘、共伯和攝行天子事、號曰共和○十四年、玁狁侵宗周西鄙。召穆公帥師追荊蠻、至于洛○十六年、蔡武侯薨。楚子勇卒○十九年、曹夷伯薨○二十二年、大旱。陳幽公薨○二十三年、大旱。宋僖公薨○二十四年、大旱。杞武公薨○二十五年、大旱。楚子嚴卒○二十六年、大旱。王陟于彘。周定公、召穆公、立太子靖爲王、共伯和歸其國、遂大雨。

大旱既久廬舍俱焚會汾王崩卜于太陽兆曰厲王爲祟周公召公乃立太子靖共和遂歸國和有至德尊之不喜廢之不怒逍遙得志于共山之首

宣王

名靖

元年、甲戌、春正月、王即位、周定公召穆公

6 penetrated to K'euen-k'ew. In his 12th year, the king became a fugitive, and fled to Che.[5] The people surrounded the palace; and having seized the son of duke
7 Muh of Shaou, they put him to death.[6] In his 13th year, the king was in Che; and Ho, baron of Kung, administered the imperial duties.[7]

Note. This is styled the period of Kung-ho.

8 In his 14th year, *the hordes of* the Yen-yun[8] overran the western border of Tsung-chow. Duke Muh of Shaou led his forces in pursuit of the southern hordes of King
9 as far as the Loh.[9] In his 16th year, prince Woo of Ts'ae died; and also Yung,
11 the viscount of Ts'oo. In his 19th year, the baron E of Ts'aou died. In
12 his 22d year, there was a great drought; and duke Yew of Ch'in died. In his 23d
13 year, the drought continued; and duke He of Sung died. In his 24th year, the
14 drought continued; and duke Woo of K'e died. In his 25th year, still the
15 drought. Yen, viscount of Ts'oo, died. In his 26th year, there was still the drought, when the king died in Che. The dukes, Ting of Chow and Muh of Shaou, then raised his eldest son Tsing to the throne; Ho, baron of Kung, returned to his State; and there was a great rain.

Note. The great drought had continued so long, that all huts were burned up. When king Fun died, they consulted by the tortoise-shell the *spirit of the* sun, and were answered that he had been done to death by some monstrous thing. When the dukes of Chow and Shaou had raised his oldest son Tsing to the throne, Ho of Kung returned to his State. He was a man of the greatest virtue. Honours did not make him *overmuch* glad, nor did neglect move him to anger. He afterwards sought his own ease and pleasure in retirement on the top of mount Kung.

XI. KING SEUEN.

Note. Named Tsing.

1 In his 1st year, which was *keah-seuh* (11th of cycle, = B.C. 826), in the spring, in the first month, he came to the throne, when the dukes, Ting of Chow and Muh of

a diviner or magician in this work. 4 In dis. of Chaou-yih, dep. Se-ngan. 5 In dis. of Fun-se, dep. P'ing-yang. 6 The king's son was hidden in the duke of Shaou's house, who gave up his own son instead of him. 7 This is a sure epoch, acknowledged by all Chinese chronologists. Instead of there being only one regent, however, as these Annals say, the more common accounts make out two, Kung and Ho, the dukes of Chow and Shaou. 8 These were afterwards known as the Hëung-noo. 9 If this be the Lŏ river, or the State so called near it, we must suppose that the hordes of Ts'oo had come far north on an invading raid.

輔政。復田賦。作戎車。燕惠侯薨○二年、錫太師皇父、司馬休父命。魯愼公薨。曹公子蘇弒其君幽伯彊○三年、王命大夫仲伐西戎。齊武公壽薨○四年、王命蹶父如韓、韓侯來朝○五年、夏六月、尹吉甫帥師伐玁狁、至于太原。秋八月、方叔帥師伐荊蠻○六年、召穆公帥師伐淮夷。王帥師伐徐戎。皇父休父從王伐徐戎、次于淮。王歸自伐徐、錫召穆公命。西戎殺秦仲。楚子霜卒○七年、王錫申伯命。王命樊侯仲山甫城齊○八年、初考室。魯武公來朝、錫魯世子戲命○九年、王會諸侯于東都、遂狩于甫○十二年、魯武公薨。齊人弒其君厲公無忌、立公子赤○十五年、衛釐侯薨。王錫虢文公命○十六年、晉遷于絳○十八年、蔡夷侯薨○二十一年、魯公子伯

Shaou, assisted in the government. He restored the field levies.[1] He made chariots
2 of war. Prince Hwuy of Yen died. In his 2d year, he gave a Charge to Hwang-foo, the Grand-tutor; and one to Hew-foo, the Master of the Horse. Duke Shin of Loo died. Soo, a younger son of the House of Ts'aou, murdered his prince, Këang, the
3 baron Yew. In his 3d year, the king ordered the great officer Chung to attack
4 the hordes of the west. Show, the duke Woo of Ts'e, died. In his 4th year, the king ordered Kwei-foo to go to Han, after which the prince of Han came to court.
5 In his 5th year, in the summer, in the 6th month, Yin Keih-foo led his forces, and smote the Yen-yun, as far as T'ae-yuen.[3] In the autumn, in the 8th month, Fang
6 Shuh led his forces, and smote the southern hordes of King.[4] In his 6th year, the duke Muh of Shaou led his forces against the hordes of the Hwae. The king led his forces against the hordes of Seu, having Hwang-foo and Hew-foo in attendance on him, when he camped on the Hwae. When he returned from the expedition, he gave a Charge to duke Muh of Shaou. The hordes of the west killed Chung of
7 Ts'in. Seang, viscount of Ts'oo, died. In his 7th year, the king gave a Charge to the baron of Shin. The king ordered Chung Shan-foo, prince of Fan, to wall
8 Ts'e.[5] In his 8th year, the king first completed the apartments *of one his palaces.* Duke Woo of Loo came to court, when the king appointed his heir-son He to succeed
9 to the principality. In his 9th year, the king assembled the princes in the eastern
10 capital, after which they hunted in Foo.[7] In his 12th year, duke Woo of Loo died. The people of Ts'e murdered their ruler, Woo-ke, known as duke Le, and
11 appointed his son Ch'ih in his room. In his 15th year, prince Le of Wei died.
12 The king gave a Charge to duke Wăn of Kwoh. In his 16th year, Tsin removed
14 its capital to Keang.[8] In his 18th year, prince E of Tse died. In his 21st year, Pih-yu, of the ducal House of Loo, murdered his prince He, known as duke E.

XI. 1 These were charges for military services, regulated by the quality of the lands. They had been neglected during the exile of the last king. 2 This coming of the prince of Han to court is celebrated in the She, Pt. III., Bk. III., Ode vii. Mention is made of Kwei-foo. 3 This expedition is celebrated in the She, Pt. II., Bk. III., Ode iii. 4 See the She, Pt. II., Bk. III., Ode iv. 5 See the She, Pt. III., Bk. III., Ode vi. Fan was in the dis. of Tse-yuen, dep. Hwae-k'ing. We are to understand the metropolis of Tse. 6 考＝成 'to finish.' What apartments are intended, it is impossible to say. They may have been, as many suppose, those of a palace in honour of his father. 7 See the She, Pt. II., Bk. III., Ode v. 8 On the north of the dis. of T'ae-p'ing, dep. P'ing-

御、弑其君懿公戲○二十二年、王錫王子多父命、居洛○二十四年、齊文公赤薨○二十五年、大旱、王禱于郊廟、遂雨○二十七年、宋惠公睍薨○二十八年、楚子狥卒○二十九年、初不藉千畝○三十年、有兎舞於鎬京○三十二年、王師伐魯、殺伯御、命孝公稱于夷宮。陳僖公孝薨。有馬化爲人○三十三年、齊成公薨。王師伐太原之戎、不克○三十七年、有馬化爲狐。燕僖侯卒。楚子鄂卒○三十八年、王師及晉穆侯、伐條戎奔戎、王師敗逋○三十九年、王師伐姜戎、戰于千畝、王師敗逋○四十年、料民于太原。戎人滅姜邑。晉人敗北戎于汾隰○四十一年、王師敗于申○四十三年、王殺大夫杜伯、其子隰叔出奔晉。晉穆侯費生薨、弟殤叔自立、世子仇出奔○四十四年、晉殤叔元年丁巳○四十六年、王陟。

15 In his 22d year, the king gave his Charge to To-foo, a scion of the royal House,
16 to reside at Loh.[9] In his 24th year, Ch'ih, the duke Wan of Ts'e, died. In
17 his 25th year, there was a great drought, when the king prayed at the border altars
18 and in the ancestral temple; and there was rain. In his 27th year, Këen, the
19 duke Hwuy of Sung, died. In his 28th year, Seun, viscount of Ts'oo, died.
20 In his 29th year, the king for the first time neglected the setting an example of
21 husbandry in his thousand acres field. In his 30th year, hares appeared gam-
22 bolling in the capital Haou. In his 32d year, the royal forces attacked Loo,
and put Pih-yu to death; and the king invested Ch'ing, known as duke Heaou, with
the principality, in the palace of E. Heaou, the duke He of Ch'in, died. A horse
23 changed into a man. In his 33d year, the duke Ching of Ts'e died. The royal
24 forces attacked the hordes of T'ae-yuen without success. In his 37th year, a
horse changed into a fox. The prince He of Yen died. Goh, the viscount of Ts'oo,
25 died. In his 38th year, the royal forces and prince Muh of Tsin proceeded
against the hordes of the T'eaou and the Pun, when they were defeated and put to
26 flight. In his 39th year, the royal forces attacked the Këang hordes, and
27 were defeated, and put to flight in a battle in Ts'ëen-mow.[12] In his 40th year,
he numbered the people in T'ae-yuen.[13] The western hordes destroyed the city of
28 Këang.[14] The people of Tsin defeated some northern hordes in Fun-sih.[15] In
29 his 41st year, his forces were defeated in Shin. In his 43d year, he put to death
the great officer Too Pih, whose son Sih-shuh then fled to Tsin. Fei-sang, the prince
Muh of Tsin, died, when his brother Seang-shuh usurped the principality, and the
30 heir-son K'ew fled. His 44th year was *ting-sze*, the 1st year of Shang-shuh of Tsin.
In his 46th year, the king died.

yang, between it and the small dep. of Këang. The old capital Yih was also in dep. of P'ing-yang. 9 To-foo was a younger son of king Le, and a brother of king Seuen. 10 In a field of 1,000 acres, the emperor turned up a furrow in the spring, to set the people an example of husbandry; the princes did the same in one of 100 acres. From a passage in the Chow Joo, we are led to suppose that Seuen had neglected this practice from the beginning of his reign. The Annals here give us a different impression. The phrase 藉田 is variously explained. 11 Hăng Ch'in-fung thinks that T'ëaou and Pun were the surnames of the wild tribes spoken of. Those who make them the names of places entirely fail in identifying Pun. 12 This seems to have been in the dis. of Gŏ-yang, dep. P'ing-yang. The Këang hordes, said to be descended from Yaou's principal minister, 'the Four Mountains,' were numerous and powerful. 13 This T'ae-yuen was in dis. King-yung, dep. Se-ngan. 14 In the dis. Paou-ke, dep. Fung-ts'ëang. 15 In dis. of K'euh-yuh, dep. P'ing-yang.

幽王

名湼

元年、庚申、春正月、王即位。晉世子仇、歸于晉、殺殤叔、晉人立仇、是爲文侯。王錫太師尹氏皇父命○二年、辛酉晉文侯元年涇渭洛竭。岐山崩。初增賦。晉文侯同王子多父伐鄫、克之、乃居鄭父之邱、是爲鄭桓公○三年、王嬖褒姒。冬、大雷電○四年、秦人伐西戎。夏六月、隕霜。陳夷公薨○五年、王世子宜臼出奔申。皇父作都于向○六年、王命伯士帥師、伐六濟之戎、王師敗逋。西戎滅蓋。冬十月辛卯朔、日有食之○七年、虢人滅焦○八年、王錫司徒鄭伯多父命。王立褒姒之子曰伯服、爲太子○九年、申侯聘西戎、及鄫○十年、春、王及諸侯盟于太室。秋九月、桃杏實。王師伐申○十一年、春正月、日

XII. KING YEW.

Note. Named Nëë.

1 His 1st year was *kang-shin* (57th of cycle, = B.C. 780), when he came to the throne. K'ew, the heir son of Tsin, returned thither, and slew Shang-shuh. The people then raised him to the government;—he is known as prince Wan. The king gave a
2 Charge to Yin Hwang-foo, the Grand-tutor. In his 2d year,—*sin-yew*, the 1st year of prince Wăn of Tsin,—the King, Wei, and Loh, all became dry. *A part* of mount K'e fell down. *The king* began to increase the taxes, Prince Wan of Tsin, with To-foo, of the royal House, attacked, Tsang, and subdued it. After this *To-foo* took
3 up his residence on the hill of Ch'ing-foo. He was duke Hwan of Ch'ing.[1] In his 3d year, the king became enamoured with *his concubine* Paou-sze. In the winter,
4 there was great thunder and lightning. In his 4th year, the people of Ts'in smote the western hordes. In the summer, in the 6th month, there fell hoar-frost.
5 The duke E of Ch'in died. In his 5th year, his heir-son, E-k'ew, fled from the
6 court to Shin. Hwang-foo prepared *another* capital in Heang.[2] In his 6th year, the king ordered Pih-sze with the royal forces to attack the hordes of Luh-tse,[3] but they were defeated and put to flight. The western hordes destroyed K'ae. In the winter, in the 10th month, on the day *sin-maou*, there was an eclipse of the sun.
8 In his 7th year, the people of Kwoh extinguished Ts'ëaou.[4] In his 8th year, the king gave an additional dignity to To-foo, baron of Ch'ing, his minister of In-
9 struction. He made Pih-fuh, the son of Paou-sze, his heir apparent. In his 9th year, the prince of Shin sent an embassy to the western hordes, and to Tsang, and
10 entered *into an engagement with them.* In his 10th year, in the spring, he made a solemn agreement with the princes in the grand apartment of the ancestral temple.[5] In the autumn, in the 9th month, the peach trees and almond trees
11 were in fruit. The king led his army against Shin. In the 11th year, in the

XII. 1 To-foo, mentioned here, was a younger brother of king Seuen, by whom he had been invested with the principality of Ch'ing. He wished to appropriate the State of Tsăng, which was afterwards done by one of his successors. That State was at this time only subdued. Where Ch'ing-foo was, is not exactly known.
2 As if anticipating the capture, which took place ere long, of the existing capital; but where this Heang was is much debated. 3 These belonged to the Keang tribes. 4 ? In Shen

暈、申人、鄫人、及犬戎、入宗周、弒王、及鄭桓公、犬戎殺王子伯服、執褒姒以歸、申侯、魯侯、許男、鄭子、立宜臼于申、虢公翰立王子余臣于攜、是爲攜王、二王並立

武王滅殷歲在庚寅二十四年歲在甲寅定鼎洛邑至幽王二百五十七年共二百八十一年自武王元年已卯至幽王庚午二百九十二年

平王

名宜臼○自東遷以後始紀晉事王即位皆不書

元年、辛未、王東徙洛邑、錫文侯命。晉侯會衞侯、鄭伯、秦伯、以師從王、入于成周○二年、秦作西畤。魯孝公薨、賜秦晉以邠岐之田、○三年、齊人滅祝。王錫司徒鄭伯命○四年、燕頃侯薨。鄭人滅虢○五年、秦襄公帥師伐戎卒于師。宋戴公

spring, in the 1st month, the sun and moon had haloes. The people of Shin, of Tsăng, and the hordes of the K'euen, entered Tsung-chow, and murdered the king and duke Hwan of Ch'ing. The *chief of the* K'euen killed the king's son, Pih-fuh, and took Paou-sze as his captive. The princes of Shin and Loo, with the *nan* of Heu and the young lord of Ch'ing, raised E-k'ew, who was in Shin, to the throne; but Han, duke of Kwoh, declared another son of Yew, named Yu-chin, who was in Hwuy, to be king.

Note. This last is known as king Hwuy. There were thus two kings at the same time.—When king Woo made an end of Yin, the year was in *kang-yin.* Twenty-four years after, in the year *këă-yin*, the vases were finally placed in the city of Lŏ. From that time to king Yew, were 257 years;—giving us in all 281 years. From *sin-maou*, the 1st year of Woo, to *kăng-woo*, the last of Yew, were 292 years.

XIII. KING P'ING.

Note. Named E-k'ew. From the removal of the capital to the east, the chronicler relates the affairs of Tsin; and the king's coming to the throne is not mentioned.

1 In his 1st year, which was *sin-wei* (8th of cycle, = B.C. 769), the king removed the
capital to the east, to the city of Loh. He conferred the dignity *of chief among the*
princes on prince Wan.[1] The prince of Tsin united with the prince of Wei, the
barons of Ch'ing and Ts'in, and with their troops escorted the king to Ching-chow.[2]
2 In his 2d year, Ts'in made the western altar.[3] Hëaou of Loo died. The king
3 conferred on Ts'in and Tsin the fields of Pin and K'e. In his 3d year, the peo-
ple of Ts'e extinguished Chuh.[4] The king conferred an additional dignity on the
4 baron of Ch'ing, his minister of Instruction.[5] In his 4th year, the prince king
5 of Yen died. The people of Ch'ing extinguished Kwoh. In his 5th year, the
duke Sëang of Ts'in led his forces against the *western* hordes, and died on the ex-

Chow, Ho-nan. 5 太室 is to be taken here as on the occasion of its previous occurrence. This is plain from the She, Pt. II., Book V., Ode iv., which, probably, refers to this meeting of king Yew and the princes.

XIII. 1 See the xxxth of the Books of Chow. 2 Ching-chow is Lŏ. The transference of the capital is the subject of the She, Pt. II., Bk. V., Ode ix. 3 畤 = 神靈之所依止, 'the place where the spirit rests.' Seang, the prince of Ts'in, elated with his new acquisitions in the west, made this altar, where he sacrificed to God. The presumption was somewhat disguised by making the sacrifice be to 'the white god' (白帝). 4 A small State on the north of Ts'e. 5 ? The dignity of duke. The

薨〇六年、燕哀侯薨。鄭遷於溱洧〇七年、楚子儀卒〇八年、鄭殺其大夫關其思〇十年、秦遷于汧渭〇十三年、魏武公薨〇十四年、晉人滅韓〇十八年、秦文公大敗戎師于岐、來歸岐東之田〇二十一年、晉文侯殺王子余臣于攜〇二十三年、宋武公薨〇二十四年、秦作陳寶祠〇二十五年、晉文侯薨。秦初用族刑〇二十六年、丙申晉昭侯元年晉封其弟成師于曲沃〇三十二年、晉潘父弑其君昭侯、納成師、不克、立昭侯之子孝侯、晉人殺潘父〇三十三年、癸卯晉孝侯元年楚人侵申〇三十六年、衛莊公薨。王人戍申〇四十年、齊莊公薨。晉曲沃桓叔成師卒、子鱓立、是爲莊伯、自是晉侯在翼稱翼侯〇四十一年、辛亥莊伯元年春、大雨雪〇四十二

6 pedition. The duke Tae of Sung died. In his 6th year, the prince Gae of Yen
7 died. Ch'ing removed its capital to near the Ts'in and the Hwuy.[6] In his 7th
8 year, E, viscount of Ts'oo, died. In his 8th year, *the baron of* Ch'ing put his
9 great officer, Kwan K'e-sze, to death. In his 10th year, Ts'in removed its capital
10 to near the Këen and the Wei. In his 13th year, the duke Woo of Wei died.
12 In his 14th year, the people of Tsin extinguished Han.[8] In his 18th year, the duke Wăn of Ts'in inflicted a great defeat on the western hordes in K'e, and
13 came to restore the fields on the east of K'e. In his 21st year, the prince Wăn
14 of Tsin put the king's brother, Yu-chin, to death in Hwuy. In his 23d year,
15 the duke Woo of Sung died. In his 24th year, Ts'in instituted the sacrifices to
16 the Precious ones of Ch'in.[9] In his 25th year, prince Wăn of Tsin died. Ts'in
17 for the first time, used the punishment of destroying criminals' relatives. In his 26th year,—ping-shin, the 1st year of prince Ch'aou of Tsin,—the prince of Tsin invested
18 his younger brother Ching-sze with the city of K'euh-yuh.[10] In his 32d year, Fan-foo of Tsin murdered his ruler, prince Ch'aou, and called Ching-sze to the throne;—without success. The people of Tsin then called the son of Ch'aou, who
19 was the prince Heaou, to the sovereignty, and put Fan-foo to death. In his 33d year,—kwei-maou, the 1st year of prince Heaou of Tsin—the people of Ts'oo overran
20 Shin. In his 43d year, the duke Chwang of Wei died. The king's subjects
22 took guard of Shin. In his 40th year, duke Chwang of Ts'e died. Ching-sze, Hwan-shuh of K'euh-yuh, died; and was succeeded by his son Shen, who is known as Chwang-pih.

Note. From this time the prince of Tsin dwelt in Yih, and is known as the prince of Yih.

23 In his 41st year,—sin-hae, the 1st year of Chwang-pih,—in the spring, there was a great

10th ode of the She, Bk. V., Pt. II., is referred to this time. 6 The dis. of Hwuy-ch'uen, dep. K'ae-fung. The Ts'in flowed into the Hwuy. See the 13th of the Songs of Ch'ing, in the She, Part I. 7 The Keen is a tributary of the Wei. It gives name to the dis. of Këen-yang, dep. Fung-ts'ëang. 8 A Han, we saw, was walled by Yen in the 12th year of king Ching. That was in dis. of Koo-ngan, dep of Shun-t'ëen. A branch of that House had settled itself in the dis. of Han-shing, dep. T'ung-chow, Shen-se, which was the Han here spoken of. 9 The story is, that two boys, who changed into pheasants, had made their appearance, and it was known, in a wonderful way, that he who got the female would become chief

年、狄人伐翼、至于晉郊。宋襄公薨。魯惠公使宰讓請郊廟之禮、王使史角如魯、諭止之○四十七年、晉曲沃莊伯入翼、弒孝侯、晉人逐之、立孝侯子郤、是爲鄂侯○四十八年、戊午晉鄂侯郤元年無雲而雷。魯惠公薨○四十九年、己未魯隱公元年春秋始此魯隱公、及邾莊公、盟于姑蔑○五十一年、春二月、己巳、日有食之。三月庚戌、王陟。

桓王

名林、

元年、壬戌、十月、莊伯以曲沃叛、伐翼、公子萬救翼、荀叔軫追之、至于家谷、翼侯焚曲沃之禾而還、翼侯伐曲沃、大捷、武公請成于翼、至相而還相一作桐○二年、王使虢公伐晉之曲沃、晉鄂侯卒、曲沃莊

24 storm of rain and snow. In his 42d year, the wild tribes of the north attacked Yih,[11] and penetrated to the borders of Tsin. The duke Sëang of Sung died. The duke Hwuy of Loo sent Tsae Jang, to request liberty to use the ceremonies of the imperial border sacrifices and of the ancestral temple. The king sent the recorder
25 Këoh to go to Loo to stop the assumption. In his 47th year, Chwang-pih of K'euh-yuh of Tsin entered Yih, and murdered the prince Heaou. The people of Tsin drove him out, and raised to the sovereignty Keih the son of Heaou, known as
26 prince Goh. In his 48th year,—mow-woo, the 1st year of the prince Goh of Tsin,—
27 there was thunder without any clouds. The duke Hwuy of Loo died. In his 49th year,—ke-wei, the 1st year of duke Yin of Loo. In this year, the Ch'un-Ts'ew begins,—the duke Yin of Loo and the duke Chwang of Choo[12] formed an alliance at Koo-
28 mëë. In his 51st year, in the spring, in the 2d month, on the day *yih-sze* (42d of cycle), there was an eclipse of the sun. In the 3d month, on the day *kang-seuh*, the king died.

XIV. KING HWAN.

Note. Named Lin.

1 His 1st year was *jin-seuh* (59th of cycle, = B.C. 718). In the 10th month, Chwang-pih rebelled in K'euh-yuh, and attacked Yih. Wan, of the ruling House, came to the rescue of Yih, and Chin, the chief of Seun,[1] pursued Chwang-pih as far as the valley of Kea. The prince of Yih then burned the standing grain of K'euh-yuh, and returned. *Afterwards* he attacked the place, and gained a great victory. *Chwang-pih's son, afterwards* duke Woo, solicited peace, came as far as Sëang (or T'ung),
2 and returned. In his 2d year, the king made the duke of Kwoh attack K'euh-yuh of Tsin. The prince Goh of Tsin died, when Chwang-pih attacked Tsin. *The*

among the princes, while the possessor of the male would become king. They were called 'The precious ones of Ch'in,' from the place where they appeared. Duke Wăn of Ts'in caught the female, which changed into a stone; and he appointed a sacrifice to them in the pres. dis. of Paou-ke, dep. Fung-ts'ëang. 10 In the dis. so called of dep. P'ing-yang. 11 Mentioned in the note above as the capital of Tsin from the time of prince Heaou. It was in the dis. of Yih-shing, dep. of P'ing-yang. 12 In the dis. of Tsow, dep. Yen-chow. 13 In the dis. of Sze-shwuy, dep. Yen-chow.

XIV. 1 To the west of the river Fun (汾水). 2 That is, could only bring into the

伯復攻晉、晉立鄂侯子光、是爲哀侯○三年、甲子、晉哀侯光元年○四年、曲沃莊伯卒、子稱立、是爲武公。尚一軍○五年、曲沃武公元年芮人乘京。荀人、董伯、皆叛曲沃○十一年、晉小子侯元年曲沃獲晉哀侯、晉人立哀侯子爲小子侯。芮伯萬出奔魏、萬之母逐萬○十二年、王師秦師圍魏、取芮伯萬而東之○十三年、冬、曲沃伯誘晉小子侯殺之。晉曲沃滅荀、以其地賜大夫原氏黯、是爲荀叔。戎人逆芮伯萬于郊○十四年、王命虢仲伐曲沃、立晉哀侯弟緡于翼、爲晉侯○十五年、晉侯緡元年○十六年、春、滅翼○十九年、鄭莊公薨○二十三年、三月乙未、王陟。

莊王 名佗

元年乙酉、曲沃尚一軍、異于晉○六年、五月、葬桓王○十五年、王陟。

people of Tsin raised Kwang, the son of prince Goh, to the sovereignty. He is known
4 as prince Gae. His 3d year was *keah-tsze,* the 1st year of prince Gae of Tsin. In his 4th year, Chwang-pih of K'euh-yuh died, and was succeeded by his son Ch'ing,
5 the duke Woo. *The State* had still only one army.[2] In his 5th year,—the 1st year of duke Woo of K'euh-yuh,—the people of Juy, Shing-king,[3] the people of Seun,
6 and the baron of Tung,[4] all rebelled against K'euh-yuh. In his 11th year,—1st year of the prince Seaou-tsze of Tsin,—*the chief of* K'euh-yuh took prince Gae of Tsin prisoner, when the people of Tsin put Gae's son, known as prince Sëaou-tsze, in his place. Wan, the baron of Juy, fled to Wei.[5]

Note. Wan was driven out by his mother.

7 In his 12th year, the royal forces and those of Ts'in besieged Wei, took Wan, the
8 baron of Juy, and carried him to the east. In his 13th year, in the winter, the baron of K'euh-yuh enticed prince Sëaou-tsze of Tsin *to an interview,* and killed him. He then extinguished *the House of* Seun, and gave its territory to his great officer Yuen Gan, who became the chief of Seun. Some people of one of the western
9 hordes met Wan, the baron of Juy, in Keaou.[6] In his 14th year, the king ordered Chung of Kwoh to smite K'euh-yuh, and to raise Min, a younger brother of prince
10 Gae, to be prince of Tsin in Yih. His 15th year was the 1st year of prince Min of Tsin.
11 In his 16th year, in the spring, *K'euh-yuh* extinguished Yih *as the capital of*
12 *Tsin.* In his 19th year, the duke Chwang of Ch'ing died. In his 23d year, in the 3d month, on the day *yih-wei,* the king died.

XV. KING CHWANG.

Note. Named T'o.

1 In his 1st year, which was *yih-yew* (22d of cycle, = B.C. 695), K'euh-yuh still
2 maintained only one army, different from Tsin. In his 6th year, in the 5th
3 month, he buried king Hwan. In his 15th year, he died.

field 12,500 men. 3 There seems to be something wanting here. 4 In dis. Yung-ho, dep. T'ung-chow. 5 In the small dep. of Këae, Shan-se. 6 This 郊 must be the name of a place. There is the reading of 郟.

釐王

名胡齊

元年、庚子、春、齊桓公會諸侯于北杏、以平宋亂○三年、曲沃武公滅晉侯緡、以寶玉獻王、王命武公以一軍爲晉侯○四年、晉武公三十八年晉猶不與齊桓公之盟、左傳註晉侯緡是年滅○五年、晉武公卒、子詭諸立、爲獻公。王陟。

惠王

名閬

元年、乙巳晉獻公元年晉獻公朝。王如成周。周有白兎舞于市○二年、王子頹亂、王居于鄭。鄭人入王府、多取玉、玉化爲蜮、射人○九年、晉城絳○十六年、晉獻公作二軍、滅耿、以賜大夫趙夙、滅魏、以賜大夫畢萬晉滅於大夫趙韓魏萌於此○

XVI. KING LE.

Note. Named Hoo-ts'e.

1 In his 1st year, which was *kang-tsze* (37th of cycle, = B.C. 680), duke Hwan of Ts'e assembled the princes at Pih-hing,[1] to bring to order the troubles of Sung.

2 In his 3d year, duke Woo of K'euh-yuh made an end of prince Min of Tsin, and presented *many of* the precious relics of the State to the king, who appointed him to

3 be prince of Tsin, maintaining only one army. In his 4th year,—the 38th year of duke Woo of Tsin,—Tsin still declined to be present at one of the meetings called by the duke Hwan of Ts'e.

Note. A note in the Tso Chuen says it was in this year prince Min of Tsin was made an end of.

4 In his 5th year, duke Woo of Tsin died, and was succeeded by his son Kwei-choo, known as duke Hëen. The king died.

XVII. KING HWUY.

Note. Named Lëang.

1 In his 1st year, which was *yih-sze* (42d of cycle, = B.C. 675), the 1st year of duke Hëen of Tsin, the duke Hëen of Tsin went to court. The king went to Ching-chow.

2 There a white hare appeared, dancing in the market place. In his 2d year, his son T'uy raised a rebellion, and the king *went and* dwelt in Ch'ing, where the people entered his treasury, and took *many* gems, which changed into *yih* that shot

4 *their venom at* men.[1] In his 9th year, Tsin walled Këang.[2] In his 16th year, the duke Hëen of Tsin formed two armies, and extinguished the State of Kăng,[3] which he gave to his great officer Chaou Suh. He also extinguished Wei, and gave it to his great officer Peih Wan.

Note. This was the germ of the extinction of Tsin by its great officers of Chaou, Han, and Wei.

XVI. 1 In the dis. of Tung-o, dep. T'ae-ngan.

XVII. 1 蜮,—see the She, Pt. II., Bk. V., Ode v., st. 8. It is described as 'a short fox,' which lived in the water, where it filled its mouth with sand, which it shot at the shadows of persons on the bank, who thereon became sick. 3 In the small dep. of Këang, Shanse. This had been one of the capitals of Shang.

十七年、衛懿公及赤狄戰于洞澤、洞當作洞 ○ 十九年、晉獻公會虞師伐虢、滅下陽、虢公醜奔衛、公命瑕父呂甥邑于虢都 ○ 二十五年、春、正月狄人伐晉。王陟。

襄王

名鄭

元年、庚午、晉獻公卒、立奚齊、里克殺之、及卓子、立夷吾 ○ 二年、辛未晉惠公元年晉殺里克 ○ 三年、雨金于晉 ○ 七年、秦伯涉河伐晉 ○ 十五年、晉惠公卒、子懷公圉立。秦穆公帥師送公子重耳、圍令狐、桑泉、臼衰、皆降于秦師、狐毛與先軫禦秦、至于廬柳、乃謂秦穆公、使公子縶來、與師言、次于郇、盟于軍、公子重耳涉自河曲 ○ 十六年、乙酉晉文公元年晉殺子圉 ○ 十七年、晉城荀 ○ 二十年、周襄王會諸侯于河陽 ○ 二十二年、齊師

5 In his 17th year, duke E of Wei fought with the red hordes of the north at the
6 marsh of Tung (or K'eung). In his 19th year, duke Hëen of Tsin united his forces with those of Yu, and, attacking Kwoh, destroyed Hea-yang.[4] Ch'ow, duke of Kwoh, fled to Wei, and *Hëen* ordered Hea-foo Leu-sang[5] to occupy his capital.
7 In his 25th year, in the spring, in the 1st month, some of the northern hordes attacked Tsin. The king died.

XVIII. KING SËANG.

Note. Named Ch'ing.

1 In his 1st year, which was *kang-woo* (7th of cycle, = B.C. 650), duke Hëen of Tsin died, and He-ts'e was raised to the sovereignty. Le K'ih, *however*, put him to death, and
2 Ch'oh-tsze *also*, whereon E-woo was chosen. In his 2d year,—*sin-we*, the 1st year
3 of duke Hwuy of Tsin,—*the duke* of Tsin put Le K'ih to death. In his 3d year,
4 it rained gold in Tsin. In his 7th year, the chief of Ts'in crossed the Ho and
5 attacked Tsin. In his 15th year, duke Hwuy of Tsin died, and was succeeded by his son Yu, known as duke Hwae. Duke Muh of Ts'in, with a force, escorted duke Hëen's son, Ch'ung-urh, to the State, and invested Ling-koo,[1] Shwang-ts'euen,[2] and K'ew-shwae,[3] which all surrendered. Koo Wei and Sëen-chin went to Loo-lew[4] to oppose Ts'in, when duke Muh sent his son Chih to speak with them, after which they camped in Seun,[5] and entered into an engagement with Ch'ung-urh in the
6 midst of the army, he having crossed the Ho at Ho-k'euh.[6] In his 16th year,—
7 *yih-yew*, the 1st year of duke Wăn of Tsin,—Tsin put Tsze-yu to death.[7] In his 17th
8 year, Tsin walled Seun.[8] In his 20th year, king Sëang of Chow assembled the
9 princes in Ho-yang.[9] In his 22d year, the army of Ts'e drove out Ch'e, the

4 A city of Kwoh. 5 This name is difficult to explain. Hea, perhaps, was the name of the officer's city, from which he was called Hea-foo. Then Leu would be his name, and Sang would denote his relationship to duke Hëen.

XVIII. 1 In dis. of E-she, dep. P'oo-chow. 2 In Lin-tsin dis., same dep. 3 In Këae Chow. 4 Also in Këae Chow. 5 In north-west of Këae Chow. 6 Or 'the Bend of the Ho,' in dep. of P'oo-chow, where the river bends to the east. 7 Tsze-yu=duke Hwae. 8 Mentioned under the 13th year of king Hwan. 9 Probably in the dis. Măng, dep. Hwae-k'ing. The style of this par. is sufficient-

逐鄭太子齒、奔城張南鄭○二十四年、晉文公卒○二十五年、甲午晉襄公驩元年○三十年、洛絶于泃○三十一年、晉襄公卒○三十二年、辛丑晉靈公夷皐元年○三十三年、王陟。

頃王 名壬臣

元年、癸卯○六年、彗星入北斗。王陟。

匡王 名班

元年、己酉○六年、晉靈公爲趙穿所殺、趙盾使穿迎公子黑臀于周、立之。王陟。

定王 名瑜

元年、乙卯、晉成公元年○六年、晉成公與狄伐秦、獲秦諜、殺之絳市、六日而蘇○七年、晉成公卒于

10 heir-prince of Ch'ing, who fled to Shing-chang Nan-ch'ing.[10] In his 24th
11 year, duke Wan of Tsin died. His 25th year was *këă-woo*, the 1st year of Hwan,
12 the duke Sëang of Tsin. In his 30th year, the Loh was dried up at Hëang.[11]
13 In his 31st year, duke Sëang of Tsin died. His 32d year was *sin-ch'ow*, the 1st
14 year of E-kaou, the duke Ling of Tsin. In his 33d year, the king died.

XIX. King K'ing.

Note. Named Jin-chin.

2 His 1st year was *kwei-maou* (40th of cycle, = B.C. 617). In his 6th year, a comet entered the Great Bear (Northern Bushel); and the king died.

XX. King K'wang.

Note. Named Pan.

2 His 1st year was *ke-yew* (46th of cycle, = B.C. 611). In his 6th year, duke Ling of Tsin was killed by Chaou Ch'uen, who was then sent by Chaou Tun to Chow, to fetch the prince Hih-t'un, and raise him to the dukedom. The king died.

XXI. King Ting.

Note. Named Yu.

1 His 1st year was *yih-maou* (52d of cycle, = B.C. 605), the 1st year of duke Ching of
2 Tsin. In his 6th year, duke Ching of Tsin, with some of the northern hordes,
attacked Ts'in, and captured a spy, whom they put to death in the market place of
3 Këang, and who came to life again six days after. In his 7th year, duke Ching

ly remarkable. The king appears on a level with the princes. 10 The text of this par. is evidently corrupt and defective. 11 This name is not elsewhere found. Ch'in-fung guesses that it should be 泂 or 向.

XXI. 1 In dis. Yung-yang, dep. K'ae-fung. 2 See the account of the affair in the Ch'un

扈○八年、壬戌晉景公元年○十八年、齊國佐來獻玉磬紀公之甗○二十一年、王陟。

簡王 名夷

元年、丙子○五年、晉景公卒○六年、辛巳晉厲公元年○十三年、晉厲公卒。楚共王會宋平公于湖陽○十四年、己丑晉悼公元年王陟。

靈王 名泄

元年、庚寅○十四年、晉悼公卒○十五年、甲辰晉平公元年○二十七年、王陟。

景王 名貴

元年、丁巳○十三年、春、有星出婺女。十月、晉平公卒○十四年、庚午晉昭公元年河水赤于龍門三里○十

4 of Tsin died in Hoo.[1] His 8th year was *jin-seuh*, the 1st year of duke King of Tsin.
5 In his 18th year, the Aid of the State of Ts'e came to present some musical stones
6 of gem, and the boiler *which Ts'e had taken* from the duke of Ke.[2] In his 21st year, the king died.

XXII. KING KËEN.

Note. Named E.

2 His 1st year was *ping-tsze* (13th of cycle, = B.C. 584). In his 5th year, the
3 duke King of Tsin died. His 6th year was *sin-sze*, the 1st year of duke Le of Tsin.
4 In his 13th year, the duke Le of Tsin died. The king Kung of Ts'oo had a
5 meeting with the duke P'ing of Sung in Hoo-yang.[1] In his 14th year, *ke-ch'ow*, the 1st year of duke Taou of Tsin, the king died.

XXIII. KING LING.

Note. Named Sëe.

2 His 1st year was *kang-yin* (27th of cycle, = B.C. 570). In his 14th year, the
3 duke Taou of Tsin died. His 15th year was *këă-shin*, the 1st year of the duke P'ing
4 of Tsin. In his 27th year, he died.

XXIV. KING KING.

Note. Named Kwei.

2 His 1st year was *ting-sze* (54th of cycle, = B.C. 543). In his 13th year, in the spring, a star issued from the constellation Woo-neu.[1] In the 10th month, duke P'ing
3 of Tsin died. In his 14th year,—*kăng-woo*, the 1st year of duke Ch'aou of Tsin,—the

Ts'ew and Tso Chuen, under the 2d year of duke Ching.
XXII. 1 Probably in dep. of Keih-gan, Këang-se.

XXIV. 1 'The widow;'—four stars, about the middle of Capricorn.

九年、晉昭公卒。冬、十二月、桃杏花〇二十年、丙子晉頃公元年。〇二十五年、晉頃公平王室亂、立敬王。

敬王

名丐

元年壬午〇八年、晉頃公卒〇九年、庚寅晉定公元年〇十四年、漢不見于天〇二十六年、晉青虹見〇二十八年、洛絕于周〇三十六年、淇絕于舊衛〇三十九年、晉城頓邱〇四十三年、宋殺其大夫皇瑗于丹水之上、丹水壅不流〇四十四年、王陟。

元王

名仁

元年、丙寅、晉定公卒〇二年、丁卯晉出公元年〇四年、於越滅吳〇六年、晉澮絕于梁、丹水三日、

4 waters of the Ho at Lung-mun were red for 3 *le*. In his 19th year, duke Ch'aou of Tsin died. In the winter, in the 12th month, peach trees and almond trees were
5 in flower. His 20th year was the 1st year of the duke K'ing of Tsin. In his
6 25th year, duke K'ing of Tsin pacified the disorders of the royal House, and placed king King on the throne.

XXV. KING KING.

Note. Named K'ae.

2 His 1st year was *jin-woo* (19th of cycle, = B.C. 518). In his 8th year, duke
3 K'ing of Tsin died. His 9th year was *kăng-yin*, the 1st year of duke Ting of Tsin.
5 In his 14th year, the milky way was not visible in the sky. In his 26th year,
6 an azure rainbow was seen in Tsin. In his 28th year, the Loh was dry in Chow.
8 In his 36th year, the K'e was dry in Old Wei.[1] In his 39th year, Tsin walled
9 Tun-k'ew.[2] In his 43d year, *the duke of* Sung killed his great officer Hwang Yuen near the Tan-water, the course of which was stopt, so that it did not flow.[3]
10 In his 44th year, the king died.

XXVI. KING YUEN.

Note. Named Jin.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ping-yin* (3d of cycle, = B.C. 474), the duke Ting of
3 Tsin died. His 2d year was *ting-maou*, the 1st year of duke Ch'uh of Tsin. In his 4th
4 year, *the State of* Yu-yueh extinguished *that of* Woo.[1] In his 6th year, the course of the Kwei[2] of Tsin ceased at Lëang. The course of the Tan[3] water was interrupted,

XXV. 1 'Old Wei;'—*i. e.* Chaou-ko, formerly the capital of Wei, but now belonging to Tsin. 2 In dis. Ts'ing-fung, dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le. 3 There were no fewer than 7 Tan-waters. The one here was also called the P'ëen (汳); on which see the dictionary.

XXVI. 1 These two States lay along the seaboard, embracing a considerable portion of Keang-soo and Chĕ-keang. Woo was the more northern of the two. 2 The Kwei took its rise from a mountain in the east of dis. of Këang, in the dep. of the same name, in Shan-se. 3 This took its rise in the dis. Kaou-p'ing, dep. Tsih-chow.

絕不流〇七年、齊人鄭人伐衞。王陟。

貞定王

名介

元年、癸酉、於越徙都瑯琊〇四年、十一月、於越子句踐卒、是爲菼執、次鹿郢立〇六年、晉河絕于扈〇七年、晉荀瑤城南梁。一本晉出公二十年〇十年、於越子鹿郢卒、不壽立〇十一年、晉出公出奔齊〇十二年、河水赤三日。晉荀瑤伐中山、取窮魚之邱〇十三年、晉韓龐取盧氏城〇十六年、晉出公二十二年〇十七年、晉出公薨、乃立昭公之孫、是爲敬公〇十八年、庚寅晉敬公元年〇二十年、於越子不壽見殺、是爲盲姑、次朱句立〇二十二年、楚滅蔡〇二十四年、楚滅杞〇二十八年、庚子晉敬公十一年王陟。

5 and stopped for 3 days. In his 7th year, the people of Ts'e and of Ch'ing attacked Wei. The king died.

XXVII. KING CHING-TING.

Note. Named Këae.

1 In his 1st year, which was *kwei-yew* (10th of cycle, = B.C. 467), Yu-yueh removed its
2 capital to Lang-ya.[1] In his 4th year, in the 11th moath, Kow-ts'een, the viscount of Yu-yueh, known as Tan-chih,[2] died, and was succeeded by *his son*, Luh-ch'ing.
4 In his 6th year, the Ho of Tsin stopt its course at Hoo. In his 7th year, Seun Yaou of Tsin walled Nan-lëang.[3]

Note. One copy adds:—'In the 20th year of duke Ch'uh of Tsin.'

5 In his 10th year, Luh-ch'ing, the viscount of Yu-yueh died, and was succeeded by
7 Puh-show. In his 11th year, the duke Ch'uh of Tsin fled to Ts'e. In his 12th year, the waters of the Ho were red for three days. Seun Yaou smote Chung-
8 san,[4] and took the hill of K'ëung-yu.[5] In his 13th year, Han P'ang of Tsin
9 took the city of Loo She.[6] His 16th year was the 22d year of the duke Ch'uh of Tsin.
10 In his 17th year, the duke Ch'uh of Tsin died, when a grandson of duke Ch'aou,
11 known as duke King, was raised to the dukedom. His 18th year was the 1st year
12 of duke King of Tsin. In his 20th year, Puh-show, the viscount of Yu-yueh,
13 known as Mang-koo, was put to death, and was succeeded by Choo-kow. In
14 his 22d year, Ts'oo extinguished Ts'ae. In his 24th year, Ts'oo extinguished
15 K'e. In his 28th year, the 11th year of duke King of Tsin, the king died.

XXVII. 1 There was more than one Lang-ya. That here was in the dis. of Choo-shing, dep. Ts'ing-chow, Shan-tung. 2 Kin Le-ts'eang observes that Tan-chih are to be read together as one word, 'after the syllabic way of the west,' being the viscount's name in the speech of Yuě. 3 In the dep. of Joo, Ho-nan. 4 In dis. of T'ang, dep. Paou-ting. 5 Supposed to be a place on the river Lae (淶). 6 In the dis. of Loo-she, Shen Chow, Ho-nan.

考王

名嵬

元年、辛丑敬公十二年魏文侯立〇十年、楚滅莒〇十一年、晉敬公卒〇十二年、壬子晉幽公柳元年魯悼公卒〇十四年、魯季孫會晉幽公于楚邱〇十五年、王陟。

威烈王

名午

元年、丙辰〇三年、晉大旱、地生鹽〇五年、晉丹水出、反潔〇六年、晉大夫秦嬴、賊幽公于高寢之上、魏文侯立幽公子止〇七年、壬戌晉烈公元年趙獻子城泫氏、韓武子都平陽〇八年、趙城平邑〇九年、楚人伐我南鄙、至于上洛〇十一年、田公子居思伐邯鄲、圍平邑。於越滅滕〇

XXVIII. KING K'AOU.

Note. Named Wei.

1 In his 1st year, which was *sin-ch'ow* (38th of cycle,=B.C. 439), the 12th year of the duke
2 King, the prince Wan of Wei came to his inheritance. In his 10th year, Ts'oo
4 extinguished Keu.[1] In his 11th year, duke King of Tsin died. In his 12th
year,—*jin-tsze*, the 1st year of Lew, the duke Yew of Tsin,—the duke Taou of Loo died.
5 In his 14th year, Ke-sun of Loo had a meeting with the duke Yew of Tsin in
6 Ts'oo-k'ew.[2] In his 15th year, the king died.

XXIX. KING WEI-LËEH.

Note. Named Woo.

2 His 1st year was *ping-shin* (53d of cycle,=B.C. 424). In his 3d year, there
3 was a great drought in Tsin, and the ground produced salt. In his 5th year,
the waters of the Tan of Tsin[1] left *their natural course*, and battled in an opposite
4 direction.[2] In his 6th year, Ts'in Ying, a great officer of Tsin, murdered duke
Yew in the Lofty chamber, when prince Wan of Wei raised Che, the son of duke
5 Yew, to the dukedom. In his 7th year, which was *jin-seuh*, the 1st year of duke Lëĕ
of Tsin, Hëen-tsze[3] of Chaou walled Heuen-she,[4] and Woo-tsze of Han,[5] made his
6 capital in P'ing-yang. In his 8th year, Chaou walled the city of P'ing.[6] In
7 his 9th year, the people of Ts'oo attacked our south border as far as Shang-loh.[7]
8 In his 11th year, Keu-sze,[8] a son of the ducal Head *of the House* of T'ëen,[9] attacked Han-tan,[10] and besieged the city of P'ing. Yu-yueh extinguished T'ang.[11]

XXVIII. 1 In the dis. of Ngan-k'ew, dep. Ts'ing-chow, Shan-tung. 2 Probably in dis. of Keu-yay, dep. Ts'aou-chow.

XXIX. 1 In dep. of Tsih-chow, Shan-se. 2 潔 here is taken as=擊. 3 The incidents referred to here are not clearly related elsewhere. I am strongly inclined to believe, with some critics, that for 大夫 we should read 夫人; so the meaning is that duke Yew was murdered by his wife, a lady of the House of Ts'in, in his chamber,—his own private and peculiar apartment. 4 The 子 here=officer or chief. 5 In dis. of Ling-ch'uen, dep. Tsih-chow. 6 In dis. of Ch'ang-loh, dep. Ts'ing-chow. 7 In Shang Chow, Shen-se. ——By '*our*' southern border is meant the southern border of Wei. Whereas the Annals have, from the accession of king P'ing, been those more particularly of Tsin, from the 1st year of king K'aou, the 1st also of prince Wan of Wei, they relate to that State. 8 This Keu-sze

十二年、於越子朱勾伐郯、以郯子鴣歸○十四年、於越子朱勾卒、子翳立○十六年、齊田盼及邯鄲韓舉戰于平邑、邯鄲之師敗逋、遂獲韓舉、取平邑新城○十七年、魏文侯伐秦、至鄭、還築汾陰郃陽。田悼子卒、田布殺其大夫公孫孫、公孫會以廩邱叛于趙、田布圍廩邱、翟角趙孔屑韓師救廩邱、及田布戰于龍澤、田師敗逋○十八年、王命韓景子、趙烈子、及我師伐齊、入長垣○二十三年、王命晉卿魏氏、趙氏、韓氏、爲諸侯○二十四年、王陟。

安王

名驕

元年、庚辰○九年、晉烈公卒、子桓公立○十年、己丑晉桓公頃元年○十五年、魏

9 In his 12th year, Choo-kow, the viscount of Yu-yueh, attacked T'an,[12] and carried
10 off captive its viscount Koo. In his 14th year, Choo-kow, viscount of Yu-yueh,
11 died, and was succeeded by his son E. In his 16th year, T'een P'an of Ts'e fought near P'ing with Han Keu of Han-tan, when the forces of Han-tan were defeated and put to flight, and *T'een P'an* took Han Keu prisoner, and captured the city of P'ing
12 and Sin-shing.[13] In his 17th year, the prince Wan of Wei invaded Ts'in as far as Ch'ing, and on his return built Fun-yin and Hoh-yang.[14] T'ëen Taou-tsze died; and T'ëen Poo put to death his great officer Kung-sun Sun. Kung-sun Hwuy took possession of Lin-k'ëw,[15] and rebelled against Chaou. T'ëen Poo laid siege to Lin-k'ew, to the rescue of which came Teih Këoh,[16] K'ung Sëë of Chaou, and the army of Han, who fought with Poo near the marsh of Lung, defeated him, and put him to flight.
13 In his 18th year, the king ordered the chiefs King of Han and Lëeh of Chaou, and our forces, to attack Ts'e; when we penetrated within the Long wall.[17] In his 23d year, the king conferred on the nobles of Tsin, each of the Heads of the Houses of
14 Wei, Chaou, and Han, the title of prince.[18] In his 24th year, the king died.

XXX. KING NGAN.

Note. Named Këaou.

1 His 1st year was *kang-shin* (17th of cycle, = B.C. 400). In his 9th year, duke
2 Lëeh of Tsin died, and was succeeded by his son, duke Hwan.[1] His 10th
3 year was *ke-ch'ow*, the 1st year of K'ing, the duke Hwan of Tsin. In his 15th year,

is not read of elsewhere. 9 At this time the family of T'ëen had engrossed the power of Ts'e, over which it asserted ere long sole authority. Still a prince of the House of Leu was nominally ruling, and we can only translate 田公 as I have done. 10 In dis. of Han-tan, dep. Kwang-p'ing, Chih-le. This was the chief city of the House—shortly, the State—of Chaou, one of the dismemberments of Tsin, and we shall find it often used for Chaou. 11 The dis. T'ăng, dep. Yen-chow. 12 Dis. of T'an-shing, dep. E-chow, Shan-tung. 13 Not clearly ascertained. 14 Both these places were in dep. of T'ung-chow, where there is still the dis. of Hŏ-yang. 汾 seems to be a mistake for 洛. 15 In the dis. of Yun-shing, dep. Ts'aou-chow. In most editions of the Annals, Lin-k'ew is said to have been held by Kung-sun Sun, which is evidently wrong. Hăng Ch'in-fung reads 會 instead of 孫. The events indicated in the par. cannot be clearly gathered from other sources. 16 Teih Keoh was of Wei. 17 This appears to have been a wall built by the chiefs of T'een, running from Mt. T'ae to Lang-ya. 18 Here was the imperial sanction to the extinction of the ancient State of Tsin, and the usurpations of the three Houses mentioned. See the note on Mencius, I., Pt. I., i. 1.

文侯卒。在位五十年、大風晝昏。晉太子喜出奔○十六年、乙未、魏武侯擊元年。封公子緩○二十一年、韓滅鄭、哀侯入于鄭○二十三年、於越遷于吳○二十六年、王陟。魏城洛陽、及安邑王垣。七月、於越太子諸咎、弑其君翳。十月越人殺諸咎、越滑、吳人立孚錯枝爲君。

烈王 名喜

元年、丙午、魏公子緩、如邯鄲以作難。邯鄲趙地名 於越大夫寺區、定越亂、立初無余、是爲莽安○二年、秦胡蘇帥師伐韓、韓將韓襄、敗胡蘇于酸水。魏觴諸侯于范臺。晉桓公邑哀侯于鄭。韓山堅、賊其君哀侯○六年、辛亥梁惠成王元年 韓共侯趙成侯、遷晉桓于屯留。以後更無

the prince Wan of Wei died, having enjoyed his dignity 50 years. There was great wind, and it was dusk at noon. He, the oldest son of the duke of Tsin, fled away. In
4 his 16th year, which was yih-wei, the 1st year of Keih, the prince Woo of Wei, one of the sons of Woo, called Hwan, was appointed to a government *away from the capital*.[2] In
5 his 21st year, Han extinguished *the State of* Ch'ing, and the prince Gae *of Han*
6 took possession of its capital. In his 23d year, Yu-yueh removed its capital to
7 Woo. In his 26th year, the king died. Wei walled Loh-yang,[3] Ngan-yih,[4]
8 and Wang-heuen.[5] In the 7th month, the oldest son of the viscount of Yu-yueh, named Choo-këw, murdered his ruler E.[6] In the 10th month, the people of Yueh put Choo-këw, *also called* Yueh-hwah, to death, and put Foo-ts'oh-che in his place.[7]

XXXI. KING LËEH.

Note. Named He.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ping-woo* (43d of cycle, = B.C. 374), Hwan of the ruling House of Wei went to Han-tan, to produce troubles. Han-tan is the name of a place in Chaou. Sze-k'eu, a great officer of Yu-yueh, settled the disorders of the State, and
2 placed Ts'oo-woo-yu, known as Mang-ngan, at its head. In his 2d year, Hoo Soo of Ts'in led a force against Han, and was defeated by Han Sëang, the general of Han, near the Swan-water.[1] Wei feasted the princes in the tower of Fan.[2] Duke Hwan of Tsin sanctioned the occupation of Ch'ing by prince Gae *of Han* as his
3 capital. Shan Këen of Han slew his ruler, the prince Gae. In his 6th year,—*sin-hae*, the 1st year of king Hwuy-ching of Lëang,—the princes Kung of Han and Ching of Chaou removed the duke Hwan of Tsin to T'wan-lew;[3] —after this, we have nothing more about the affairs of Tsin. Yen, the prince Ching of Chaou, and Joh, the prince E

XXX. 1 These were merely nominal dukes. 2 It is necessary to supplement the text here. The ruler of Wei sent away his son Hwan to avoid future troubles;—which, however, occurred in course of time. 3 Should, probably, be 汾陽, still the name of a dis., dep. Fun-chow. 4 In Këae Chow. 5 In Këang Chow. 6 His ruler was also his father. The thing is related confusedly, here and elsewhere.

7 I have translated here according to the suggestions or conjectures of Hăng Ch'in-fung, who thinks the text is corrupt or mutilated. The capital being now in Woo, 吳人=越人.

XXXI. 1 In the south of the dis. of Yen-tsin, dep. Wei-hwuy. 2 Hăng argues that this passage should come in under the 12th year of king Hëen. 3 In dis. of Ch'ang-tsze, dep. Loo-

晉事趙成侯偃、韓懿侯若、伐我葵鄭城○七年、王陟。我師伐趙、圍濁陽。齊田壽帥師伐我、圍觀、觀降。魏大夫王錯出奔韓。

顯王

名扁元年、癸丑、鄭城邢邱。自此韓改稱曰鄭秦子向命爲藍君。○二年、河水赤于龍門、三日。○三年、公子景賈帥師伐鄭、韓明戰于韓、我師敗逋。○四年、夏、四月、甲寅、徙都于大梁。王發逢忌之藪、以賜民。於越寺區弟思、弒其君莽安、次無顓立。○五年、雨碧于郢、地忽長十丈有餘、高尺半。○六年、我師伐邯鄲、取列人、我師伐邯鄲、取肥。雨黍于齊。○七年、我與邯鄲榆次陽邑。王會鄭釐侯于巫沙。○八年、入河水于圃田、又爲大溝、而引圃水、瑕陽

4 of Han, attacked our city of K'wei.[4] In his 7th year, the king died. Our forces
attacked Chaou, and invested Ch'uh-yang.[5] T'ëen Show of Ts'e came with a force
against us, and besieged Kwan,[6] which surrendered. Wang Ts'oh, a great officer of
Wei, fled to Han.

XXXII. KING HËEN.

Note. Named Peen.

1 In his 1st year, which was *kwei-ch'ow* (50th of cycle, = B.C. 367), Ch'ing walled
Hing-k'ew.[1]

Note. From this, the name of Han is exchanged for Ch'ing.

2 Tsze-hëang of Ts'in was appointed ruler of Lan.[2] In his 2d year, the waters
3 of the Ho were red for three days at Lung-mun. In his 3d year, King Këa of
our ruling House led a force against Ch'ing, when Han Ming fought with us in
4 Han,[3] and our forces were defeated and put to flight. In his 4th year, in
the summer, in the 4th month, on the day *këah-yin*, we removed our capital to Ta-
lëang.[4] Our king threw open his preserves in *the marsh of* Fung-ke for the benefit of
the people.[5] Sze, a younger brother of Sze-k'eu of Yu-yueh, murdered him,—Mang-
5 ngan,—his ruler, who was succeeded by Woo-chuen. In his 5th year, it rained *peih*
stones in Ch'ing.[6] Some ground there suddenly became longer by 100 cubits and more,
6 and higher by a cubit and a half. In his 6th year, our forces attacked Han-tan,
and took Lëeh-jin. They attacked it again, and took Fei.[8] It rained millet in Ts'e.
7 In his 7th year, we gave to Han-tan Yu-ts'ze[9] and Yang-yih.[9] Our king had
8 a meeting with the prince Le of Ch'ing at Woo-sha.[10] In his 8th year, we led
the waters of the Ho into *the marsh of* P'oo-t'een,[11] and also made great ditches to

ngan. 4 In dis. of Ho-nuy, dep. of Hwae-k'ing. 5 In dis. of Ch'ang-kŏ, dep. of Heu. It formerly belonged to Han, but had now, perhaps, passed into the possession of Chaou. 6 In dis. of Kwan-shing, dep. Tung-ch'ang.

XXXII. 1 In dis. of Ho-nuy, dep. Hwae-k'ing. 2 In dis. of Lan-t'ëen, dep. Se-ngan. 3 This battle was at a place called Puh-yang (濮陽), on the Puh-water, which had formerly belonged to Wei, but was now held by Han or Ch'ing. 4 Dis. city of Ts'ëang-foo, dep. K'ae-fung;—what is called K'ae-fung. 5 This marsh was not far from the capital. This was one of the measures for which king Hwuy took credit with Mencius. See Mencius, I. Bk. I., iii., 1. 6 In dis. of Këang-ling, dep. King-chow, Hoo-pih. 7 Probably in dis. of Kwang-p'ing, dep. Kwang-p'ing, Chih-le. 8 In dis. Fei-hëang, same dept. 9 Both in dep. T'ae-yuen, where we have still the dis. of Yu-ts'ze. 10 A place upon the river Tse. 11 In dis. of Chung-mow, dep. K'ae-fung. 12 The construction of this passage is not easy.

人自秦導岷山青衣水來歸〇
九年。秦師伐鄭、次于懷、城殷〇
十年、楚師出河水、以水長垣之
外。龍賈帥師築長城于西邊。鄭
取屯留尚子〇十一年、鄭釐侯、
使許息來致地、平邱、戶牖、首垣
諸邑、及鄭馳道、我取枳道、與鄭
鹿。王及鄭釐侯、盟于巫沙、以釋
宅陽之園、歸釐于鄭〇十二年、
魯恭侯、宋桓侯、衞成侯、鄭釐侯、
來朝。於越子無顓卒、是爲菼蠋
卯、次無疆立〇十三年、邯鄲成
侯、會燕成侯于安邑〇十四年、
秦公孫壯伐鄭、圍焦城、不克、秦
公孫壯、帥師城上枳安陵山民。
邯鄲伐衞、取漆富邱、城之。齊師
及燕、戰于洵水、齊師遁〇十五
年、齊田期伐我東鄙、戰于桂陽、
我師敗逋。東周與鄭高都、鄭釐

lead off the waters of the marsh. The people of Hea-yang led the waters of the
9 Ts'ing-e of mount Min all the way from Ts'in to our State.[12] In his 9th year,
10 the forces of Ts'in attacked Ch'ing, camped in Hwae, and walled Yin.[13] In his
10th year, an army from Ts'oo led out the waters of the Ho to overflow the country outside the Long wall.[14] Lung Këa led a body of troops to build the great wall on
11 our western border.[15] Ch'ing took T'wan-lew and Shang-tsze.[16] In his 11th
year, the prince Le of Ch'ing sent Heu Shih to surrender to us the cities of P'ing-k'ew, Hoo-yew, and Show-yuen, with the country as far as the highway of Ch'ing; while we *ourselves* took Che-taou and Ch'ing-luh.[17] The king had an interview with the prince Le at Woo-sha, where he agreed to raise the siege of Tsih-yang, and
12 to restore *the city of* Le to Ch'ing.[17] In his 12th year, the princes Kung of
Loo, Hwan of Sung, Ching of Wei, and Le of Ch'ing, all came to our court, *in acknowledgment of submission.* Woo-chuen, the viscount of Yu-yueh, known as
13 T'an-ch'uh-maou, died, and was succeeded by Woo-këang. In his 13th year,
the prince Ching of Han-tan had an interview with the prince Ching of Yen in
14 Ngan-yih. In his 14th year, Kung sun Chwang of Ts'in attacked Ch'ing, and
besieged the city of Tsëaou, without being able to take it. He then led his army, and walled Shang-che,[18] Ngan-ling,[19] and San-min. Han-tan attacked Wei, took the hill of Ts'ih-foo,[20] and walled it. The army of Ts'e fought with Yen near the Kow-
15 water,[21] and was put to flight. In his 15th year, T'ëen K'e of Ts'e attacked our
eastern border, when a battle was fought at Kwei-yang,[22] in which our forces were

The Ts'ing-e flows from the dis. of Loo-san, dep. Ya-chow, Sze-ch'uen, and ultimately joins the Këang. Seu Tsing-san thinks the meaning is that the people of Hea-yang had performed the service described for Ts'in, and in this year came back to Wei. The meaning in the translation is more natural, and is preferred by Hăng Ch'in-fung. 13 In dis. Ho-nuy, dep. Hwae-k'ing. But the reading is not sure. 14 楚 is here evidently corrupt. Granting that there was in its dominions an erection called 'The Long Wall,' it was too remote from the Ho to allow of our supposing any such attempt on its part as is described. Hăng Ch'in-fung would substitute 韓 for 楚. 15 It is observed that this was the commencement of *the* Great Wall. 16 Shang-tsze is another name for Ch'ang-tsze, pres. name of the district to which T'wan-lew is referred. See above.

17 Wei was at this time pressing Han hard, and the surrenders here mentioned were made to obtain peace. 'The highway of Ch'ing' had formerly been called 'The general Road' (逵路). All the places spoken of are to be looked for in dep. of K'ae-fung. 18 In dis. of Tse-yuen, dep. Hwae-k'ing. 19 In dis. Yen-ling, dep. K'ae-fung. 20 In dis. of Ch'ang-yuen, dep. Ta-ming, Chih-le. 21 Flows thro' the dis. of P'ing-kuh, dep. Shun-t'ëen. 22 Kwei-yang,—prob.=the north of the Kwei river. I have not found any deter-

侯來朝中陽。宋景鼓、衛公孫倉、會齊師圍我襄陵○十六年、王以韓師敗諸侯師于襄陵。齊侯使楚景舍來求成。邯鄲之師、敗我于桂陵。秦伐韓閼與、惠成王使趙口破之。不知是何年○十七年、燕伐趙、圍濁鹿、趙靈王及代人救濁鹿、敗燕師于勺。晉取玄武濩澤即雷澤舜漁處○十八年、齊築防以爲長城○十九年、王如衛、命公子南爲侯○二十年○二十一年、魏殷臣、趙公孫裒、伐燕、還取夏屋、城曲逆○二十二年、壬寅、孫何侵楚、入三戶郛。楚伐徐州○二十三年、魏章帥師、及鄭師伐楚、取上蔡。孫何取濦陽。秦孝公會諸侯于逢澤。絳中地坼西絕于汾○二十四年、魏

defeated and put to flight. The eastern Chow,[23] gave Kaou-too,[24] to Ch'ing. The prince Le of Ch'ing came to acknowledge submission *to our king* in Chung-yang. King Koo of Sung and Kung-sun Ts'ang of Wei united their forces with those of
16 Wei, to besiege our Sëang-ling.[25] In his 16th year, our king, with the army of Han, defeated the forces of *those* princes at Sëang-ling, when the prince of Ts'e sent King Shay of Ts'oo to come and ask for peace. The forces of Han-tan defeated us at Kwei-ling.[26] Ts'in attacked *the city* Oh-yu[27] of Han, when our king Hwuy-ching sent Chaou—and defeated Ts'in.

Note. It is not known under what year this last notice should be ranged.

17 In his 17th year, Yen attacked Chaou, and laid siege to Chuh-luh, which was saved by king Ling of Chaou, and the people of Tae, who defeated Yen at Choh.[28] Tsin took Yuen-woo and Hwoh-tsih.[29]

Note. Hwŏ-tsih is the same as Luy-tsih, the marsh of Luy, where Shun fished.

19 In his 18th year, Ts'e built a dyke as a part of its great wall.[30] In his 19th year, our king went to Wei, and commanded that Nan the son of its duke should
21 *only* be prince. His 20th year. In his 21st year, Yin Chin of Wei and Kung-sun Fow of Chaou attacked Yen; and on their return, took Hea-uh,[31] and
22 walled K'euh-yih.[31] In his 22d year, which was *jin-yin*,[32] Sun Ho invaded Ts'oo, and penetrated to the suburbs of San-hoo.[33] Ts'oo attacked Seu-chow.
23 In his 23d year, Chang of Wei, supported by the forces of Ch'ing, led an army against Ts'oo, and took Shang-ts'ae.[34] Sun Ho took Yin-yang.[35] The duke Heaou of Ts'in had an interview with several *of the* princes in Fung-tsih.[36] In Keang
24 there was a rent of the earth, extending west to the *river* Fun. In his 24th year,

mination of the place. 23 This was the emperor, now merely 'the shadow of a great name.' 24 In dis. Lŏ-yang, dept. Ho-nan. 25 In sub. dep. of Shuy, dep. Kwei-tih. 26 In dis. O-tsih, dep. Ts'aou-chow. 27 Dis. of Yu-shay. dep. Lëaou, Shan-se. 28 In dis. Wang-too, dep. Paou-ting. 29 Hwŏ-tsih,—the marsh of Hwŏ, but here the name of a city in the dis. of Yang-shing, dep. Tsih-chow. Yuen-woo must also be the name of a city. But this notice is evidently out of place.—What have we to do at this date with Tsin?

30 This wall of Ts'e has been mentioned before, under the 18th year of king Wei-lëë. It was intended as a protection against Ts'oo. 防, 'a dyke' or embankment against a stream, is used here for a wall, a defence against an enemy. 31 Both in the pres. Ting Chow, Chih-le. 32 Here is evidently a corruption of the text. *Jin-yin* was not the 22d year of king Hëen. Seu Wăn-tsing supposes we should read 王命. 33 Prob. in dis. of Nuy-hëang, dep. Nan-yang. 34 Still the name of a dis., dep. Joo-ning. 35 Belonging to Ts'oo, dis. of Lin-ying, Hëen Chow. 36 The marsh of Fung;—has occurred before.

敗韓馬陵○二十五年、○二十六年、穰庛帥
師、及鄭孔夜戰于梁赫、鄭師敗逋、與齊田盼
戰于馬陵○二十七年、五月齊田盼及宋人
伐我東鄙、圍平陽。九月、秦衞鞅伐我西鄙。十
月、邯鄲伐我北鄙。王攻衞鞅、我師敗逋○二
十八年、城濟陽。秦封衞鞅于鄔、改名曰商○
二十九年、邳遷于薛。三月爲大溝于北郛、以
行圃田之水○三十年○三十一年、秦蘇胡
帥師伐鄭、韓襄敗秦蘇胡于酸水不知何年附此○
三十二年○三十三年、鄭威侯、與邯鄲圍襄
陵○三十四年、魏惠成王三十六年、改元、稱
一年。王與諸侯會于徐州。於越子無疆伐楚
○三十五年、楚吾得帥師、及秦伐鄭、圍綸氏
不知何年附此○三十六年、楚圍齊於徐州、遂伐於
越、殺無疆○三十七年○三十八年、龍賈及
秦師、戰於雕陰、我師敗逋。王會鄭威侯于巫
沙○三十九年、秦取我汾陰皮氏○四十年、
○四十一年、秦歸我焦曲沃○四十二年、九

26 Wei defeated Han at Ma-ling.[37] His 25th year. In his 26th year, *our* Jang Ts'ze led a force, and fought with K'ung Yay of Ch'ing in Lëang-hih,[38] when the army of Ch'ing was defeated and put to flight. *Afterwards*, we fought with T'een
27 P'an at Ma-ling. In his 27th year, in the 5th month, T'een P'an of Ts'e, with the people of Sung, invaded our eastern border, and besieged P'ing-yang. In the 9th month, Yang of Wei, on the part of Ts'in, attacked our western border. In the 10th month, Han-tan attacked our northern border. Our king attacked Yang of Wei, when
28 our troops were defeated and put to flight. In his 28th year, we walled Tse-yang.[39] Ts'in invested Yang of Wei with Woo, the name of which was changed into Shang.[40]
29 In his 29th year, P'ei removed its capital to Sëeh.[41] In the 3rd month, we made
30 a great ditch in our northern suburbs, to carry off the waters of P'oo-t'ëen. His
31 30th year. In his 31st year, Soo Hoo of Ts'in led a force against Ch'ing, and was defeated by Sëang of Han near Swan-water.

Note. It is not known in what year this took place; but it is given here.

33 His 32d year. In his 33d year, the prince Wei of Ch'ing, with Han-tan,
34 besieged Sëang-ling. In his 34th year, Hwuy Ch'ing of Wei, this being his 36th year, changed the style of his reign, and called it his 1st year. The king had a meeting with *several* of the princes in Seu-chow. Woo-këang, the viscount of Yu-
35 yueh, attacked Ts'oo. In his 35th year, Woo-tih of Ts'oo led a force, and in conjunction with Tsin, attacked Ch'ing, and besieged Lun-she.[42]

Note. It is not known in what year this took place; but it is given here.

36 In his 36th year, Ts'oo besieged Ts'e in Seu-chow, and then attacked Yu-yueh, and
38 slew Woo-këang. His 37th year. In his 38th year, *our* Lung Këa fought with an army of Ts'in at Tëaou-yin,[43] when our forces were defeated, and put to flight.
39 Our king had a meeting with the prince Wei of Ch'ing at Woo-sha. In his 39th
41 year, Ts'in took from us Fung-yin[44] and P'e-she.[45] His 40th year. In his 41st year, Ts'in restored to us Tsëaou and K'euh-yuh. In his 42d year, the

37 *I.e.* 'the hill of Ma,' in dep. Ta-ming. 38 Near K'ae-fung. Perhaps we should translate—'fought at night with K'ung of Ch'ing.' 39 Dis. Tse-yang, dep. Tse-nan. 40 Shang Chow of Shen-se. 41 In dep. of T'ăng, dep. Yen-chow. 42 In dis. Tăng-fung, dep. Ho-nan. 43 In dis. of Kan-ts'euen, dep. Yen-ngan, Shen-se. 44 In dis. Yung-ho, dep.

鼎淪泗沒于淵○四十三年○四十四年
○四十五年、楚敗我襄陵○四十六年○
四十七年○四十八年、王陟。

慎靚王

定名

元年、辛丑、秦取我曲沃平周○二年。魏惠
成王薨○三年、癸卯、今王元年○四年○
五年○六年、鄭侯使韓辰歸晉陽、及向。二
月、城陽向、更名陽爲河雍、向爲高平。

隱王

史記作赧王名延
蓋赧隱聲相近

元年、丁未、十月鄭宣王來朝梁。燕子之殺
公子平、不克、齊師殺子之、醢其身○二年、
齊地景長、長丈餘、高一尺。魏以張儀爲相
○三年、韓明帥師伐襄邱。秦王來見于蒲
坂關。四月、越王使公師隅來獻舟三百、箭

43 nine vases were sunk in the Sze, and lost in the deep. His 43d year. His
45 44th year. In his 45th year, Ts'oo defeated us at Seang-ling. His 46th
48 year. His 47th year. In his 48th year, the king died.

XXXIII. KING SHIN-TSING.

Note. Named Ting.

1 In his 1st year, which was *sin-ch'ow* (38th of cycle, = B.C. 319), Ts'in took from
2 us K'euh-yuh and P'ing-chow.[1] In his 2d year, king Hwuy-ching of Wei died.
4 His 3d year, *kwei-maou*, was the 1st year of our present king. His 4th year.
6 His 5th year. In his 6th year, the prince of Ch'ing sent Han Shin to restore to
us Tsin-yang and Hëang. In the 2d month, we walled Yang and Hëang, changing the name of the former into Ho-yung,[2] and of the other into Kaou-p'ing.[3]

XXXIV. KING YIN.

Note. The Historical Records call this sovereign king Nan, named Yen. This must be owing to the similarity of sound in Nan and Yin.

1 In his 1st year, which was *ting-we* (44th of cycle, = B.C. 313), in the 10th month,
king Seuen of Ch'ing came to acknowledge submission in our court of Lëang. Tsze-che
of Yen attempted to kill his ruler's *eldest* son P'ing, but without success. The army
2 of Ts'e killed Tsze-che, and made pickle of his body. In his 2d year, in the
country of Ts'e, *the ground where they measured* the length of the sun's shadow lengthened more than ten cubits, and was elevated a cubit.[1] Wei made Chang E its
3 prime minister. In his 3d year, Han Ming led a force against Sëang-k'ew. The
king of Ts'in came, and had an interview with our king at the pass of P'oo-fan.[2] In the 4th month, the king of Yueh sent Kung-sze Yu to present 300 boats, 5,000,000 arrows, with rhinoceros horns, and elephants' teeth.[3] In the 5th month, Chang E

P'oo-chow. 45 In dis. Ho-tsin, Këang Chow. 46 This statement is much debated. What could have taken the vases to the Sze?

XXXIII. 1 In dis Këae-hëw, dep. Fun-chow, Shan-se. 2 In dis. Ho-nuy, dep. Hwae-k'ing. 3 In dis. Tse-yuen, dep. Hwae-k'ing.

XXXIV. 1 I suppose the meaning is what I have given. We had the account of a similar phenomenon before, tho' 景長 here occasions

五百萬、及犀角象齒。五月、張
儀卒。○四年、翟章伐衞。魏敗
趙將韓舉。○五年、洛入成周。
山水大出。○六年、十月大霖
雨、疾風、河水溢酸棗。楚庶章
帥師來會我、次于襄邱。○七
年、翟章救鄭、次于南屈。此年末的
○八年、秦公孫爰帥師伐我
皮氏、翟章帥師救皮氏、圍疾
西風。○九年、城皮氏。○十年、
○十一年。○十二年、秦拔我
蒲坂、晉陽、封谷。○十三年、邯
鄲命吏大夫奴遷于九原、將
軍大夫適子代史、皆貂服。○
十四年、○十五年、薛侯來會
王于釜邱。楚入雍氏、楚人敗
○十六年、王與齊王會于韓。
今王終二十年。

4 died. In his 4th year, Teih Chang attacked Wei. Wei defeated Han Keu, the
5 general of Chaou. In his 5th year, the Loh entered Ching-chow. Waters issued
6 from the hills abundantly. In the 6th year, there were great rains and violent winds. The waters of the Ho overflowed Swan-tsaou.[4] Shoo-chang of Ts'oo came with a force to have a meeting with us, and encamped at Sëang-k'ew. In his
7 7th year, Teih Chang came to the rescue of Ch'ing, and encamped at Nan-këuh.[5]
8 In his 8th year, Kung-sun Yuen of Ts'in led a force against our *city of* P'e-she, the siege of which was raised by the succour of Teih Chang. There was a violent
10 west wind. In his 9th year, we walled P'e-she. His 10th year. His
12 11th year. In his 12th year, Ts'in destroyed our P'oo-fan, Tsin-yang, and Fung-
13 kuh. In his 13th year, Han-tan ordered the Le, the great officers, and their servants, to remove to Këw-yuen.[6] The generals, great officers, sons of the 1st wife,
14 and recorders of Tae, all wore dresses of martens' skins. His 14th year. In
15 his 15th year, the prince of Sëeh came, and had a meeting with our king at Foo-k'ew.
16 The people of Ts'oo penetrated to Yung-she,[7] and were defeated. In his 16th year, our king had a meeting with the king of Ts'e in Han.

This chronicle was finished in the 20th year of our present king.

difficulty. 2 In dis. of Yung-tse, dep. P'oo-chow. 3 This notice must be out of place. Why should Yuĕ have sent these things to Wei, and how could it have sent the boats? 4 Yen-tsin, dep. Wei-hwuy. 5 In Sih Chow, Shan-se. 6 Very remote, north-west of the pres. Yu-lin, Shem-se, more than 700 *le*. The par. is obscure, and the event is not elsewhere clearly related. 7 In sub. dep. of Yu, dep. K'ae-fung.

3. The Reader has now had the opportunity of making himself acquainted with the Annals of the Bamboo Books. As a specimen of the manner in which Chinese scholars deliver their opinion against them, I may quote the language of Wang Ming-shing. He says:—'It may be assumed as certain that they are a compilation which was imposed on the world by Shuh Sih. The forced versions of events in them, with their additions and combinations, are not only not worthy to be believed, but they are not worthy to be discussed. In every age there have been men capable of such mischief and falsehood. What we have to depend on, is that, while the man of knowledge will

General remarks on the Annals.

altogether reject such books, he who may have doubts about so dealing with them will put them on one side. That is the proper way to pursue in studying them.'[1] I cannot by any means agree in so unfavourable a judgment. The sketch of the discovery of *all* the Bamboo books, given in the first paragraph of this chapter, is sufficient to prove that they were not fabricated by Shuh Sih, or by any other, at the beginning of the Tsin dynasty. They had, no doubt, been lying for nearly six centuries in the tomb in which they had been first deposited, when they were then brought anew to light.

Corruptions must be admitted in the Text. The causes of them.

At the same time, the usage to which the tablets were subjected on their discovery, led to the loss of some, the mutilation of others, and a general confusion of their order, which leave abundant room for the exercise of critical ingenuity on the Annals as we now have them. The haste, too, with which the ancient writing was deciphered and transcribed in the current characters of the age, gives occasion to doubt whether that important work could have been executed with the care which its difficulty required. I have called attention in the notes to some of the many transpositions of paragraphs of the present text, which are proposed by Hăng Ch'in-fung, the latest editor of the Annals, and an able and voluminous commentator on them. And there are other paragraphs, which he would cast out altogether, as having been incorporated with them from other portions of the mass of documents found in the tomb of king Sëang. What was called 'Fragmentary Sayings,'[2] or Narratives, of which there were eleven Books, appears to have supplied most of such additions. From the nature of the paragraphs supposed to be derived from this source, and of other fragments collected from various books where they appear as quotations from 'The Bamboo Books' (of which the account of the relations between Yaou and Shun, in note 8, p. 116, may be taken as an example), it appears that, besides the ore of the Annals, the tomb contained a large amount of dross, consisting of the wildest and most ridiculous legends and fables. From this material mainly were composed the long notes which we find interspersed through the Work, the more numerous and the more extravagant and absurd the more distant the times to which they

[1] 必是束晳僞譔.........其穿鑿附會,不旦不足信,亦不足辯也,大約妄人何代蔑有,全賴有識者屏黜之,有疑則闕,方爲善讀書. See the 十七史商榷, on the 竹書紀年.

[2] 璅語,十一篇.

relate. In what must be acknowledged as really belonging to the Annals, there are, moreover, absurdities enow:—entries of prodigious phenomena, showers of gold, monstrous animals, transformations of sex, &c. The reader is often reminded of the marvels in Livy's History. Even if we were sure that we had the chronicle as it was placed in the tomb of king Sëang, we should have to be wary in our treatment of its contents; and much more must we be so, considering that we have it—here with mutilations, and there with additions.

Different characters of different parts of the Annals. Probable date of the compilation of the earliest part.

With the reign of king P'ing, B.C. 769, there is a change in the character of the chronicle. From Hwang-te to that time, the Annals are those of the empire. The sovereigns of the different dynasties are the principal figures, in subordination to whose history the events of the various States are detailed. But from the date mentioned, the princes of Tsin become the principal figures; and they continue to be so, down to B.C. 439, when those of Wei, one of the three States, into which Tsin was dismembered, come into the foreground.[3] From B.C. 769, therefore, the Annals are those of the State of Tsin, composed by its Recorders, and digested subsequently into a more compendious form by one of the officers, bearing that title, of the State of Wei. The earlier chronicle, which is more important and of more general interest, was compiled, probably, about the time that the second portion was commenced, by one of the Recorders of Tsin, and kept in the archives of that State, as an appropriate introduction to its particular affairs.

Conclusion from the Annals against the earlier portions of the Shoo.

This view conducts us to an important conclusion respecting the Shoo. While denying, in the second chapter of these *prolegomena*, that in the older portions of the Shoo we have contemporaneous records of the events which they relate, I have given my opinion, on p. 66, that 'the Tribute of Yu' was, notwithstanding, among the written monuments of the dynasty of Shang, and passed over from its historiographers to those of the dynasty of Chow. I am not going now to retract or modify that opinion; but the fact that these Bamboo Annals contain so little of what the Shoo contains about Shun and Yu, appears to me to have a great significance. The accounts in the Shoo could not have been generally known, or, if known, not generally accepted, when the Annals were made. The character of the two Works is, indeed, different. The Annals give but the skeleton of the history of ancient China; the Shoo gives the flesh

and drapery of the body at particular times. The one tells of events simply, in the fewest possible words; the other describes the scenes and all the attendant circumstances of those events. The numerous appointments, however, of officers by Shun, and the grand labours of Yu, all related in the Shoo, ought, according to the plan of the Work, to have their brief commemoration in the Annals. That they are not so corroborated, proves that they were not accepted as matter of veritable history by the author of our chronicle. I shall dwell somewhat more minutely on this point in the next paragraph. It may suffice here to point it out distinctly. In one respect, the compiler of the documents of the Shoo has shown more discrimination than the compiler of the Annals. He did well in not attempting to go back into the shadowy age before Yaou; but I submit it to my readers, whether the want of corroboration, in the Annals, of the Shoo's accounts of the government of Shun and the labours of Yu, does not bear out my view, that the latter are merely the devices of philosophical romance, intended to present the first beginnings of Chinese history on a grand scale, and under heroes of sagely wisdom and gigantic achievement, who should be a model to sovereigns in all future ages.

Differences between the Annals and the common views of Chinese History.

4. There are two points in which the Annals of the Bamboo Books differ seriously from the generally received views of Chinese history. The one is in the matter of chronology, the years assigned in the Annals to the period between king P'ing of the Chow dynasty and the beginning of Yaou's reign being fewer by 211 than those commonly allowed. The other is that insisted on immediately above,—the contrast between them and the Shoo, in regard to the government of Shun and the labours of Yu.

On the former of these points, something was said in the last chapter. The history of China is certainly shortened in these Annals by the amount just mentioned. The number of sovereigns which they assign is the same as that in the common chronology, excepting in the case of the Shang dynasty, where we have two additional reigns, which, however, would lengthen the period by only 6 years, if the schemes otherwise agreed. The names or titles of the sovereigns, moreover, are for the most part the same, as will be seen in the table subjoined to this chapter. Where the length of the reigns differs, the years assigned in the Annals will generally, though not always, be found to be fewer than in the common tables. We know nothing of the authority on which the duration of the greater num-

ber of the reigns is determined in the one scheme or in the other.

Neither the chronology of the Annals, nor that more commonly acknowledged, is supported by sufficient evidence; but it is right that I should point out here the grounds there are for believing that the numbers given in the text of the Annals have been corrupted. This corruption is two-fold.

The chronology of the Annals has been corrupted.

First, from the commencement of Yaou's reign downwards, the 1st year of the reigns is almost always indicated by the ordinary cycle characters. These, I maintain, were added after the discovery of the tablets;—not immediately, indeed, but by a gradual process, which was not completed until the Sung dynasty. In support of this view, I allege the following considerations:—

The cycle denominations of the reigns are spurious.

[i.] It has been shown, on pp. 82, 83, that, before the second Han dynasty, the cycle characters were employed to chronicle days, and not years. In coming to that conclusion, Chinese scholars have not taken these Annals into account. They reach it from a study of all the ancient books known previous to the Han dynasty. The Bamboo Books turn up in the last quarter of our 3d century; and if we are to receive the cycle dates as contemporaneous with the rest of this chronicle, then all the arguments for the conclusion go for nothing. Here was a practice, exceedingly elegant and convenient for marking dates, prevalent when the Annals were composed; and yet no other instance of its use can be adduced from any of the acknowledged early Writings, while Sze-ma Ts'ëen and the other scholars, who first erected chronology in China into a science, knew nothing of it. Only an extreme credulity will admit this.

[ii.] The reader will have observed that a good many dates do not form part of the text of the Annals, but are introduced as notes. Let me refer him particularly to those on p. 120. The inference from this is, that the addition of the cycle dates was not made complete at once, and that subsequent insertions to perfect the system, after the work had become the possession of the public, were thus made in notes;—it was not possible then to enter them in the text.

[iii.] The early citations, under the Tsin dynasty and even later, of passages from the Annals, do not contain these cycle dates. This fact is decisive on the point. Upon the 1st date, that of *ping-tsze*, marking the 1st year of Yaou's reign, Hung E-heuen, a scholar and officer of the present dynasty, in the reigns Këa-k'ing and Taoukwang, observes:—'The various books which quote the Bamboo

Annals, do so without the cycle dates. It is not till we come to the chapter on chronology in the Books of Suy that we find the 1st year of Yaou quoted as *king-tsze*. Subsequently [in the Sung dynasty], a comment to the "After Chronicle of the Loo Sze" quotes the year as *ping-tsze*,—as we find it in the present copies of the Annals.'[1]

[iv.] If the Annals on their discovery had contained the cycle dates, we could not have had the errors which are found in the concluding notes to the dynasties of Hea and Shang on the length of those periods. This consideration is equally decisive on the matter in hand. Those notes were of early origin. Now, the Hea dynasty began with the year *jin-tsze* and ended with *jin-seuh;* it lasted, therefore, 6 cycles and 11 years,=431, whereas the annotator says its duration was 471 years. The Shang dynasty began with the year *kwei-hae* and ended with *kăng-yin*, comprising 8 cycles and 28 years,=508, whereas the annotator assigns to it 496 years. The error in the one case amounts to 40 years, and in the other only to 12;—if the reigns had been marked at the date of those annotations, as they are now, there could not have been any error at all. We must conclude, on all these grounds, that the cycle names, used to denominate the first years of the reigns throughout the Annals, are an addition made subsequent to the period of their discovery.

The lengths of the reigns have also been altered.

Second, there is ground for thinking that the number of years assigned to the several reigns has also been altered in some cases. There are two considerations which make this probable.

[i.] Apart from the question of the cycle dates, the annotator had only to add together the years assigned to the different sovereigns, to obtain the length of the Shang dynasty. It is difficult to suppose that he should not have executed so simple an operation correctly.

[ii.] With the Hea dynasty the case is different. The addition of all the reigns, taking in the 40 years between Sëang and Shaou-k'ang, gives us only 403 years. About 40 years are dropt, being those of mourning, between the death of one sovereign and the 1st year of his successor. But now in the history of Shuh Sih, referred to on p. 106, it is stated that in the Bamboo Annals 'the years of the Hea dynasty were more than those of Shang.'[2] Attention is

[1] 洪頤烜曰,諸書引竹書紀年.皆無甲子紀年,惟隋書,律歷志,引竹書紀年,堯元年景子,路史後紀註引帝堯元年丙子,與今本同. Quoted by Hăng Ch'in-fung on the 1st year of Yaou.

[2] 夏年多殷.

called to the fact, as one of the peculiarities of the Annals, distinguishing them from the commonly accepted histories of those ancient times. Hăng Ch'in-fung observes upon it:—'When the history of Shuh Sih says that the dynasty of Hea was longer than Shang, whereas in our present copies Shang lasted longer than Hea, I do not know on what ground the statement rested.'[3] He might well say so. But the memoir of Shuh Sih affords us one of the most satisfactory testimonies to the discovery of the Bamboo Books, and the fullest account of the various documents comprehended under the name. The express statement to which I have called attention cannot be got rid of. And it obliges us to conclude, that not only were the cycle characters for years introduced into the Annals after their emergence from the tomb, but that the lengths of the reigns also were altered, so that the value of the chronicle, as a guide in chronology, is altogether taken away.

The Annals are more credible than the Shoo on the period of Yaou, Shun, and Yu.

The second point of difference, mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph, between these Annals and other histories of China, is to my mind of much greater importance. My own researches and reflections having led me to consider most of what we read in the Shoo about the well-ordered government of Shun and the labours of Yu, as the invention of later times, intended to exalt the characters and achievements of those worthies, and place them at the head of Chinese history on a pinnacle of more than human wisdom and greatness, I am pleased with the confirmation which my views receive from the accounts in the Annals. Let the reader compare them carefully with the documents in the Shoo, and I do not think he can fail to be struck with them as I have been. There are points of agreement between the two, as could not but be the case, the authors of them both, whatever they might add of their own, drawing on the same general stock of traditions. But the details of the Annals present the men and their doings in reasonable proportions. We see in them the chiefs of a growing tribe, and not the emperors of a vast and fully organized dominion.

[i.] The labours of Yu are confined in the Annals to the regulation of the Ho. Yaou assigns to him no greater task than Sëaou-k'ang, one of his own successors, has to assign, about 100 years later, to one of the princes of Shang. The same task has often been assigned to officers in subsequent times; might very well be assigned to one in

[3] 夏年多殷,今本仍殷多夏,不知此傳何所據而云也。

the present reign. Nothing is said of a far-extending, devastating deluge; nothing of Yu's operations on the mountains, or on the general face of the country, or on any river south of the Ho. Had it been in the accepted history of China, when these Annals were compiled, that Yu performed the more than Herculean tasks which the Shoo ascribes to him, it is unaccountable that they should not have mentioned them.

[ii.] The Shoo presents us with a picture of the government of Shun, which makes it appear to have been wonderfully complete. Not only has he Yu as his prime minister, and Kaou-yaou as minister of Crime; but he has his ministers of Instruction, Agriculture, Works, and Religion; his commissioner of Woods and Forests; his director of Music; his minister of Communication. According to the plan of the Annals, the appointment of all those ministers should have been mentioned; but the only names which they contain are those of Yu and Kaou-yaou. It is clear, that of the two-and-twenty great ministers by whom the Shun of the Shoo is surrounded, the greater number were the invention of speculators and dreamers of a later day, who, regardless of the laws of human progress, wished to place at the earliest period of their history a golden age and a magnificent empire, that should be the cynosure of men's eyes in all time.

If the space which I have given in these prolegomena to the Bamboo Annals appear excessive, the use to which I have turned them, to support the conclusions which I had been led on other grounds to form, must be my excuse. Even if it could be substantiated (which it cannot be), that the Annals were fabricated in the Tsin dynasty, the fact would remain, that their fabricator had taken a more reasonable view of the history of his country than any other of its writers has done, and indicated views, which, I venture to think, will be generally adopted by inquirers in the West. Those who come after me will probably assail the hitherto unchallenged accounts of ancient times with a bolder hand and on a more extensive scale than I have done in the present essay.

TABLE OF ANCIENT CHINESE CHRONOLOGY,

According to THE COMMON SCHEME, and to THE BAMBOO ANNALS.

Common Scheme. *Bamboo Annals.*

EMPEROR'S NAME.		YEARS OF REIGN.	1ST YEAR ON REIGN.		1ST YEAR OF REIGN.		YEARS OF REIGN.		EMPEROR'S NAME.
堯	Yaou,............	100	甲辰	B. C. 2,356	丙子	B. C. 2,145	100	Yaou,............	堯
舜	Shun,............	50	丙戌	„ 2,254	己未	„ 2,042	50	Shun,............	舜
	HEA DYNASTY, WITH TITLE OF 后 OR 王, SOVEREIGN.				HEA DYNASTY, WITH TITLE OF 帝, EMPEROR.				
禹	Yu................	8	丙子	B. C. 2,204	壬子	B. C. 1,989	8	Yu................	禹
啟	K'e...............	9	甲申	„ 2,196	癸亥	„ 1,978	16	K'e.	啟
太康	T'ae-k'ang.......	29	癸巳	„ 2,187	癸未	„ 1,957	4	T'ae-k'ang.......	太康
仲康	Chung-k'ang....	13	壬戌	„ 2,158	己丑	„ 1,951	7	Chung-k'ang....	仲康
相	Sëang............	27	乙亥	„ 2,145	戊戌	„ 1,942	28	Sëang............	相
	Usurpation......	40	壬寅	„ 2,118	丙寅	„ 1,914	40	Usuppation......	
少康	Sh'aou-k'ang....	22	壬午	„ 2,078	丙午	„ 1,874	21	Sh'aou-k'ang....	少康
杼	Ch'oo............	17	甲辰	„ 2,056	己巳	„ 1,851	17	Ch'oo............	杼
槐	Hwae....	26	辛酉	„ 2,039	戊子	„ 1,832	44	Fun..............	芬
芒	Mang.............	18	丁亥	„ 2,013	壬申	„ 1,788	58	Mang.............	芒
泄	Sëë..............	16	乙巳	„ 1,995	辛未	„ 1,729	25	Sëë..............	泄
不降	Puh-keang.......	59	辛酉	„ 1,979	己亥	„ 1,701	59	Puh-këang.......	不降
扃	Pëen..............	21	庚申	„ 1,920	戊戌	„ 1,642	18	Pëen..............	扃
廑	Kin...............	21	辛巳	„ 1,899	己未	„ 1,621	8	Kin.	廑

孔甲	K'ung-këă........	31		壬寅	B. C. 1,878
皋	Kaou..............	11		癸酉	„ 1,847
發	Fă.................	19		甲申	„ 1,836
癸	Kwei..............	52		癸卯	„ 1,817

DYNASTY OF SHANG, WITH TITLE OF 王, OR KING.

湯	T'ang.............	13		乙未	B. C. 1,765
太甲	T'ae-këă.........	33		戊申	„ 1,752
沃丁	Yuh-ting.........	29		辛巳	„ 1,719
太康	T'ae-kang........	25		庚戌	„ 1,690
小甲	Sëaou-këă........	17		乙亥	„ 1,665
雍已	Yung-ke..........	12		壬辰	„ 1,648
太戊	T'ae-mow.........	75		甲辰	„ 1,636
仲丁	Chung-ting......	13		已未	„ 1,561
外壬	Wae-jin..........	15		壬申	„ 1,548
河亶甲	Ho-t'an-këă......	9		丁亥	„ 1,533
祖乙	Tsoo-yih.........	19		丙申	„ 1,524
祖辛	Tsoo-sin..........	16		乙卯	„ 1,505
沃甲	Yuh-këă..........	25		辛未	„ 1,489
祖丁	Tsoo-ting........	32		丙申	„ 1,464
南庚	Nan-kăng........	25		戊辰	„ 1,432

乙巳	B. C. 1,611		9	K'ung-këă........	孔甲
庚辰	„ 1,600		3	Haou..............	昊
乙酉	„ 1,595		7	Fă,................	發
壬辰	„ 1,588		31	Kwei,.............	癸

DYNASTY OF SHANG, WITH TITLE OF 王, OR KING.

癸亥	B. C. 1,557		12	T'ang.............	湯
乙亥	„ 1,545		2	Wae-ping.........	外丙
丁丑	„ 1,543		4	Chung-jin.........	仲壬
辛巳	„ 1,539		12	T'ae-këă.........	太甲
癸巳	„ 1,527		19	Yuh-ting.........	沃丁
壬子	„ 1,508		5	Sëaou-kăng......	小庚
丁巳	„ 1,503		17	Sëaou-këă.......	小甲
甲戌	„ 1,486		12	Yung-ke..........	雍已
丙戌	„ 1,474		75	T'ae-mow........	太戊
辛丑	„ 1,399		9	Chung-ting......	仲丁
庚戌	„ 1,390		10	Wae-jin..........	外壬
庚申	„ 1,380		9	Ho-t'an-këă.....	河亶甲
已巳	„ 1,371		19	Tsoo-yih.........	祖乙
戊子	„ 1,352		14	Tsoo-sin..........	祖辛
壬寅	„ 1,338		5	K'ae-këă.........	開甲
丁未	„ 1,333		9	Tsoo-ting........	祖丁
丙辰	„ 1,324		6	Nan-kăng........	南庚

TABLE OF ANCIENT CHINESE CHRONOLOGY.—*Continued.*

陽甲	Yang-këä........	7		癸巳	B. C. 1,407	壬戌	B. C. 1,318		4	Yang-këä........	陽甲
盤庚	Pwan-kăng......	28		庚子	„ 1,400	丙寅	„ 1,314		28	Pwan-kăng......	盤庚
小辛	Sëaou-sin.	21		戊辰	„ 1,372	甲午	„ 1,286		3	Sëaou-sin........	小辛
小乙	Sëaou-yih........	28		己丑	„ 1,351	丁酉	„ 1,283		10	Sëaou-yih........	小乙
武丁	Woo-ting........	59		丁巳	„ 1,323	丁未	„ 1,273		59	Woo-ting.	武丁
祖庚	Tsoo-kăng.......	7		丙辰	„ 1,264	丙午	„ 1,214		11	Tsoo-kăng.	祖庚
祖甲	Tsoo-këä	33		癸亥	„ 1,257	丁巳	„ 1,203		33	Tsoo-këä	祖甲
廩辛	Lin-sin...........	6		丙申	„ 1,224	庚寅	„ 1,170		4	Fung-sin	馮辛
庚丁	Kăng-ting.......	21		壬寅	„ 1,218	甲午	„ 1,166		8	Kăng-ting........	庚丁
武乙	Woo-yih.........	4		癸亥	„ 1,197	壬寅	„ 1,158		35	Woo-yih..........	武乙
太丁	T'ae-ting........	3		丁卯	„ 1,193	丁丑	„ 1,123		13	Wăn-ting.........	文丁
帝乙	Te-yih	37		庚午	„ 1,190	庚寅	„ 1,110		9	Te-yih	帝乙
紂辛	Chow-sin........	32		丁未	„ 1,153	己亥	„ 1,101		52	Te-sin............	帝辛
	DYNASTY OF CHOW, WITH TITLE OF 王, OR KING.						DYNASTY OF CHOW, WITH TITLE OF 王, OR KING.				
武	Woo..............	7		己卯	B. C. 1,121	辛卯	B. C. 1,049		6	Woo..............	武
成	Ching.	37		丙戌	„ 1,114	丁酉	„ 1,043		37	Ching.	成
康	K'ang.	26		癸亥	„ 1,077	甲戌	„ 1,006		26	K'ang.	康
昭	Ch'aou...........	51		己丑	„ 1,051	庚子	„ 980		19	Ch'aou...........	昭
穆	Muh..............	55		庚辰	„ 1,000	己未	„ 961		55	Muh..............	穆
共	Kung.	12		乙亥	„ 945	甲寅	„ 906		12	Kung.............	共
懿	E.................	25		丁亥	„ 933	丙寅	„ 894		25	E.................	懿
孝	Hëaou...........	15		壬子	„ 908	辛卯	„ 869		9	Hëaou	孝

夷	E.	16	丁卯	B. C. 893	庚子	B. C. 860	8	E.	夷
厲	Le.	51	癸未	„ 877	戊申	„ 852	26	Le.	厲
宣	Senen.	46	甲戌	„ 826	甲戌	„ 861	46	Seuen.	宣
幽	Yëw	11	庚申	„ 780	庚申	„ 780	11	Yew	幽
平	P'ing.	51	辛未	„ 769	辛未	„ 769	51	P'ing.	平
桓	Hwan.	23	壬戌	„ 718	壬戌	„ 718	23	Hwan.	桓
莊	Chwang.	15	乙酉	„ 695	乙酉	„ 695	15	Chwang.	莊
僖	He.	5	庚子	„ 680	庚子	„ 680	5	Le.	釐
惠	Hwuy.	25	乙巳	„ 675	乙巳	„ 675	25	Hwuy.	惠
襄	Sëang.	33	庚午	„ 650	庚午	„ 650	33	Sëang.	襄
頃	K'ing.	6	癸卯	„ 617	癸卯	„ 617	6	K'ing.	頃
匡	K'wang.	6	已酉	„ 611	已酉	„ 611	6	K'wang.	匡
定	Ting.	21	乙卯	„ 605	乙卯	„ 605	21	Ting.	定
簡	Këen.	14	丙子	„ 584	丙子	„ 584	14	Këen.	簡
靈	Ling.	27	庚寅	„ 570	庚寅	„ 570	27	Ling.	靈
景	King.	25	丁巳	„ 543	丁巳	„ 543	25	King.	景
敬	King.	44	壬午	„ 518	壬午	„ 518	44	King.	敬
元	Yuen.	7	丙寅	„ 474	丙寅	„ 474	7	Yuen.	元
貞定	Ching-ting.	28	癸酉	„ 467	癸酉	„ 467	28	Ching-ting.	貞定
考	K'aou.	15	辛丑	„ 439	辛丑	„ 439	15	K'aou.	考
威烈	Wei-lëë.	24	丙辰	„ 424	丙辰	„ 424	24	Wei-lëë.	威烈
安	Ngan.	26	庚辰	„ 400	庚辰	„ 400	26	Ngan.	安

TABLE OF ANCIENT CHINESE CHRONOLOGY.—*Continued.*

烈	Lëě, ...	7		丙午	B. C,	374	丙午	B. C.	374		7	Lëě...............	烈
顯	Hëen,............	48		癸丑	„	367	癸丑	„	367		48	Hëen.............	顯
慎靚	Shin-tsing.	6		辛丑	„	319	辛丑	„	319		6	Shin-tsing.	慎靚
赧	Nan,..............	29		丁未	„	313	丁未	„	313			Yin................	隱

CHAPTER V.

THE ANCIENT EMPIRE OF CHINA.

ENTRANCE OF THE CHINESE INTO CHINA. OTHER EARLY SETTLERS. GROWTH OF THE TRIBE INTO A NATION. RELIGION AND SUPERSTITIONS. FORM AND ISSUES OF THE GOVERNMENT.

First arrival of the Chinese tribe in its future home.

1. About two thousand years before our Christian era, the Chinese tribe first appeared in the country, where it has since increased so greatly. It then occupied a small extent of territory, on the east and north of the Ho,—the more southern portion of the present province of Shan-se. As its course continued to be directed to the east and south (though after it crossed the Ho, it proceeded to extend itself westwards as well), we may conclude that it had come into China from the north-west. Believing that we have in the 10th chapter of the Book of Genesis some hints, not to be called in question, of the way in which the whole earth was overspread by the families of the sons of Noah, I suppose that the family, or collection of families,—the tribe,—which has since grown into the most numerous of the nations, began to move eastwards, from the regions between the Black and Caspian seas, not long after the confusion of tongues. Going on, between the Altaic range of mountains on the north and the Tauric range, with its continuations, on the south, but keeping to the sunny and more attractive south as much as it could, the tribe found itself, at the time I have mentioned, between 40° and 45°, N. L., moving parallel with the Yellow River in the most northern portion of its course. It determined to follow the stream, turned south with it, and moved along its eastern bank, making settlements where the country promised most advantages, till it was stopped by the river ceasing its southward flow, and turning again towards the east. Thus the present Shan-se was the cradle of the Chinese empire. The tribe dwelt there for a brief space, consolidating its

strength under the rule of chieftains, who held their position by their personal qualities more than by any privileges of hereditary descent; and then gradually forced its way, east, west, and south, conflicting with the physical difficulties of the country, and prevailing over the opposition of ruder and less numerous neighbours.

Other early immigrant tribes.

2. Neighbours? Yes. The arrival of the Chinese tribe had been anticipated by others. These may have left the original seat of our infant race in the West earlier than it; or they may have left it at the same time. If they did so, the wave of emigration had broken in its progress. Some portions had separated from the main body, and found their way into the present province of Shen-se; and others, pursuing the same direction with it, but moving with more celerity, had then been pushed forward, by its advance, towards the sea, and subsequently along the sea-board, trying to make good a position for themselves among the mountains and along the streams of the country. We are not to suppose that the land was peopled by these tribes. They were not then living under any settled government, nor were they afterwards able to form a union of their forces, which could cope with the growing power of the larger people. They were scattered here and there over the region north of the Ho, gradually extending southward toward the Këang. Hostilities were constantly breaking out between them and the Chinese, over whom they might gain, once and again, temporary advantages. They increased in their degree, as well as those, and were far from being entirely subdued at the end of the Chow dynasty. Remnants of them still exist in a state of semi-independence in the south-western parts of the empire. Amid the struggles for the supreme power, which arose when one dynasty gave place to another, and the constant contentions, which prevailed among the States into which the empire was divided, the princes readily formed alliances with the chiefs of these wilder tribes. They were of great assistance to king Woo in his conflict with the last sovereign of the dynasty of Shang. In the speech which he delivered to his forces before the decisive battle in the wild of Muh, he addressed the 'men of Yung, Shuh, Këang, Maou, Wei, Loo, P'ang, and Poh,'[1] in addition to his own captains, and the rulers of friendly States. We are told that the wild tribes of the south and north, as well as the people of the great and flowery region, followed and were consenting with him.[2]

1 The Shoo, Pt. V., Bk. III., parr. 2—4. 2 Pt. V., Bk. IV., p. 6.

Edward Biot calls attention to the designation of the early Chinese tribe or colony as 'the black-haired people,' saying that they were doubtless so named in opposition to the different or mixed colour of the hair of the indigenous race.[3] But I cannot admit any 'indigenous race,'—any race that did not come from the same original centre of our world's population as the Chinese themselves. The wild tribes of which we read in the Shoo and Chinese history, were, no doubt, black-haired, as all the remnants of them are at the present day. If we must seek an explanation for the name of 'black-haired people,' as given to the early Chinese, I should say that its origin was anterior to their entrance into China, and that it was employed to distinguish them from other descendants of Noah, from whom they separated, and who, while they journeyed to the east, moved in an opposite and westward direction.

Epithet of black-haired, applied to the early Chinese.

3. It was to their greater civilization, and the various elements of strength flowing from it, that the Chinese owed their superiority over other early settlers in the country. They were able, in virtue of this, to subdue the land and replenish it, while the ruder tribes were gradually pushed into corners, and finally were nearly all absorbed and lost in the prevailing race. The black-haired people brought with them habits of settled labour. Their wealth did not consist, like that of nomads, in their herds and flocks. Shun's governors of provinces in the Shoo are called Pastors or Herdsmen, and Mencius speaks of princes generally as 'Pastors of men;'[1] but pastoral allusions are very few in the literature of China. The people could never have been a tribe of shepherds. They displayed, immediately on their settlement, an acquaintance with the arts of agriculture and weaving. The cultivation of grain to obtain the staff of life, and of flax to supply clothing, at once received their attention. They knew also the value of the silk-worm, and planted the mulberry tree. The exchange of commodities—the practice of commerce on a small scale—was, moreover, early developed among them. It was long, indeed, before they had anything worthy of the name of a city; but fairs were established at convenient places, to which the people resorted from the farms and hamlets about, to barter their various wares.

Characteristics of the early Chinese which made them masters of the country.

In addition to the above endowments, the early Chinese possessed

3 See his Introduction to his translation of the Chow Le. p. 5.
1 Mencius, I., Pt. I., vi. 6.

the elements of intellectual culture. They had some acquaintance with astronomy, knew approximately the length of the year, and recognized the necessity of the practice of intercalation, to prevent the seasons, on a regard to which their processes of agriculture depended, from getting into disorder. They possessed also the elements of their present written characters. The stories current, and which are endorsed by statements in the later semi-classical books, about the invention of the characters by Ts'ang-këĕ, in the time of Hwang-te, are of no value; and it was not till the Chow dynasty, and the reign particularly of king Seuen (B. C. 825—779), that anything like a dictionary of them was attempted to be compiled;[2] but the original immigrants, I believe, brought with them the art of ideographic writing or engraving. It was rude and imperfect, but it was sufficient for the recording of simple observations of the stars in their courses, and the surface of the earth, and for the orders to be issued by the government of the time. As early as the beginning of the Shang dynasty, we find E Yin presenting a written memorial to his sovereign.[3]

The habits of the other settlers were probably more warlike than those of the Chinese; but their fury would exhaust itself in predatory raids. They were incapable of any united or persistent course of action. We cannot wonder that they were in the long run supplanted and absorbed by a race with the characteristics and advantages which I have pointed out.

Religion and superstition of the early Chinese.

4. The reader will understand that what I say in this paragraph on the religion and superstitions of the early Chinese will be based almost entirely on the documents of the Shoo; and that Book has to do with the sayings and doings of the emperors. By and by, we shall have before us all the testimony of all the classical writings, and be prepared to consider these important subjects, as they entered into and affected the life of the people at large. I would willingly have deferred any discussion of them at present; but it was necessary to my design in the present chapter to touch cursorily upon them.

The chiefs and rulers of the ancient Chinese were not without some considerable knowledge of God; but they were accustomed, on their first appearance in the country, if the earliest portions of the Shoo can be relied on at all, to worship other spiritual Beings as well.

2 See the Introduction to Morrison's Dictionary, and an Essay by Father De Mailla,—'Recherches sur les Characteres Chinois,'—the 7th of the essays, appended to Gaubil's Shoo-king.

3 The Shoo, Pt. IV, Bk. V., Pt. i., par. 1.

There was no sacerdotal or priestly class among them; there were no revelations from Heaven to be studied and expounded. The chieftain was the priest for the tribe; the emperor, for the empire; the prince of a State, for his people; the father, for his family.

Shun had no sooner been designated by Yaou to the active duties of the government as co-emperor with him, than 'he offered a special sacrifice, but with the ordinary forms, to God; sacrificed purely to the six Honoured ones; offered their appropriate sacrifices to the rivers and hills; and extended his worship to the host of spirits.'[1] Subsequently, in the progresses which he is reported to have made to the different mountains where he met the princes of the several quarters of the empire, he always commenced his proceedings with them by 'presenting a burnt-offering to Heaven, and sacrificing in order to the hills and rivers.'[1] I do not refer to these passages as veritable records of what Shun actually did; but they are valuable, as being the ideas of the compilers of the Shoo of what he should have done in his supposed circumstances.

Their idea of God.

The name by which God was designated was *the Ruler*, and *the Supreme Ruler*, denoting emphatically His personality, supremacy, and unity. We find it constantly interchanged with the term *Heaven*, by which the ideas of supremacy and unity are equally conveyed, while that of personality is only indicated vaguely, and by an association of the mind. By God kings were supposed to reign, and princes were required to decree Justice. All were under law to Him, and bound to obey His will. Even on the inferior people He has conferred a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature invariably right.[2] All powers that be are from Him. He raises one to the throne and puts down another. Obedience is sure to receive His blessing; disobedience, to be visited with His curse.[3] The business of kings is to rule in righteousness and benevolence, so that the people may be happy and good. They are to be an example to all in authority, and to the multitudes under them. Their highest achievement is to cause the people tranquilly to pursue the course which their moral nature would indicate and approve.[4] When they are doing wrong, God admonishes them by judgments,—storms, famine, and other calamities; if they persist in evil, sentence goes forth against them. The dominion is taken from them, and given to others more worthy of it.

1 The Canon of Shun, parr. 6, 8. 2 Pt. IV., Bk. III., par. 2. 3 Pt. IV., Bk. IV., p. 2; *et passim.* 4 Pt. IV., Bk. III., p. 2.

The duke of Chow, in his address on 'The Establishment of Government,'[5] gives a striking summary of the history of the empire down to his own time. Yu the Great, the founder of the Hea dynasty, 'sought for able men, to honour God.' But the way of Këë, the last of his line, was different. He employed cruel men;—and he had no successors. The empire was given to T'ang the Successful, who 'greatly administered the bright ordinances of God.' By and by, T'ang's throne came to Show, who was all violence, so that 'God sovereignly punished him.' The empire was transferred to the House of Chow, whose chiefs showed their fitness for the charge by 'finding out men, who would reverently serve God, and appointing them as presidents and chiefs of the people.'

It was the duty of all men to reverence and honour God, by obeying His law written in their hearts, and seeking His blessing in all their ways; but there was a solemn and national worship of Him, as ruling in nature and providence, which could only be performed by the emperor. It consisted of sacrifices, or offerings rather, and prayers. No image was formed of Him, as indeed the Chinese have never thought of fashioning a likeness of the Supreme.

Their worship of other spiritual Beings.

Who the 'six Honoured ones,' whom Shun sacrificed to next to God, were, is not known. In going on to worship the hills and rivers, and the host of spirits, he must have supposed that there were certain tutelary beings, who presided over the more conspicuous objects of nature, and its various processes. They were under God, and could do nothing, excepting as they were permitted and empowered by Him; but the worship of them was inconsistent with the truth that God demands to be recognized as 'He who worketh all in all,' and will allow no religious homage to be given to any but Himself. It must have always been the parent of many superstitions; and it paved the way for the pantheism which enters largely into the belief of the Chinese at the present day, and of which we find one of the earliest steps in the practice, which commenced with the Chow dynasty, of not only using the term *Heaven* as a synonym for God, but the combination *Heaven and Earth*.[6]

Worship of Ancestors.

There was also among the early Chinese the religious worship of their departed friends, which still continues to be observed by all classes from the emperor downward, and seems of all religious services to have the greatest hold

5 Pt V., Bk., XIX. 6 Pt. V., Bk. I., Pt. i., p. 3.

upon the people. The title given in the Shoo to Shun's minister of Religion is that of 'Arranger of the Ancestral temple.'[7] The rule of Confucius, that 'parents, when dead, should be sacrificed to according to propriety,'[8] was, doubtless, in accordance with a practice which had come down from the earliest times of the nation.

Ancestors supposed to know the affairs of their descendants, and to be able to affect them.

The spirits of the departed were supposed to have a knowledge of the circumstances of their descendants, and to be able to affect them. Events of importance in a family were communicated to them before their shrines; many affairs of government were transacted in the ancestral temple. When Yaou demitted to Shun the business of the government, the ceremony took place in the temple of 'the accomplished ancestor,'[9] the individual to whom Yaou traced his possession of the supreme dignity; and while Yaou lived, Shun, on every return to the capital from his administrative progresses, offered a bullock before the shrine of the same personage.[10] In the same way, when Shun found the toils of government too heavy for him, and called Yu to share them, the ceremony took place in the temple of 'the spiritual ancestor,' the chief in the line of Shun's progenitors. In the remarkable narrative, which we have in the 6th of the Books of Chow, of the duke of Chow's praying for the recovery of his brother, king Woo, from a dangerous illness, and offering to die in his stead, he raises three altars,—to their father, grandfather, and great-grandfather; and prays to them, as having in heaven the charge of watching over their great descendant. When he has ascertained by divination that the king would recover, he declares that he had got Woo's tenure of the throne renewed by the three kings, who had thus consulted for a long futurity of their House.

This case shows us that the spirits of good kings were believed to be in heaven. A more general conclusion is derived from what we read in the 7th of the Books of Shang. The emperor Pwan-kăng, irritated by the opposition of the wealthy and powerful Houses to his measures, and their stirring up the people also to murmur against them, threatens them all with calamities to be sent down by his High ancestor, T'ang the Successful. He tells his ministers, that their ancestors and fathers, who had loyally served his predecessors, were now urgently entreating T'ang, in his spirit-state in heaven, to execute great punishments on their descendants. Not only, therefore,

7 Canon of Shun, p. 23. 8 Ana., II., v. 9 Canon of Shun, p. 4. 10 *Ib.*, p. 8.

did good sovereigns continue to have a happy existence in heaven; but their good ministers shared the happiness with them, and were somehow round about them, as they had been on earth, and took an interest in the progress of the concerns which had occupied them during their lifetime. Modern scholars, following in the wake of Confucius, to whom the future state of the departed was all wrapt in shadows, clouds, and darkness, say that the people of the Shang dynasty were very superstitious.—My object is to bring out the fact, and the nature of their superstition.

No hint of the fate of the bad after death; and no inculcation of future rewards and punishments.

There is no hint in the Shoo nor elsewhere, so far as I am aware, of what became of bad emperors and bad ministers after death, nor, indeed, of the future fate of men generally. There is a heaven in the classical books of the Chinese; but there is no hell; and no purgatory. Their oracles are silent as to any doctrine of future rewards and punishments. Their exhortations to well-doing, and their warnings against evil, are all based on a reference to the will of God, and the certainty that in this life virtue will be rewarded and vice punished. 'Of the five happinesses, the first is long life; the second is riches; the third is soundness of body and serenity of mind; the fourth is the love of virtue; and the fifth is doing or receiving to the end the will of Heaven.'[11] There is no promise of rest or comfort beyond the grave. The virtuous man may live and die in suffering and disgrace;—let him be cheered. His posterity will reap the reward of his merits. Some one, sprung from his loins, will become wealthy, or attain to distinction. But if he should have no posterity:—it never occurred to any of the ancient sages to consider such a case.

Divination.

I will pass on from this paragraph with a reference to the subject of divination. Although the ancient Chinese can hardly be said to have had the knowledge of a future state, and were not curious to inquire about it, they were anxious to know about the wisdom and issues of their plans for the present life. For this purpose they had recourse to divination. The duke of Chow certainly practised it; and we have a regular staff of diviners among the officers of the Chow dynasty. Pwan-kăng practised it in the dynasty of Shang. And Shun did so also, if we can put faith in 'The Counsels of Yu.' The instruments of divination were the shell of the tortoise and the stalks of a certain grass or reed. By various caustic

11 Pt. V., Bk. IV., par. 39.

operations on the former, and by manipulations with the latter, it was supposed possible to ascertain the will of Heaven. I must refer the reader to what I have said about the practice on the seventh section of 'The Great Plan.' It is difficult to understand how the really great men of ancient China could have believed in it. One observation ascribed to Shun is worthy of remark. He tells Yu that 'divination, when fortunate, must not be repeated.'[12] I once saw a father and son divining after one of the fashions of the present day. They tossed the bamboo roots, which came down in the unlucky positions for a dozen times in succession. At last a lucky cast was made. They looked into each other's faces, laughed heartily, and rose up, delighted, from their knees. The divination was now successful, and they dared not repeat it!

Constitution and Issues of the ancient Chinese empire.

5. When the dignity of chief advanced to that of sovereign, and the Chinese tribe grew into a nation, the form which it assumed was that of a feudal empire. It was probably not until the Chow dynasty, that its constitution was fully developed and consolidated; as it is only then that we find in the last part of the Shoo, in the Ch'un Ts'ew, the Rites of Chow, and other Works of the period, materials to give a description of it. King Woo, we are told, after he had overthrown the last sovereign of the line of T'ang, arranged the orders of nobility into five, from duke downwards, and assigned the territories to them on a scale proportioned to their different ranks.[1] But at the beginning of the Hea dynasty, Yu conferred on the chiefs among his followers lands and surnames.[2] The feudal system grew in a great measure out of the necessities of the infant empire. As the ruder tribes were pushed backwards from its growing limits, they would the more fiercely endeavour to resist further encroachment. The measure was sometimes taken of removing them to other distant sites, according to the policy on which the kings of Assyria and Babylon dealt with Israel and Judah. So Shun is reported to have carried away the San-mëaou. But the Chinese empire was too young and insufficiently established itself to pursue this plan generally; and each State therefore was formed with a military constitution of its own, to defend the marches against the irruptions of the barbarians.

12 Pt. II., Bk. II., p. 18.

1 Pt. V., Bk. III., p. 10. 2 See the Tribute of Yu, Pt. ii., p. 16. I seem to see clearly now, that this paragraph and the six that follow should be interpreted of Yu the emperor, and not of him as a minister of Yaou.

What was designed to be the central State of the empire was the appanage of the sovereign himself, and was of the same dimensions as one of the largest of the feudatory States.[3] Over this he ruled like one of the other princes in their several dominions; and he received, likewise, a certain amount of revenue from all the rest of the country, while the nobles were bound to do him military service, whenever called upon. He maintained also a court of great ministers, who superintended the government of the whole empire. The princes were little kings within their own States, and had the power of life and death over the people. They practised the system of sub-infeudation; but their assignments of lands were required to have the imperial sanction.

It was the rule, under the Chow dynasty, that the princes should repair to the court every five years, to give an account of their administration of their governments; and that the emperor should make a general tour through the country every twelve years, to see for himself how they performed their duties. We read in the Canon of Shun, that he made a tour of inspection once in five years, and that the princes appeared at court during the intermediate four.[4] As the empire enlarged, the imperial progresses would naturally become less frequent. By this arrangement, it was endeavoured to maintain a uniformity of administration and customs throughout the States. The various ceremonies to be observed in marriages, funerals and mourning, hospitalities, religious worship, and the conduct of hostilities; the measures of capacity, length, weight, &c.; and the written characters of the language:—these were all determined by imperial prerogative. To innovate in them was a capital offence.[5]

The above is an imperfect outline of the feudal constitution of the ancient empire of China, which was far from enjoying peace and prosperity under it. According to the received accounts, the three dynasties of Hea, Shang, and Chow were established, one after another, by princes of great virtue and force of character, aided in each case by a minister of consummate ability and loyal devotion. Their successors invariably became feeble and worthless. After a few reigns, the imperial rule slackened. Throughout the States there came assumptions and oppressions, each prince doing what was right in his own eyes, without fear of his suzzerain. The wild tribes round

3 Here is the true account of the origin of the names Chung Kwoh (中 國), 'Middle State,' and Chung Pang (中 邦), 'Middle Region.' 4 Can. of Shun, par. 9. 5 See the Canon of Shun, par. 8; and the Doctrine of the Mean, Ch. XXVIII.

about waxed bold, and kept up a constant excitement and terror by their incursions. Then would come an exceptional reign of more than usual vigour, and a partial order would be established; but the brief prosperity was only like a blink of sunshine in a day of gloom. In the Shoo, the termination of the dynasties of Hea and Shang is attributed to the wickedness of their last emperors. After a long array of feeble princes, there suddenly appear on the throne men of gigantic physical strength, the most daring insolence, and the wildest debaucheries, having neither piety nor ruth; and in contrast with them are princes, whose fathers have for several generations been attracting general notice by their righteousness and benevolence. When Heaven and men can no longer bear the iniquity of the tyrants, the standard of revolt is raised, and the empire speedily comes under a new rule. These accounts are, no doubt, much exaggerated and embellished. Këĕ and Show were not such monsters of vice, nor were T'ang and Woo such prodigies of virtue. More likely is it that the earlier dynasties died out like that of Chow, from sheer exhaustion, and that their last sovereigns were weaklings like king Nan, rather than tyrants.

The practice of polygamy, which was as old as Yaou, was a constant source of disorder. A favourite concubine plays a conspicuous part in the downfall of the dynasties of Shang and Hea, and another signalizes a calamitous epoch in that of Chow. In the various States, this system was ever giving rise to jealousies, factions, usurpations, and abominations which cannot be told. No nation where polygamy exists can long be prosperous or powerful; in a feudal empire its operation must be peculiarly disastrous.

The teachings of Confucius in the Chow dynasty could not arrest the progress of degeneracy and dissolution in a single State. His inculcation of the relations of society and the duties belonging to them had no power. His eulogies of the ancient sages were only the lighting up in the political firmament of so many suns which communicated no heat. Things waxed worse and worse. The pictures which Mencius draws of the misery of his times are frightful. What he auspiced from the doctrines and labours of his master never came to pass. The ancient feudal empire was extinguished, amid universal anarchy, in seas of blood.

The character and achievements of the founder of the Ts'in dynasty have not yet received from historians the attention which they deserve. He destroyed the feudal system of China, and introduced,

in its room, the modern despotic empire, which has now lasted rather more than 2,000 years.

The Future.

6. The ancient empire of China passed away, having been weighed in the balances and found wanting. Under the system of rule, which superseded it, the boundaries of the empire have been greatly extended, and the people have grandly increased. Now, however, it would seem to be likewise approaching its end. It would not have endured so long, but for the position of the country at the extremity of the Asiatic continent. Its neighbours were not more powerful than itself, and they were less civilized. Once and again the country has been overrun and subjugated by the descendants of the tribes which disputed the possession of the soil with its earliest colonists; but it has subdued them in its turn by its greater cultivation, and they have become more Chinese than the Chinese themselves. The changes of dynasty since the end of the old empire or classical period have not been revolutions, but only substitutions of one set of rulers for another. In the present century new relations have arisen between China and the rest of the world. Christian nations of the West have come into rude contact with it. In vain did it fall back on the tradition of the 'Middle State,' and proclaim its right to their homage. The prestige of its greatness has vanished before a few ships of war, and the presence of a few thousand soldiers. The despotic empire will shortly pass away as the feudal one did, but with less 'hideous ruin and combustion.' It is needless to speculate on the probabilities of the future. God will be His own interpreter. China, separated from the rest of the world, and without the light of revelation, has played its part, and brought forth its lessons, which will not, I trust, be long without their fitting exposition. Whether it is to be a dependent or independent nation in the future, to be broken up or remain united, the first condition to happiness and prosperity is *humility* on the part of its scholars and rulers. Till they are brought to look at their own history and their sages, falsely so called, according to a true estimate, and to cease from their blind admiration of them, there is no hope for the country.

CHAPTER VI.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL WORKS WHICH HAVE BEEN CONSULTED IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS VOLUME.

SECTION I.

CHINESE WORKS.

1 In the 十三經註疏 (see proleg. to vol. I., p. 129) :—

[i.] 尙書註疏, containing the commentary of K'ung Gan-kwŏ, and the expositions made and collected by K'ung Ying-tă and other scholars of the T'ang dynasty (see above, p. 31).

[ii.] 爾雅註疏. This is a sort of dictionary to the classics. The comments are by Kwoh P'oh (郭璞), of the Tsin dynasty, and the exposition, glosses and disquisitions, by Hing Ping (邢昺), of the Sung. 爾雅 may be translated—'The Ready Rectifier.'

2 欽定書經傳說彙纂, 'Compilation and Digest of Comments and Remarks on the Shoo King. By imperial authority.' In 24 Books. I have generally in my notes called this Work—'Yung-ching's Shoo.' It was commanded in 1721, the 60th year of the period K'ang-he, the last year but one of the emperor Benevolent; and appeared with a preface by his son and successor, the emperor Pattern, in 1730, the 8th year of the period Yung-ching. Many great scholars were employed in its preparation and publication. They drew on the writings of 380 scholars,—from the Ts'in dynasty downwards. First, they give the commentary of Ts'ae Ch'in, the disciple of Choo He (see above, pp. 35, 36), interspersed with illustrative glosses. Then follows a collection of passages, confirmatory of Ts'ae's views, taken from their authorities (集說). This is often followed by an appendix of different views of the text, which are conceived to be worthy of examination (附錄). Occasionally, the editors give their own decisions, where they think they have more light than their predecessors had (案). There are maps and illustrations at the beginning, and a critical introduction; while the preface

ascribed to Confucius is given and commented on at the end. This Work may serve the student in lieu of many others. It is a monument of industry and research;—beyond all praise.

4 I have made frequent reference to the other imperial editions of the Classics, mentioned in proleg. to vol. I., p. 131; especially, to the 春秋傳說彙纂, which embodies the *Chuen* of Tso-k'ew, Kung-yang, and Kuh-lëang.

5 欽定周官義疏, 'Discussion of the Meaning of "The Officers of Chow." By imperial authority.' In 48 Books. This Work, with two others on the 'Rites,' was ordered in 1748, the 13th year of the reign K'ëen-lung, by the emperor Pure, to complete the labours of his father, the Benevolent, on the Classics. Edward Biot thus characterises it:—'It is worthy to be compared with the best Works executed in Europe on the different parts of the Bible. I should even say that it is superior to them, if I did not fear being accused of partiality' (Introduction to the Translation of 'The Rites of Chow,' p. xxxv.) The eulogy is deserved, so far as the exhaustive research is concerned. In range of thought and speculation, commentaries on the Chinese Classics and the Bible cannot be compared.

6 御製日講書經解義, 'Daily Lectures, Explaining the Meaning of the Shoo King. By imperial authority.' In 13 Books. It was ordered by the emperor Benevolent in 1,680. I have often quoted it under the name of 'The Daily Explanation.' It has all the qualities which I ascribed to the sister work on the Four Books, 'being full, perspicuous, and elegant.'

7 三山拙齋林先生尙書全解, 'A Complete Explanation of the Shang Shoo, by Lin Chueh-chae of San-shan.' In 40 Books. The author is commonly called Lin Che-k'e; and so I have generally referred to him. His commentary is very voluminous. It is older than Ts'ae Ch'in's, and, in my opinion, superior to it.

8 臨川吳澄今文尙書纂言, 'Digest of Remarks on the Modern Text of the Shang Shoo, by Woo Ching of Lin-ch'uen.' In 4 Books. See above, p. 36. This is *the* commentary of the Yuen dynasty;—terse and original.

9 陳氏師凱書蔡傳旁通, 'The Commentary of Ts'ae on the Shoo Illustrated by Ch'in Sze-k'ae.' Published in 6 Books, in 1,520. It is a commentary on Ts'ae Ch'in's commentary. The author draws his illustrations from 88 different Works.

10 王耕野先生讀書管見, 'Imperfect Views (views through a tube), by Wang Kăng-yay, of passages in the Shoo.' In 2 Books.

This also is a Work of the Yuen dynasty. The views are sometimes very ingenious.

11 王魯齋書疑 'Wang Loo-chae's Doubts about the Shoo.' In 8 chapters. The author was of the Sung dynasty. He is also called Wang Pih (王柏).

12 The 皇清經解, (See proleg. to vol. I., p. 133) contains many Works on the Shoo, or on portions of it. Those which I have made most use of are:—

[i.] 尚書集註音疏 'Comments of himself and others on the Meaning of the Shang Shoo, and on the Pronunciation of the Characters.' The author was a Këang Shing (江聲), of the district of Woo, dep. Soo-chow. It occupies Books 390–403 of the collection;—a Work of vast learning, but dogmatical.

[ii.] 尚書後案, 'Latest Decisions on the Shang Shoo.' By Wang Ming-shing (王鳴盛), an acquaintance of Këang Shing, and of the same district. His main object is to bring out the views of Ch'ing K'ang-shing, as the true exposition of the Classic. The Work occupies Books 404–434, and took the author 34 years to complete it. His research is vast; but his object is one-sided.

[iii.] 尚書今古文註疏, 'The Shang Shoo in the Modern and Ancient Text Commented on and Discussed.' Books 735–773. The Work appeared in 1,815. The author was Sun Sing-yen (孫星衍), an officer of high employments. His 'ancient text' is not that current under this designation, but the variations from Fuh-săng's text, which are found in Ch'ing K'ang-shing and other Han writers.

[iv.] 古文尚書撰異, 'The various Readings of the Ancient Text of the Shang Shoo Collected.' Compiled in the reign of K'ëen-lung, by Twan Yuh-tsae, (段玉裁). The writer uses the designation 'Ancient Text' in the same way as Sun Sing-yen, Këang Shing, and Wang Ming-shing. Books 567–599.

[v.] 禹貢錐指, 'The Needle-touch applied to the Tribute of Yu.' Published in the reign K'ang-he, by Hoo Wei (胡渭). The author had previously been employed, with many other officers, in preparing a statistical account of the present empire. The Work cannot be too highly spoken of. Books 27–47.

7 古文尚書疏證, 'A Discussion of the Evidence for the Ancient Text of the Shang Shoo.' By Yen Jŏ-keu (閻若璩); published in

1,704. The Work is a vehement onset against the genuineness of the commonly received 'Ancient Text,' and was intended to establish, beyond contradiction, the views of Këang Shing, mentioned above. The plan of it extends to 128 Chapters or Arguments; but not a few of them are left blank. It is, no doubt, very able; but, as is said of it in the catalogue of the Imperial Libraries, it is too discursive, and full of repetitions.

18 Of the writings of Maou K'e-ling (proleg. to vol. I., p. 132), bearing on the Shoo, there are:—

[i.] 古文尚書冤詞, 'The Wrongs of the Ancient Text of the Shang Shoo.' In 8 Books. This was intended as an answer to the Work of Yen Jŏ-keu; and it seems to me that Maou has the best of the argument.

[ii.] 尚書廣聽錄, 'New Essays for Readers of the Shang Shoo.' In 5 Books. Throws light on several passages; but the author is too devoted to the commentary of Gan-kwŏ.

[iii.] 舜典補亡, 'The Lost Portions of the Canon of Shun Supplied.' In 1 Book.

21 洪範正論, 'A Correct Discussion of "The Great Plan."' In 5 Books. By Hoo Wei, whose Work on the Tribute of Yu has been noticed above. This is a fit companion to the other.

22 經義考, 'An Examination of the Explanations of the Classics.' In 300 Books. By Choo E-tsun (朱彝尊). It contains a list of all the Works on the Thirteen Classics, lost or preserved, of which the author's industry could ascertain the names, from the earliest time down to the present. Much information is given about many of them; and critical questions connected with them are discussed. The Work was ordered by the emperor Pure (K'ëen-lung), and appears with an Introduction from his pencil.

23 御纂朱子全書, 'A Grand Collection of the Views of Choo He. By imperial authority.' Compiled in 66 Books, in the 52d year of the period K'ang-ke. Books 33 and 34 are on the Shoo.

24 陔餘叢考, 'A Collection of Essays, written at intervals of Filial Duty.' In 43 Books. By Chaou Yih (趙翼). Published in 1,811.

25 Ma Twan-lin's General Examination of Records and Scholars; and its Continuation. See proleg. to vol. I., p. 134.

27 A Cyclopædia of Surnames, or Biographical Dictionary, &c. See proleg. to vol. I., p. 133.

28 The Complete Works of the Ten *Tsze*. See proleg. to vol. I., p. 133.

29 The Philosopher Mih. See proleg. to vol. II., p. 126.

30 The Collected Writings of Han Ch'ang-le. See proleg. to vol. II., p. 126.

31 說文解字, 'Definitions and Explanations of Characters.' This is the dictionary of Hen Shin. See note on p. 1, above. It was not finished A.D. 100, as there stated, but in 121.

32 釋名, 'Explanation of Terms.' In 4 Books. By Lew He (劉熙), a scion of the imperial House of Han.

33 經典釋文, 'An Explanation of the Terms and Phrases in the Classics.' In 30 Books. By Luh Tih-ming (陸德明), of the T'ang dynasty. This is more a dissection of the Classics, excluding Mencius, and including Laou-tsze and Chwang-tsze, giving the sounds of characters, and the meaning of them single and in combination, than a dictionary. It is valuable as a repertory of ancient views.

34 御定康熙字典, 'The Dictionary of K'ang-he. By imperial authority.' In 42 Books.

35 經韻集字析解
36 四書羣經字詁 } See below, pp. 731, 735.
37 經籍纂詁

38 國語, 'Narratives of the States.' In 21 Books. Belongs to the period of the 'Divided States' (列國); and is commonly ascribed to Tso-k'ew Ming. It is always published with comments by Wei Ch'aou of Woo (吳韋昭), one of the 'Three States.'

39 戰國策注, 'Plans of the Warring States, with Comments.' In 33 Books. Belongs to the closing period of the Chow dynasty. It was compiled in the first instance by a Kaou Yew (高誘), of the Han dynasty; but was subsequently largely supplemented.

40 呂氏春秋, 'The Ch'un Ts'ew of Leu.' In 26 Books. Ascribed to Leu Puh-wei, the prime minister of the founder of the Ts'in dynasty. It is tiresome to read, but is useful in studying the Classics.

41 吳越春秋, 'The Ch'un Ts'ew of Woo and Yuĕ.' See above, pp. 67, 68.

42 昭明文選,李善註, 'Selection of Compositions, by Ch'aou-m'ing, with the Comments of Le Shen.' In 30 Books. Ch'aou-ming is the posthumous title of the compiler, who was heir to the throne during the Lëang dynasty (A.D. 503–557), but died early. The compositions are of various kinds,—poems, letters, epitaphs, &c.; from Tsze-hëa downwards to the first Sung dynasty. The commentator was of the Sung dynasty.

43 二十四史, 'The Historians.' See proleg. to vol. I., p. 134.

44 御批通鑑輯覽一百十六卷附明唐桂二王本末三卷, 'Grand Collection of the General Mirror of History, in 116 Books; with a Supplement, containing the History of the two kings, T'ang and K'wei, in the Ming dynasty, in 3 Books. With the imperial views.' A noble work, commanded in the 33d year of K'ëen-lung.

45 資治通鑑綱目, 'General Mirror of History, in Heads and Particulars, for the Assistance of Government.' My copy is an edition of 1,807, in 101 Books, to the end of the Yuen dynasty.

46 綱鑑易知, 'The Mirror of History, made Easy.' In 29 Books. By Woo Sing-k'euen (吳乘權). Published in the 50th year of K'ang-he.

47 竹書紀年, 'The Annals of the Bamboo Books.' In 2 Books. By a Woo Kwan (吳琯), of the Ming dynasty. Contains only the Text, and comments of Shin Yŏ, of the Lëang dynasty.

48 竹書紀年統箋, 'The Bamboo Annals, with a Complete Annotation.' In 12 Books. By Seu Măn-tsing (徐文靖), of the present dynasty. There is also a preliminary Book, carrying the History up to Fuh-he; and one on the Evidences of the Annals. The Geographical notes are most valuable.

49 竹書紀年集證, 'The Bamboo Annals, with Collection of Evidences.' In 50 Books. Published in 1,813, by Ch'in Funghăng (陳逢衡). The Work is very carefully executed; by a most able scholar; and seems to exhaust the subject of the Annals.

50 十七史商榷, 'The Seventeen Histories Examined and Displayed.' In 100 Books. By Wang Ming-shing, whose 'Latest Decisions' on the Shoo King have been noticed above. Like that other Work, this also displays amazing research.

51 大清一統志, 'Statistical Account of the Empire under the Great Pure dynasty.' Commanded in the 29th year of the Emperor Pure, A. D. 1,762. In 424 Books.

52 歷代統紀表; and 歷代疆域表. See proleg. to vol. I., pp. 134, 135.

54 日知錄, 'Essays, the Fruit of Daily Acquisitions.' In 32 Books. By Koo Yen-woo (顧炎武). The essays are on a Multitude of subjects, likely to engage the attention of a Chinese Scholar. Published in 1695.

55 太平御覽. A monstrous miscellany, in 1,692 Books, prepared by order of the second emperor of the Sung dynasty, in 977. The

style of his reign at the time was 太平興國; hence the name of the Work.

56 格致鏡原. A miscellany of the present dynasty, inquiring into the origin of the things discussed. In 100 Books. By Ch'in Yuen-lung (陳元龍).

57 事物紀原, 'Record of the Origin of Affairs and Things.' A miscellany of the Sung dynasty. Contains 1,765 articles.

58 丹鉛總錄, 'Miscellaneous Pencillings.' In 27 Books. Originally published under the Ming dynasty in 1,524.

SECTION II.

TRANSLATIONS AND OTHER FOREIGN WORKS.

SEVERAL of the Works, mentioned in the prolegomena to vol. I, pp. 135, 136, have been frequently consulted by me. In addition to them, I have used:—

LE CHOU-KING, un des Livres Sacrés DES CHINOIS, qui renferm les Fondements de leur ancienne Histoire, les Principes des leur Gouvernement et de leur Morale, Traduit et enrichi des notes, par FEU LE P. GAUBIL, Missionaire a la Chine. Revu et corrige, &c., par M. DE GUIGNES, &c. A Paris, 1,770.

THE SHOO KING, or THE HISTORICAL CLASSIC, being the most ancient authentic Record of the Annals of the Chinese Empire, illustrated by LATER COMMENTATORS. Translated by W. H. MEDHURST, Sen. Shanghae, 1,846.

DESCRIPTION Geographique, Historique, Chronologique, Politique, et Physique, DE L'EMPIRE DE LA CHINE, et DE LA TARTARIE CHINOISE, &c., par le P. J. B. DU HALDE, de la Compagnie de JESUS. Tomes quatre; fol. A Paris, 1,735.

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. Particularly the Numbers for April, May, and July, 1,836; for December, 1841; for May, and August and September, 1842.

LE TCHEOU-LI, ou RITES DES TCHEOU, Traduit pour la premiere fois du Chinois, par FEU EDOUARD BIOT. Tomes deux; 8vo. Paris, 1851.

A SKETCH OF CHINESE HISTORY, Ancient and Modern, &c. By the REV. CHARLES GUTZLAFF. Two volumes; 8vo. London, 1834.

MELANGES ASIATIQUES, &c.; par M. ABEL-REMUSAT. Tomes deux; 8vo. Paris, 1826.

EGYPT'S PLACE IN UNIVERSAL HISTORY. An Historical Investigation in five Books. By C. C. J. BARON BUNSEN, &c. Translated from the German by CHARLES H. COTTRELL, Esq., M.A. London, 1859.

ETUDES SUR L'ASTRONOMIE INDIENNE ET CHINOISE, par J. B. Biot. Paris, 1,862.

THE NUMERICAL RELATIONS OF THE POPULATION OF CHINA, DURING THE 4000 YEARS OF ITS HISTORICAL EXISTENCE, &c. By T. SACHAROFF, Member of the Imperial Russian Embassy in Peking. Translated into English, by the REV. W. LOBSCHEID. Hongkong, 1864.

PREFACE TO THE SHOO KING,

ATTRIBUTED TO CONFUCIUS.

書序

一節 昔在帝堯、聰明文思、光宅天下、將遜于位、讓于虞舜、作堯典。○

1 I. Anciently there was the emperor Yaou, all-informed, intelligent, accomplished, and thoughtful. His glory filled the empire. He wished to retire from the throne, and resign it to Shun of Yu. *Descriptive of all this*, there was made THE CANON OF YAOU.

PREFACE TO THE SHOO KING. This is often called 'The small Preface' (小序), to distinguish it from the larger one (大序 and 尙書序), prefixed by K'ung Gan-kwŏ to his commentary on the Classic. It was among the other monuments recovered from the wall of Confucius' house, which were given to Gan-kwŏ to be deciphered and edited. He incorporated it with the Work itself, breaking it up into its several parts, and prefixing to each Book the portion belonging to it. Other scholars of the Han dynasty edited it in its complete form at the end of the classic. It seems to me better, and to afford more facility of reference to it hereafter, to prefix it here as a whole.

If it were indeed the work of Confucius himself, its value would be inestimable; but its many peculiarities of style, as well as many inanities, forbid us to believe that it is the composition of the Sage. Ch'ing K'ang-shing (鄭康成), Ma Yung (馬融), and Wang Suh (王肅), those great scholars of the Han dynasty, all attribute it to him; and to justify them for doing so, Keang Shing (江聲) appeals to the words of Sze-ma Ts'een (in the 史記孔子世家):—'He prefaced the Records of the Shoo, from the times of T'ang and Yu, down to Muh of Ts'in, arranging their subjects in order (see 江徵君尙書集注音疏, on the 序). This, however, would only be evidence at the most that Confucius had made a preface to the Shoo King; but Ts'een's statement, in which he has been followed by many subsequent chroniclers, was grounded merely on the existence of this document itself, many parts of which he has introduced into his histories (本記), though not all in the order in which they are given by Gan-kwŏ. It is enough to admit with Choo He, that this preface was the production of some writer in the end of the Chow or the beginning of the Ts'in dynasty.—I shall discuss here but sparingly its various statements. That will be done, where necessary, in the introductions to the several Books.

二節 虞舜側微、堯聞之聰明、將使嗣位、歷試諸難、作舜典。

三節 ○帝釐下土、方設居方、別生分類、作汨作、九共九篇、

2 II. Shun of Yu was in a low and undistinguished position, when Yaou heard of his comprehensive intelligence, and wishing to make him successor to his throne, made proof of him in many situations of difficulty. *With reference to this*, there was made THE CANON OF SHUN.

3 The emperor regulated the territories, appointing *nobles* to every quarter to reside in them, giving them surnames of distinction, and defining the constituents of each. *Descriptive of this*, there were made the KWUH TSŎ, the KEW KUNG, in nine Books, and the KAOU YU.

I. This paragraph contains, according to the arrangement of the Books which I have adopted, and for which I have elsewhere given the reasons, the notice of only one Book, the first part of the Classic. 'The Canon of Yaou' is edited as the first of 'The Books of Yu,' by those who divide the Work into four parts; and as the first of the Books of Yu-Hea, by those who make only three divisions. 遜 is best explained, with Gan-kwŏ, by 遁, 'to withdraw,' though the 于 following would more readily be translated by 'to' than by 'from.' Both Gan-kwŏ and Ch'ing K'ang-shing understand the 讓 as denoting not the resignation of the throne, but simply of the management of affairs. Yaou was still emperor till his death, and Shun was only his vice. 作堯典,—the 作 is at first referred to 堯 as its subject. The character must be so connected with the principal word in many sentences of the preface. The nominative here, however, is not 堯. In this and many other sentences the 作 is quite vague. We might take it intransitively.—'These subjects *form* the matter of the Canon of Yaou.' The 集傳 says—作者追言作書之意如此,'作 says retrospectively that to relate these matters was the object of the maker of the Book.'

II. This paragraph contains the prefatory notices to the Books of Yu, forming the second part of the classic, though it may be questioned whether another arrangement of some of them would not be more correct. This question has been touched on in the prolegomena. I have thought it sufficient to indicate my own view there, not wishing to make in this volume any further change in the ordinary arrangement of the Books, beyond what I have done in separating the 'Canon of Yaou' from the Books of Yu. Those amounted in Confucius' time, it will be seen, to 15, of which only 4 are now existing, allowing the genuineness of 'The Counsels of the great Yu,' and the right of the 'Canon of Shun' to stand by itself separate from the 'Canon of Yaou,' and of the 'Yih and Tseih' to be separate from the 'Counsels of Kaou Yaou.'

Not. 2. This is a very imperfect account of the Canon of Shun. 'The Book must contain the governmental affairs, first and last, of Shun's reign, and the preface would make it appear that the proof of him in various difficult situations was all the matter treated of!' (See the 集傳.) 3. I have translated after Gan-kwŏ. Keang Shing points differently, and gives quite another view of the meaning. K'ung Ying-tă (孔穎達), Gan-kwŏ's glossarist of the T'ang dynasty (flour. in greater part of the 7th cent.), says—'In such cases, where the text of the classic is lost, we shoot at the meaning in the dark. Gan-kwŏ interpreted according to the words, whether correctly or not cannot be known.' For this reason I have for the most part given the Chinese names of the lost Books, without attempting to translate them. 汨作 may mean 'The Achievements of Government.' 九共 has been translated 'The nine Laws' (共=法); and 'The nine Contributions' (共=給); also 'The nine Hills' (共=邱). All is uncertain. And so also is the meaning of 稾飫. 4. 帝

稾飫。○四節皐陶矢厥謨、禹成厥功、帝舜申之、作大禹皐陶謨、益稷。○五節禹別、九州、隨山濬川、任土作貢。○六節啓與有扈戰于甘之野、作甘誓。○七節太康失邦、昆弟五人、須于洛汭、作五子之歌。○八節羲和湎淫、廢時亂日、胤往征之、作胤征。○九節自契至于成

4 Kaou Yaou unfolded his counsels; Yu completed his work; the emperor Shun made him go on to further statements. *With reference to these things*, there were made THE COUNSELS OF THE GREAT YU, and OF KAOU YAOU, and the YIH AND TSEIH.

5 III. Yu marked out the nine provinces; followed the course of the hills, and deepened the rivers; defined the imposts on the land, and the articles of tribute.

6 K'e fought with the prince of Hoo in the wilderness of Kan, when he made THE SPEECH AT KAN.

7 T'ae-k'ang lost his kingdom; and his five brothers waited for him on the north of the Lŏ, and made THE SONGS OF THE FIVE SONS.

8 He and Ho, sunk in wine and excess, neglected the ordering of the seasons, and allowed the days to get into confusion. *The prince of* Yin went to punish them. *Descriptive of this*, there was made THE PUNITIVE EXPEDITION OF YIN.

9 IV. From Sëĕ to T'ang the Successful, there were eight changes

舜申之,—申之, 'repeated it,' has reference probably to the commencing words of the 'Yih and Tseih'—'The emperor said, Come Yu, you *likewise* must have admirable words.'

III. The four Books in this paragraph constitute the third part of the Shoo. The genuineness of two is questioned; but it is remarkable that Confucius found among the relics of the Hea dynasty, B.C. 2204—1766, only these four documents worthy to be transmitted to posterity. And, indeed, the first of them should belong more properly to the Books of Yu.

Not. 5. 任土作貢,—all the commentators make the 任土 auxiliary to the other characters, ='he assigned the tribute according to the nature and productions of the land.' It seems much simpler to take them as I have done; comp. Mencius, IV. Pt. I. xiv. 3. It will be seen the notice is defective, and wants 作禹貢 at the end. Ch'ing has called attention to this. 6. The style of this notice is considered sufficient evidence that the preface is not the work of Confucius, who would never have represented the emperor and his vassal as if they were fighting on equal terms—與...戰. (See the 集傳.) 7. 須=待. In the text of the Book we have 徯. 8. 胤=胤侯.

IV. This paragraph, containing 23 prefatory notices, enumerates 31 different documents, in

湯、八遷、湯始居亳、從先王居、作帝告、釐沃。○十節湯征諸侯、葛伯不祀、湯始征之、作湯征。○十一節伊尹去亳適夏、既醜有夏、復歸于亳、入自北門、乃遇汝鳩、汝方、作汝鳩、汝方。○十二節伊尹相湯伐桀、升自陑、遂與桀戰于鳴條之野、作湯誓。○十三節湯既勝夏、欲遷其社、不可、作夏社、疑至、

of the capital. T'ang at first dwelt in Pŏ, choosing the residence of the first sovereign of his House. *Then* were made the TE KUH, and the LE YUH.

10 When T'ang chastised the various princes, the chief of Kŏ was not offering the *appointed* sacrifices. T'ang began his work by chastising him, and *then* was made the T'ANG CHING.

11 E Yin went from Pŏ to Hea. Indignant with the sovereign of Hea, he returned to Pŏ; and as he entered by the north gate, met with Joo Kew and Joo Fang. *With reference to this* were made the JOO KEW, and the JOO FANG.

12 E Yin acted as minister to T'ang, and *advised* him to attack Këë. They went up from E, and fought with him in the wilderness of Ming-t'eaou. *Then* was made THE SPEECH OF T'ANG.

13 When T'ang had vanquished Hea, he wished to change its sacrifices to the Spirit of the land, but concluded not to do so. *With*

40 Books or chapters (篇), all belonging to the dynasty of Shang, B.C. 1765—1122. More than half of them are lost,—the first five, classed by some among the Books of the Hea dyn.; the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th; the 13th, 15th, and 16th; the 19th to the 25th; and the 29th. Of the remaining 11 documents, there are only 5 whose genuineness is unchallenged. The order in which they stand, moreover, differs somewhat in the preface as edited by Gan-kwŏ, and as approved by Ch'ing and other Han scholars.

Not. 9. Sëë, from whom the sovereigns of the Shang dyn. traced their descent, was a son of the emp. 嚳, B.C. 2432; whose capital was Pŏ. Kuh must therefore be the 先王, and probably the 帝 in 帝告, 'The Announcement to the Emperor.' 釐沃 may mean 'The Rule of Enrichment.'

10. 湯征, 'The Punitive Expedition of T'ang.' See Men. III. Pt. II. v., and the Announcement of Chung Hwuy. Those who object to the Shoo King of Gan-kwŏ say that the passages of Hwuy's Announcement referred to are a remnant of this Book; see the 尙書後案 of 王鳴盛, *in loc.* 11. Joo Kew and Joo Fang, we may suppose, were two ministers, with whom E Yin discussed the affairs of Hea. 13. 欲遷其社,—

臣扈。○十四節夏師敗績、湯遂從
之、遂伐三朡、俘厥寶玉、誼
伯仲伯作典寶。○十五節湯歸自
夏、至于大坰、仲虺作誥。○
十六節湯既黜夏命、復歸于亳、作
湯誥。○十七節咎單作明居。○十八節成
湯既沒、太甲元年、伊尹作
伊訓、肆命、徂后。○十九節太甲既
立、不明、伊尹放諸桐、三年、
復歸于亳、思庸、伊尹作太

reference to this there were made the HEA SHAY, the E-CHE, and the CHIN-HOO.

14 The army of Hea being entirely defeated, T'ang followed it and smote San-tsung, where he captured the precious relics and gems. *Then* E-pih and Chung-pih made the TEEN PAOU.

15 When T'ang was returning from *the conquest of* Hea, he came to Ta-këung, where Chung Hwuy made his ANNOUNCEMENT.

16 T'ang having made an end of the sovereignty of Hea, returned to Pŏ, and made THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF T'ANG.

17 Kaou Shen made the MING KEU.

18 After the death of T'ang, in the first year of T'ae-këă, E Yin made THE INSTRUCTIONS OF E, the SZE MING, and the TSOO HOW.

19 When T'ae-këă was declared emperor, he proved unintelligent, and E Yin placed him in T'ung. After three years he returned with him to Pŏ, when he had applied his thoughts to the course of duty. *Then* E Yin made the T'AE-KEA in three Books.

see Mencius, VII. Pt. II. xiv.; he says that the spirits of the land and grain might be changed on proof of their powerlessness, and much more might this be done on a change of dynasty as here. But whom was T'ang to place as the 土神, or human assessor of such, in room of 句龍, to whom the Hea dyn. had sacrificed? None was found so worthy. E-che and Chin-hoo were probably two ministers consulted on the subject. 14. The precious relics and gems were those of the Hea emperors. 17. This notice contains no prefatory explanation. There are three others of the same kind. Kaou Shen (so the name is to be read), according to Ma Yung, was minister of Works. 明居 may mean—'Illustration of the way to settle the people.' 18. 肆命 = 'A declaration of the way of Heaven,' acc. to Gan-kwŏ; 'of the principles of government,' acc. to Ch'ing. 徂后, 'the past (= deceased) sovereign;' referring to T'ang. 19. 思庸,—王天與 (of the Yuen dyn.) says, 'Gan-kwŏ explains this phrase by *he thought of the constant course of duty;* Soo by *he thought of using the words of E Yin;* Ch'in says, The meaning is expressed by Mencius (V. Pt. I. vi. 5.),—*He repented of his errors, was*

甲三篇。○(廿節)伊尹作咸有一德。○(廿一節)沃丁既葬伊尹于亳、咎單遂訓伊尹事、作沃丁。○(廿二節)伊陟相太戊、亳有祥、桑穀共生于朝、伊陟贊于巫咸、作咸乂四篇。○(廿三節)太戊贊于伊陟、作伊陟、原命。○(廿四節)仲丁遷于囂、作仲丁。○(廿五節)河亶甲居相、作河亶甲。○(廿六節)祖乙圮于耿、作祖乙。○(廿七節)盤庚五

20 E Yin made the BOTH POSSESSED PURE VIRTUE.

21 When Yuh-ting had buried E Yin in Pŏ, Kaou Shen then set forth as lessons the doings of E Yin, and there was made the YUH-TING.

22 E Chih was prime minister to T'ae-mow, when ominous appearances showed themselves in Pŏ. A mulberry tree and a stalk of grain grew up in the court. E Chih told Woo Heen, who made the HEEN E in four Books.

23 T'ae-mow spoke on the subject with E Chih, and there were made the E CHIH and the YUEN MING.

24 Chung-ting removed to Heaou, and there was made the CHUNG-TING.

25 Ho-tan-këă lived in Sëang, and there was made the HO-TAN-KEA.

26 Tsoo-yih met with calamity in Kăng, and there was made the TSOO-YIH.

contrite, and reformed himself, &c.' See the 集說, *in loc.*

22. Gan-kwŏ and others refer to 桑穀 as two trees growing together. But how can a stalk of grain be represented as a *tree?* The 說文 dict. explains the char. 楮 by 穀 (? radical 木 and not 禾), a kind of mulberry tree from the bark of which both cloth and paper can be made. We should probably read 穀桑, one tree. Gan-Kwŏ says it attained its size in seven days; Sze-ma Ts'een says one evening! 巫咸,—see the 君奭, par. 7. Ch'ing interprets 'Heen. the Wizard,'—perhaps correctly. Ts'een says that Hëen made the Hëen E, and the T'ae-mow. 23. These last Books are supposed to have been on the subject of the ominous appearances. 原 is the name of a minister. 原命, 'The charge to Yuen.'

25. Ho-tan-këă,—this is always given as the name of the 10th emp. of the Shang dyn. We may suppose that Tan-këă was his name, and that 河 was added, because of some peculiar troubles in his time with that river. See the 通鑑綱目. 26. 圮,—'was overthrown;' *i.e.*, the capital was injured by an

遷、將治亳殷、民咨胥怨、作盤
庚三篇。○廿八節高宗夢得說、使百
工營求諸野、得諸傅巖、作說
命三篇。○廿九節高宗祭成湯、有飛
雉升鼎耳而雊、祖己訓諸王、
作高宗肜日、高宗之訓。○卅節殷
始咎周、周人乘黎、祖伊恐、奔
告于受、作西伯戡黎。○卅一節殷既
錯天命、微子作誥父師少師。
○卅二節惟十有一年、武王伐殷、一

27 Pwan-kang made the fifth change *of capital*, and was about to repair Pŏ, *as the cradle of the* Yin. The people murmured, and expressed themselves resentfully to one another. *With reference to this* there was made the PWAN-KANG, in three Books.

28 Kaou-tsung dreamed that he got Yuĕ, and made all his officers institute a search for him in the wilds. He was found in Foo-yen; and THE CHARGE TO YUE was made in three Books.

29 Kaou-tsung was sacrificing to T'ang the Successful, when a pheasant flew up, and lighted on the ear of a tripod, aud *there* crowed. Tsoo Ke lessoned the king *on the subject*, and made THE DAY OF THE SUPPLEMENTARY SACRIFICE OF KAOU TSUNG, and THE INSTRUCTIONS TO KAOU-TSUNG.

30 Yin's first hatred of Chow was occasioned by its conquest of Le. Tsoo E, full of dread, hurried off to inform Show. *With reference to this* there was made THE CHIEF OF THE WEST'S CONQUEST OF LE.

31 Yin having cast away the sovereignty conferred on it by Heaven, the count of Wei made his announcement to the Grand Tutor and to the Junior Tutor.

32 V. In the eleventh year king Woo smote *the power of* Yin. On the mow-woo day of the first month, his army crossed *the Ho at* Măng-

overflow of the Ho. 31. 錯＝廢, as in Ana. II. xix.

V. This paragraph contains notices—such as they are—of 38 different documents in 40 Books, extending from the commencement of the Chow dynasty, B.C. 1121, to 626, within little more than half a century of the birth of Confucius. Eight of the pieces have been lost,—the 5th, 7th, 11th, 12th, 22d, 23d, 27th, and 28th; there are two documents, very different in themselves, each of which claims to be 'The Great Speech;'

月戊午、師渡孟津、作泰誓三篇。○（卅三節）武王戎車三百兩、虎賁三百人、與受戰于牧野、作牧誓。○（卅四節）武王伐殷、往伐歸獸、識其政事、作武成。○（卅五節）武王勝殷、殺受、立武庚、以箕子歸、作洪範。○（卅六節）武王既勝殷、邦諸侯、班宗彝、作

tsin. *Descriptive of this* there was made THE GREAT SPEECH, in three Books.

33 King Woo, with three hundred chariots of war and three hundred tiger-like officers, fought with Show in the wilderness of Muh. *Then* was made THE SPEECH AT MUH.

34 King Woo smote Yin; and the narrative of his proceeding to the attack, and of his return and sending his animals back to their pastures, with his governmental measures, form THE COMPLETION OF THE WAR.

35 When king Woo conquered Yin, he slew Show, and appointed Woo-kăng *over the original principality of his House.* He got the count of Ke to return to him, and THE GREAT PLAN was made.

36 When king Woo had conquered Yin, he appointed the princes of

of the remaining Books 20 are of unchallenged genuineness, and the claim of the others—the 3d, 6th, 10th, 21st, 26th, 29th, 32d, 33d, and 34th—has been discussed and mainly admitted in the prolegg. These 29 Books form now the fifth and last part of the classic.

Not. 33. 戎車三百兩, 虎賁三百人,—see Men. VII. Pt. II. iv. 4, where this sentence appears to be quoted; but with 革 for 戎, and 三千人 for 三百人. Sze-ma Ts'een also has 三千人. Mih Teih, again, says that Woo had 100 chariots, and of 虎賁之卒四百人 (明鬼篇下). Another enumeration of 800 is also found. See the 尚書今古文注疏 of 孫星衍, *in loc.* The 虎賁 are said to have been 勇士, 'brave officers,'—centurions, according to Gan-kwŏ (百夫長). 35. 殺受—Show, like another Sardanapalus, burned himself, after being defeated by king Woo. Woo-kăng was Show's son, called also 祿父 (or 甫), was appointed by Woo over the original seat of his House to continue the sacrifices to his forefathers.

箕子—the 大傳, or Introduction to the Shoo, ascribed to 伏生, says, that 'the count of Ke on being delivered from the prison, where he had been put by Show, unwilling to become a servant to the new dynasty, fled to Corea, of which Woo appointed him ruler. This obliged him to come to Woo's court to acknowledge the king's grace, and then it was that the Great Plan was obtained from him.' Others say that his appointment to Corea was a subsequent affair. If so, another explanation of 以箕子歸 has to be sought. 36. 分器, may be translated—'The apportioned vessels.'

邦=封. It was one of the ceremonies of investiture, to give part of the furniture of the ancestral temple of the emperor to the deputed noble. See the 集說 The principles

分器。○卄七節西旅獻獒、太保作旅獒。○卄八節巢伯來朝、芮伯作旅巢命。○卄九節武王有疾、周公作金縢。○四十節武王崩、三監及淮夷叛、周公相成王、將黜殷、作大誥。○四十一成王既黜殷命、殺武庚、命微子啓代殷後、作微子之命。○四十二唐叔得禾、異畝同穎、獻諸天子、王命唐叔歸周公于東、作歸

the various States, and distributed among them the vessels of the ancestral temple. *With reference to this* there was made the FUN K'E.

37 The western people of Le made an offering of some of their hounds; and the Grand Guardian made THE HOUNDS OF LE.

38 The chief of Ch'aou having come to court, the chief of Juy made and impressed on him the CH'AOU MING.

39 King Woo was sick, which gave occasion to the Book about the duke of Chow's making THE METAL-BOUND CASKET.

40 When king Woo had deceased, the three overseers and the wild tribes of the Hwae rebelled. The duke of Chow acted as prime minister to king Ching; and having purposed to make an end of *the House of* Yin, he made THE GREAT ANNOUNCEMENT.

41 King Ching having made an end of the appointment *in favour of the House* of Yin, and put Woo-kăng to death, he appointed K'e, the count of Wei, to take the place of the descendants of Yin. *Descriptive of this*, there was made THE CHARGE TO THE COUNT OF WEI.

42 The *king's* uncle, the prince of T'ang, found a head of grain, *two stalks* in different plats of ground growing into one ear, and presented it to the king. The king ordered him to send it to the duke of Chow in the east. *Upon this* was made the KWEI HO.

on which the distribution to different ranks was made were probably described in this last Book. 38. There is a difficulty in translating 旅. In not. 43 it = 陳, by which it is explained here; the diff. arises from its following 作. It is said in the 集說,—'The chief of Juy, being in the court and making the royal charge, must have been a minister of the king. 旅=陳. He set forth the majesty and virtue of the king to charge Ch'aou.' 42. The prince of T'ang was a younger brother of king Ching's mother; see the 左傳,昭十五年,

禾。○四十三周公既得命禾、旅天子之命、作嘉禾。○四十四成王既伐管叔蔡叔、以殷餘民封康叔、作康誥、酒誥梓材。○四十五成王在豐、欲宅洛邑、使召公先相宅、作召誥。○四十六召公既相宅、周公往營成周、使來告卜、作洛誥。○四十七成周既成、遷殷頑民、周公以王命

43 The duke of Chow having got the *king's* charge and the head of grain, set forth the charge of the sovereign, and made the KEA HO.

44 The king Ching having smitten his uncles, the prince of Kwan and the prince of Ts'ae, invested his uncle K'ang with the rule of the remnant of Yin. *With reference to this,* there were made THE ANNOUNCEMENT TO K'ANG, THE ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT WINE, and THE GOOD MATERIALS.

45 King Ching being in Fung, and wishing to fix his residence at Lŏ, sent the duke of Shaou in the first place to survey the localities. *Then* was made THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF SHAOU.

46 The duke of Shaou having surveyed the localities, the duke of Chow went to build *this capital, called* Ching Chow, and sent a messenger to announce the divinations. With reference to this THE ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT LO was made.

47 When Ching Chow was completed, the obstinate people of Yin were removed to it. The duke of Chow announced to them the royal will, and THE NUMEROUS OFFICERS was made.

Gan-kwŏ takes 畝 = 壟, 'a hillock,' 'a mound;' so Choo He elsewhere explains the character. Ch'ing makes it = 苗, 'a stalk of growing grain,' which gives a good meaning, but made for the occasion. 孫星衍 would explain it by 母 = 拇, 'toes or fingers,' a figurative expression for the grain dividing from the stalk. 歸禾 may be translated 'The Presented Grain.' 43. 得命和,—Ch'ing says, 受王歸己禾之命與其禾, *i.e.*, we must understand an *and* between 命 and 和. Both Keang Shing and Sun Sing-k'een quote here, from 韓詩外傳, what appears to be another legendary account of this head of grain, formed by *three* stalks growing through a mulberry tree into one ear of marvellous size. I have only got the copy of the 外傳, given in the 三代兩漢遺書, which does not contain the legend; and, indeed, Keang Shing quotes from the 外傳五. A similar account is found in 劉向's 說苑, 辨物篇. 嘉禾 = 'The Excellent Grain.' 44. It is disput-

告、作多士。○[四十八]周公作無逸。○[四十九]召公爲保、周公爲師、相成王爲左右、召公不悅、周公作君奭。○[五十]蔡叔既沒、王命蔡仲踐諸侯位、作蔡仲之命。○[五十一]成王東伐淮夷、遂踐奄、作成王政。○[五十二]成王既踐奄、將遷其君於蒲姑、周公告召公、作將蒲姑。○[五十三]成王歸自奄、在宗周誥庶邦、作多方。○[五十四]周公作立政。○[五十五]成王既黜殷命、滅淮夷、還

48 The duke of Chow made the Book AGAINST LUXURIOUS EASE.

49 The duke of Shaou acted as guardian and the duke of Chow as tutor, the chief ministers of king Ching, his left and right-hand men. The duke of Shaou was not pleased, and the duke of Chow made the PRINCE SHIH.

50 After the death of the king's uncle, the prince of Ts'ae, the king appointed his son Chung to take his place as a prince *of the empire*. Then was made the CHARGE TO CHANG OF TS'AE.

51 King Ching having smitten the wild tribes of the Hwae on the east, at the same time extinguished the State of Yen. Then was made the CHING WANG CHING.

52 King Ching having extinguished Yen, and wishing to remove its ruler to P'oo-koo, the duke of Chow announced the thing to the duke of Shaou. *Then* there was made the TSEANG P'OO-KOO.

53 King Ching returned from Yen, and in the honoured city of Chow made an announcement to all the States. *Then* was made THE NUMEROUS REGIONS.

54 The duke of Chow made THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GOVERNMENT.

ed whether 康叔 should be translated—'his uncle, K'ang,' or 'his uncle, the prince of K'ang.' See on the 康誥. 51. 踐 is taken by Ch'ing as = 翦, and explained by 滅. Gan-kwŏ agrees with him. 成王政 probably meant 'The Completion of the Royal Government.' See the 集說. 52. 蒲姑 is 薄姑 in the 史記. I don't know

歸在豐、作周官。○五十六成王既伐東夷、肅慎來賀、王俾榮伯作賄肅慎之命。○五十七周公在豐將沒、欲葬成周、公薨、成王葬于畢、告周公、作亳姑。○五十八周公既沒、命君陳分正東郊成周、作君陳。○五十九成王將崩、命召公畢公率諸侯相康王、作顧命。○六十節康王既尸天子、遂誥諸侯作

55 When king Ching had made an end of the House of Yin, and extinguished the wild tribes of the Hwae, he returned to Fung; and there was made THE OFFICERS OF CHOW.

56 When king Ching had smitten the wild tribes of the east, Suh-shin came to congratulate him. The king made the chief of Yung make the CHARGE TO SUH-SHIN, and gave him presents also.

57 The duke of Chow was in Fung and about to die. He wished to be buried in Ching chow; but on his decease king Ching buried him in Peih, making an announcement at his bier. Then was made the PO-KOO.

58 After the death of the duke of Chow, Keun-ch'in was commissioned with the separate charge of regulating Ching Chow in the eastern border, and there was made the KEUN-CH'IN.

59 When king Ching was about to die, he ordered the duke of Shaou and the duke of Peih to take the lead of all the princes to support

what to make of the 將. 56. 肅 (*al.* 息) 慎 was the chief of some wild tribe; but in what quarter is disputed. See the 左傳, 昭九年; and the 國語, 五卷, 魯語, 下. The 集傳 explains 賄 by 賂, and adds that the writer does not understand the meaning of the word as used here. In the passage of the 國語 just referred to, it is said that king Woo made the wild tribes bring the productions and articles of their countries as tribute (以其方賄來貢). Suh-shin, I suppose, had brought such, and the emperor ordered him gifts in return. 57. Sze-ma Ts'een says that Chow-kung on his death-bed said, 'Bury me in Ching-chow, to show that I dare not leave king Ching.' The king, however, buried him in Peih, beside king Wăn, to show that he did not dare to look on Chow-kung as a servant (see the 魯周公世家). 告周公作亳姑. This is very ob-

康王之誥。○康[六十一]王命作册畢、分居里成周郊、作畢命。○穆[六十二]王命君牙爲周大司徒、作君牙。○穆[六十三]王命伯冏爲周大僕正、作冏命。○呂[六十四]命、穆王訓夏贖刑、作呂刑。○平[六十五]王錫晉文侯秬鬯圭瓚、作文侯之命。○魯[六十六]侯伯禽宅曲阜、徐夷竝興、東郊

king K'ang. *With reference to this*, there was made THE TESTAMENTARY DECREE.

60 When king K'ang occupied the sovereign place, he made an announcement to all the princes, and there was made THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF KING K'ANG.

61 King K'ang ordered that a document of appointment should be made for the duke of Peih, severally defining the localities in the borders of Ching chow. There was then made the CHARGE TO THE DUKE OF PEIH.

62 King Muh appointed Keun-ya to be the minister of instruction of Chow; and there was made the KEUN-YA.

63 King Muh appointed Pih-keung to be the master of his household; and there was made the CHARGE TO KEUNG.

64 *The prince of* LEU was charged by king Muh to set forth the lessons of Hea on the redemption of punishments; and there was made LEU ON PUNISHMENTS.

65 King P'ing gave to prince Wăn of Tsin spirits of the black millet mixed with odoriferous herbs. *With reference to this*, there was made the CHARGE TO PRINCE WAN.

66 When Pih-k'in, prince of Loo, first dwelt in K'euh-fow, the Seu and other wild tribes rose together in insurrection. The gates on

scure. The announcement must have been to the duke on his bier, or by means of a sacrifice. Some suppose that 亳姑 should be 蒲姑, not 52, and that the subject announced had something to do with the removal of the ruler of Yen, a measure which had originated with Chow-kung. 60. 旣尸天子,—the use of 尸 here is strange. It leads us to 太康尸位 in 'The Songs of the five Sons,' and to 羲和尸厥官 in 'The Punitive Expedition of Yin.' The writer of the preface would seem to have had those passages in view; but the 尸 here simply = 主, and intimates nothing condemnatory of king K'ang.

不開、作費誓。○六十七秦穆公伐鄭、晉襄公帥師敗諸崤、還歸、作秦誓。

the eastern frontier were kept shut, and there was made THE SPEECH AT PE.

67 When duke Muh of Ts'in was invading Ch'ing, the duke Sëang of Tsin led an army, and defeated his forces in Heaou. When they returned, he made THE SPEECH OF THE DUKE OF TS'IN

SUMMARY. From this preface it appears that the Shoo-king, as compiled by Confucius, contained 81 Documents in 100 Books. The preface has no division of those into Parts. According to the arrangement made in this volume, Part I., or the Book of T'ang, contained 1 document still existing: Part, II., or the Book of Yu, contained 7 documents in 15 Books, of which 3 in 11 Books are lost; 4 remain, but not all equally allowed: Part III., or the Book of Hea, contained 4 documents in 4 Books, all of which remain, though the genuineness of two of them is questioned: Part IV., or the Book of Shang, contained 31 documents in 40 Books; 20 documents in 23 Books are lost; 11 documents remain, only 5 of which, however, are unquestioned: Part V., or the Book of Chow, contained 38 documents in 40 Books; 8 documents in 8 Books are lost; of 1 there are two very different versions; 20 documents are fully admitted.

THE SHOO KING.

PART I. THE BOOK OF T'ANG.

THE CANON OF YAOU.

尙書
唐書
堯典
一節 曰若稽古、
帝堯曰放
勳、欽明文
思安安、允
恭克讓、光
被四表、格
于上下。○

1 I. Examining into antiquity, *we find that* the emperor Yaou was called Fang-heun. He was reverential, intelligent, accomplished, and thoughtful,—naturally and without effort. He was sincerely courteous, and capable of *all* complaisance. The display *of these qualities* reached to the four extremities *of the empire*, and extended from

TITLE OF THE WHOLE WORK. 尙書.—Anciently, the Work was simply called the Shoo. So Confucius, in the Analects, and Mencius refer to it. See Ana. II. xxi., &c.; Men. I. Pt. II. iii. 7, &c. The addition of 尙, = 上, 'High,' is by Ch'ing K'ang-shing attributed to Conf. He says, 'Conf., honouring it, gave it the denomination of 尙書. Honouring and emphasizing it as if it were a Book of Heaven, he therefore called it "The Highest Book,"' (尊而重之若天書然, 故曰尙書). Gan-kwŏ in his preface ascribes the name to Fuh-shang, who called it, he says, the 尙書 'as being the book of the highest antiquity' (以其上古之書). The use of the name by Mih Teih in his 明鬼篇, however, shows its existence before Fuh's time. With whom and how it originated, we cannot positively say. 書, given by the 說文 as being formed from 聿 and 者 (=著), = what is described or related with a pencil, 'a writing.'

TITLE OF THE PART. 唐書.—In so denominating this portion of the work, I follow the authority of Hea Shin (許愼, of the 2d cent.), who in his dict. (the 說文) quotes part of par. 8 as from the 唐書. Keang Shing and Maou K'e-ling, likewise, both say that this was the arrangement of Fuh-shang himself; see the 集注音疏 of the former *in loc.*, and the 古文尙書寃詞, 卷一,

p. 9, of the latter. Besides, Yaou constituted a dynasty by himself. He and Shun were as distinct from each other as were Shun and Yu. 唐者堯有天下之號, 'T'ang is the dynastic designation of Yaou.' Before he succeeded to the empire, he was prince of T'ang (唐侯). The name is still retained in the district so called of 保定 dep., in Chih-le.

TITLE OF THE BOOK. 堯典, 'The Canon of Yaou.' Yaou is to all readers substantially the name of the emperor. Whether it was so or not, see on par. 1. 典 is found in K'ang-he's dict., under 八, but the 說文 gives it under 丌, 'that which is high and level.' '册 being placed over it, there is thus indicated the exalted nature of the document. The character indicates what is classical, invariable, what may serve as a law, and rule.' The sayings and doings of Yaou and Shun form a pattern for all ages.—With regard to the relative position of the three titles, they are placed here according to modern usage. Under the Han dynasty, the relative position was just the reverse. The title of the Book was put highest, and that of the Work lowest.

CONTENTS OF THE BOOK. Yaou is the subject of the Book; first in his personal character, and the general results of his government; next in his special care for the regulation of the calendar, and the labours of agriculture; and lastly, in his anxiety to find a man to whom in his declining years he could intrust the administration of affairs, and who might succeed him on the throne. He appears before the reader—the sage; the administrator; the patriotic sovereign. There are in all, according to the ordinary, though not unexceptionable arrangement only 12 paragraphs (節), which may be divided into 3 chapters (段 or 大段). Ch. I. contains the parr. 1 and 2; ch. II. contains parr. 3—8; ch. III. contains parr. 9—12.

CH. I. THE SAGELY VIRTUES OF YAOU, AND THE BENEFICENT CHARACTER AND SUCCESSFUL RESULTS OF HIS GOVERNMENT. Par. 1. Choo He gave his decided opinion that the six characters 曰若稽古帝堯 were to be construed together without stop, and were 'the introductory words of the chronicler' (see 朱子全書,卷三十三,堯典);= 'When we make a study of the ancient emperor Yaou.' Anciently, however, a comma was put at 古; 曰 (read also 粵) 若 were taken as a formula of introduction; and 稽古帝堯 were a sentence, of which 帝堯 was the subject, and 稽古 the predicate. K'ang-shing makes 稽=同 and 古=天, and explains, 'Yaou was able to accord with Heaven, and his actions were of equal merit with its' (see any of the comm. of the present dyn.). Support is thought to be given to this view by Conf. words, Ana. VIII. xix. But it is plainly inadmissible. Ma Yung and Gan-kwŏ, taking only 曰 as introductory, make 若=順, and 稽=考. The latter explains, 'He who could accord with and examine ancient principles, and practise them, was the emperor Yaou.' There is not so much violence here to the meaning of terms, as in Ch'ing's interpretation; but Maou K'e-ling points out another and much simpler construction, taking 曰若稽古 as an ancient formula prefixed by chroniclers to their narratives. (Instances may be seen in 孫星衍, *in loc.*) The four characters, then, = 'When we examine into antiquity,' and 堯帝 are the subject of the 曰 which follows; see Maou's 尙書廣聽錄,卷一. 帝堯曰放勳 (*al.* 勛),— The uniform testimony of antiquity is that 放勳 was Yaou's name; 重華 that of Shun; and 文命 that of Yu. So expressly, Sze-ma Ts'een Ch'ing, Ma, and Chaou K'e. Mencius also seems to countenance this, V. Pt. I. iv. 1; though I there, in deference to the Sung scholars, translated the words by 'The Highly Meritorious.' Gan-kwŏ was the first to treat the characters as a descriptive phrase, taking 放 (up. 2d tone) = 'to learn,' 'to imitate;'—it may be said of him that he imitated the merit of the highest ages? Choo He's disciple 蔡沈, improved on this, making 放=至, and the phrase = 'The Highly Meritorious.' But it is better to revert to the ancient view. For the difficulty in its way, arising from Pt II. iii. 1, see *in loc.* But if Fang-heun, &c., were the names of Yaou and the other sages, what account is to be given of the terms 堯, 舜. &c., themselves? This question cannot be settled beyond dispute. They were not 謚, honorary, posthumous titles, as Ma Yung says; for, not to insist on the point that the giving of such titles originated with the Chow dyn., we find both Shun and Yu spoken of and spoken to by those styles;—see, par. 8: Pt. II. i. 3; iv. 1. I must regard them as a kind of 號 or 字, designations. Yaou's reign commenced B.C. 2356. He is the fourth of the "five Te," with whom Sze-ma Ts'een commences his history. After Shun, the sovereigns of China were called by the humbler title of 'Wang' or King, down to the Ts'in dynasty, B.C. 220. 帝 is a synonym of Heaven, and properly denotes 'God.' The 說文 defines it by 諦, 'to judge; and K'ung Ying-tă, expounding the application of it, says that Heaven exercises an impartial rule, judging righteous judgment, and that the name is given to the earthly sovereign, the vicegerent of Heaven, as expected to do the same: see Ying-tă's paraphrase on the first par. of the preface. 欽明文思 (up. 3d tone, exp. by

二節 克明俊德、以親九族、九族既睦、平章百姓、百姓昭明、協和萬邦、黎民於變時雍。

2 earth to heaven. He was able to make the able and virtuous distinguished, and thence proceeded to the love of the nine classes of his kindred, who all became harmonious. He *also* regulated and polished the people *of his domain*, who all became brightly intelligent. *Finally*, he united and harmonized the myriad States *of the empire;* and lo! the black-haired people were transformed. The result was *universal* concord.

Ch'ing—慮深通敏, 'in cogitation profound, in penetration active.') 安安,—欽, 'reverential,'= cherishing a constant feeling of responsibility. This, it is said, is the 'one word' in the Book, indicating the one virtue out of which all Yaou's other qualities grew. Gan-kwŏ takes 安 as a verb—'by these four virtues he gave repose to those to whom repose was due.' Much better to take the phrase as in the translation, with Choo He. Ch'ing read 宴宴.

光被 (3d tone, = 及) 四表,—Gan-kwŏ expl. 光 by 充—'those virtues filled up and reached to,' &c. Fuh-shang's text seems to have read 橫 (see the 後案); but in the prefatory notice we read 光. 表=外, 'that which is outside.' Acc. to Ch'ing, 四表=四海之外, 'the remotest limits of the four seas.' 上下=天地, heaven above and earth beneath.

2. 克明俊德,— see the Great Learning, Comm. i. 4, where for 俊 we have 峻. There the 'great virtue' is that of Yaou himself; but the preceding has spoken sufficiently of that. Ch'ing and Gan-kwŏ both take the meaning as in the transl., which moreover agrees with Conf. teaching, Doct. of the Mean, xx. 12, 13, where 親親 follows 尊賢. The commentator in the Great Learning *accommodates* the text of the Classic. 九族=all of the same surname, all the relatives of consanguinity, from the great-great-grandfather to the great-great-grandson. Gow-yang (歐陽), and other interpreters of Fuh-shang's Books, understood the nine classes to be 4 on the father's side, 3 on the mother's, and 2 on the wife's (see Ying-tă *in loc.*). Ch'ing and Gan-kwŏ rightly prefer the former view; but we may say with Ts'ae Ch'in that the relatives by affinity should here be understood as included with the others. 平章百姓,—I have given 百姓, after Ts'ae Ch'in, as meaning 'the people of the imperial domain.' That the phrase must be restricted in signification is plain from the 萬邦 and 黎民 that follow. Gan-kwŏ, however, says that 百姓=百官, 'the various officers.' Ch'ing substantially agrees with him;—百姓=羣臣之父子兄弟. That 'the hundred surnames' was a designation of the great families of the State under the Chow dyn. is shown clearly by Ying-tă, *in loc.* But in the Shoo-king, where the phrase occurs some 14 times, much the more natural interpretation of it is as = 民, 'the people.' Part V. x. 10; xvi. 9 are exceptions to this, but the ordinary usage is as I have said. For 平 the 'Historical Records' give 便, and Ch'ing interpreted by 辨, 'to distinguish, to separate.' Hence it has been contended that the original reading was 釆, the old form of which was liable to be mistaken for that of 平. [I cannot in these notes enter much into the question of various readings, and discuss the correctness of the text. The subject has been treated generally in the prolegg.] 萬邦=萬國 (so it is in the 史記), 'the myriad States,' *i.e.*, the States of all the princes beyond the imperial domain. 黎='black,' *i.e.*, black-haired. Some simply expl. it by 衆, 'all.' 於, an excl., read *woo*. 時=是. Gan-kwŏ brings out the concluding clauses thus:—天下衆民,皆變化從上,是以風俗大和, 'All the people under heaven were transformed, and followed the example of the sovereign, so that their manners became greatly harmonious.'

○乃[三節]命羲和、欽若昊天、曆象日月星辰、敬授人時。○[四節]分命羲仲、宅嵎夷、曰暘谷、

3 II. Thereupon *Yaou* commanded He and Ho, in reverent accordance with *their observation* of the wide heavens, to calculate and delineate *the movements and appearances of* the sun, the moon, the stars, and the zodiacal spaces; and so to deliver respectfully the seasons to the people.

4 He separately commanded the second brother He to reside at Yu-e, in what was called the Bright Valley, and there respectfully to

CH. II. THE MEASURES OF YAOU TO SECURE A CORRECT CALENDAR IN ORDER TO PROMOTE THE BUSINESS OF AGRICULTURE. Par. 3. 乃 being a conjunction, we naturally connect this par. with the preced., as following it in time. Such is not the case, however. Parr. 1 and 2 should be taken as the words of the chronicler whoever he was, and whensoever he wrote, giving his general impressions of Yaou's character and government. Here he begins to make use of documents, yet condensing them in his own language, till we arrive at par. 8. 乃 is equivalent to our 'now.' About the Hes and Hos we need not seek to be wise above what is written here and in Pt. III. iv. It is attempted to connect them with a Ch'ung and Le (重黎) descended from the emp. Shaou-haou, B.C. 2594 (see on Pt. V. xxvii. 6), as hereditary occupants of their offices. They come before us receiving their appointment from Yaou to form a Board of astronomy, and specially to regulate the calendar,—a work so necessary for the purposes of agriculture. Gaubil says they were charged likewise 'to correct the abuses and disorders which had been introduced into manners and religion' (Le Chou-king, p. 6., n. 2); but there is nothing in the text to justify this. It is queried whether those mentioned in par. 3 were elder brothers of the others, heads of their respective families, or merely those brothers, so that we should translate 羲和— 'the Hes and the Hos.' Were there three of each surname or only two? The point cannot be settled. I receive the impression that there were three. 欽若(=順)昊天,— 'reverently to accord with the vast heaven.' 昊天 is the name specially appropriated to the firmament of summer, when an air of vigour and vastness seems to fill all space. We are not to think of anything beyond the visible expanse and the bodies in it. The 集傳 defines 曆 as 'the writings in which calculations were recorded,' and 象 as 'the instruments with which the heavens were surveyed.' This cannot be. The characters are verbs. 曆 is 'to calendar,' implying calculations and writings; 象, 'a figure,' 'a resemblance,' and, as a verb, 'to imitate,' must here = 'to delineate,' 'to represent.' 星, 'the stars,' generally; both the fixed stars and the planets. 辰, 'the zodiacal spaces.' These, it is said in the 集傳, by the conjunctions of the sun and moon, divide the circumference of heaven into twelve mansions (十二次). For 人時 we should probably read 民時; see 段玉裁's 古文尚書撰異, *in loc.*

Parr. 4–7. It is supposed the work enjoined in the prec. par. has been done. That there may be no mistake in a matter of such importance,—to test the accuracy of the calendar, two members of each of the families He and Ho are appointed to the work of verification at different points. P. 4. The second brother He has his appointment at 嵎夷 (see Pt. III. i. 上. 22), not, as often stated, the present Tăng-chow in Shan-tung, but a place farther to the east in Corea. There was a spot convenient to observe the sun coming up, as from a valley, to enlighten the earth, from which it got its name. The 居 would seem to denote that He's proper residence was at Yu-e, but perhaps it only indicates a sojourn there to make the necessary observations. So in the other parr. This is Choo He's opinion. He was to receive the rising sun, acc. to the 集傳, by carefully noting the length of the shadow cast from a gnomon; but this is not said in the text. The special object of his observation was to ascertain that mid-spring, the vernal equinox, was correctly fixed; and the final end was that the 東作 'labours of the east' might be adjusted. Those labours of the east are the labours of spring; and in the other parr. the south stands for summer, the west for autumn, and the north for winter. On this see the

寅賓出日、平秩東作、日中、星鳥、以殷仲春、厥民析、鳥獸孳尾。○申命羲叔、宅南交、平秩南訛、敬致、日永、星

receive as a guest the rising sun, and to adjust and arrange the labours of the spring. "The day," *he said*, "is of the medium length, and the star is in *Neaou*; you may thus exactly determine mid-spring. The people begin to disperse; and birds and beasts breed and copulate."

5 He further commanded the third brother He to reside at Nan-keaou, and arrange the transformations of the summer, and respectfully to observe the extreme limit *of the shadow*. "The day," *said*

易經說卦傳, ch. v. The idea underlying the representation seems to be that of an analogy between a day and the year,—the morning, with the sun in the east, corresponding to spring; noon, with the sun in the south, to summer, &c. To guide He in his observations, he is told, 1st, that he would find 日中, 'the day of the average length,' *i.e.*, a mean between its lengths at the solstices, or more probably of the same length as the night, determined by a clepsydra (so, Ma Yung); and 2d, that 'the star was *Neaou*.' But *Neaou* (鳥) is not the name of a star, but of a constellation, or space of the heavens, extending over 112° (see Keang Shing), and embracing 'the seven constellations of the Southern quarter,' called 井, 鬼, 柳, 星, 張, 翼, and 軫. Gan-kwŏ thinks the meaning is that all those seven constellations would be visible on the evening of the vernal equinox. This view cannot be correct, however, because in the next three paragraphs the 星 is the star or 宿, which culminated on each occasion. We have then to adopt as the star indicated here, the central one of the space *Neaou*, which was the view of Ma Yung and K'ang-shing; and it is stated by Ts'ae Ch'in that 張一行, a very learned Buddhist priest of the T'ang dynasty (in the reign of 元宗, A.D. 713–756) calculated this to be the star 鶉火, corresponding to Cor Hydra of the west.

Here Dr. Medhurst in his translation of the Shoo King has made the following note:—'If Cor Hydra culminated at sun-set on the day of the vernal equinox in the time of Yaou, the constellation on the meridian at noon of that day must have been Pleiades in Taurus. Now as by the retrocession of the equinoxes the stars of the zodiac go back a whole sign in 2000 years, it would take 4000 years for the sun to be in Pleiades at the time of the vernal equinox, which is about the time when Yaou is said to have flourished, and affords a strong confirmation of the truth of Chinese chronology. For Pleiades is 56 degrees and one third from the point where the ecliptic crossed the equinoctial A.D. 1800, and as the equinox travels backwards 50 seconds and one tenth per annum, it would take about 4000 years for Pleiades to be in the zenith at noon of the vernal equinox. Referring to Chinese records, we find that Yaou's reign closed 2254 years before Christ, which added to 1800 makes 4054; and a retrocession of 50 seconds and one tenth per annum would give 4050.' See a note to the same effect by the editors of the 書經傳說, *in loc.*

By the equal length of day and night, and the culminating star, He-chung would be able exactly to determine (殷=正, Gan-kwŏ) mid-spring. Two popular characteristics of the season are added: The people would be dispersed, scattered, that is, from their homes and villages where they had been congregated during the winter, and engaged in field work; and animals would be beginning to breed. For 鳥獸孳尾, Sze-ma Ts'een has 鳥獸字微; but the meaning is substantially the same. 5. Another He is sent to Nan-keaou, the border of 安南, Annam, or Cochin-china, called also 交阯. Sze-ma Ts'een says that the sway of the emperor 顓頊 extended 'from 幽陵 on the north to 交阯 on the south.' Ch'ing, supposes that the characters 曰明都, (='in what was called the Bright Capital)' have dropt out of the text after 交. 南訛 (*al.*, 譌 and 爲),—訛=化 'to transform;' with reference to the changes of things

火、以正仲夏、厥民因、鳥獸希革。○六節分命和仲、宅西、曰昧谷、寅餞納日、平秩西成、宵中、星虛、以殷仲秋、厥民夷、鳥獸毛毨。

he, "is at its longest, and the star is *Ho*; you may thus exactly determine mid-summer. The people are more dispersed; and birds and beasts have their feathers and hair thin, and change their coats."

6 He separately commanded the second brother Ho to reside at the west, in what was called the Dark Valley, and *there* respectfully to convoy the setting sun, and to adjust and arrange the completing labours of the autumn. "The night," *he said*, "is of the medium length, and the star is *Heu*; you may thus exactly determine mid-autumn. The people begin to feel at ease; and birds and beasts have their coats in good condition."

in the productive operations of summer (化育之事, acc. to Gan-kwŏ). 敬致,—I have translated acc. to what is generally supposed to be the meaning, and which can claim the authority of Ch'ing;—see Keang Shing and Sun Sing-yen. A similar measurement was to be practised, it is said, at the other seasons; only Shing will have it, that at the equinoxes it was the shadow cast by the moon which was to be ascertained. Gan-kwŏ, however, may be right when he interprets more simply—敬行其教以致其功, 'reverently carrying out your instructions to give to those productive operations their largest results.' The culminating star at dusk of the summer solstice would be 火 or 'Fire,' the central star of 'the Azure Dragon' (蒼龍), which embraced the seven constellations of the eastern quarter, 角, 亢, 氐, 房, 心, 尾, and 箕, and corresponding to the Heart of Scorpio. The editors of the 書經傳說 say here:—'At the summer solstice in Yaou's time the sun was in 星 (α Hydræ Alphard; Reeves), whereas now it is in 觜 (λ Orion).' This work was ordered in the 8th year of Yung-ching, A.D. 1730. 厥民因,—因 = 'to be going on from,' *i.e.*, 析而又析, 'the people were still more scattered and in the fields than in the spring.'

6. To two younger members of the house of Ho the examination of the times of the autumnal equinox and winter solstice was assigned. The particular place in the west to which Ho-chung had to repair cannot be specified. 餞, 'to convoy;'—by measuring the shadow of the gnomon, acc. to the 集傳; but see on par. 4. No particular reason but the writer's or the emperor's thought at the time need be sought for the use of 宵 here rather than 日. The culminating star was *Heu*, the centre one of 'The Dark Warrior' (玄武), which embraced the seven constellations of the northern quarter, 斗, 牛, 女, 虛, 危, 室, and 壁, and corresponding to β Aquarius. It is observed here in Yung Ching's Shoo King, 'At the autumnal equinox in Yaou's time the sun was in 房 (β δ π ρ Scorpio); while now it is in 翼 (α Crateris [Alkes]).' 厥民夷,—夷 = 平. Gan-kwŏ, Ts'ae Ch'in, and Keang, all agree in thus defining 夷, but the meaning they attach to 平 is different. K'ung says that 'the people are still at their labours in the fields, *the same as* in the summer.' Këang says that the people now come down, because of the bleak winds, from the summer heights which they had preferred, and live in the low *level* grounds? The only reasonable interpretation is that of Ts'ae—'The great heats are over, and the people

○申命和叔、宅朔方、曰幽都、平在朔易、日短、星昴、以正仲冬、厥民隩、鳥獸氄毛。○帝曰、咨、汝羲暨和、朞三

(七節) (八節)

7 He further commanded the third brother Ho to reside in the northern region, in what was called the Sombre Capital, and there to adjust and examine the changes of the winter. "The day," *said he*, "is at its shortest, and the star is *Maou*; thus you may exactly determine mid-winter. The people keep their *cosy* corners; and the coats of birds and beasts are downy and thick."

8 The emperor said, "Ah! you, He and Ho, a round year consists of three hundred, sixty, and six days. By means of an intercalary

feel at ease.' 7. The 史記 for 朔方 reads 北方. 朔, doubtless, means 'the north.' It is used also for the 'first day of the new month.' Both these are applications of the term, which is explained by 甦, 'to come alive again,' the winter being to the year what its last quarter is to the moon, a season of disappearance and decay, to be succeeded by revival. 平在(=察)朔易,—朔易, 'the changes of the winter:'—the former things pass away; all things become new. The labours of the season are therefore called 'changes.' For 朔易 Ts'een has 伏物, 'the hidden things,' with reference to the energies of nature now working in concealment. 昴, the culminating star, is the centre of the 'White Tiger' (白虎), comprehending the seven constellations of the western quarter, 奎, 婁, 胃, 昴, 畢, 觜, and 參. It is our Pleiades. 'In the time of Yaou, at the winter solstice, the sun was in *heu* (虛, β Aquarius), while now at the same season it is in Ke (箕, γ Sagittarii)'; see the 書經傳說. 厥民隩—隩 (read *yuh*) is with Ch'ing = 內, 'inside,' and with K'ung = 室, 'house,' 'apartment.' In winter the people keep mostly within, in the warmest places.

Par. 8. The verifications in the four prec. parr. are supposed to have been made; and now the emperor addresses either the two chiefs of the He and Ho families, or all their members whose services had been employed, on the important subject of making the calendar complete by an intercalary month. 咨 = 嗟, an interjection, 'ah!' 暨 = 及, 'and.' 朞三百有六旬 is quoted by Heu Shin, under 稘, which is defined 復其時, 'a revolution of the time.' Gan-kwŏ defines it—匝四時曰朞, 'The circuit of the four seasons is called 朞.' Yaou does not speak scientifically, but says that the round year consists of 366 days. On this Gaubil observes (Le Chou-king, p. 7, n. 4), 'We see that Yaou knew the Julian year of 365¼ days; the fourth year consists of 366 days. We see also that they then intercalated some months to divide the year into four seasons.' But there is nothing in the text to indicate that every fourth year was reckoned 366 days. If it had been so, Yaou's calendar would have been the same as the Julian, and there would have been no necessity for the intercalation of a month at certain regular periods which is indicated. We may well be surprised to find this ancient emperor of China speaking as he does here, in the 24th century before Christ, with so close an approximation to the correct length of the year. On this as gradually ascertained in China with an increasing exactness, I shall quote the following note by the editors of Yung-ching's Shoo:—

'When it is said that the year consists of 366 days, we are to understand that Yaou was speaking in round numbers. The period in question is now called the value of the year. It has been differently estimated by the astronomers of successive dynasties.

'In the Books of the Han dynasty' [ended A.D. 263], 'the circuit of the heavens is divided into 365¼°; and a degree of the heavens is made to correspond to a day of the calendar. At that time it was taken for granted that a circuit of the heavens' [a sidereal year] 'was the same as a circuit of the year' [a tropical year].

'Under the eastern Tsin dynasty' [A.D. 318—420], 'Yu He' [died about the middle of the 4th century. Ts'ae Ch'in says that he was the *first* to distinguish the sidereal year from the tropical, and to bring forward the doctrine of

百有六旬有六日、以閏月定四時成歲、允釐百工、庶

month do you fix the four seasons, and complete the *determination of* the year. *Thereafter*, in exact accordance with this, regulating the various officers, all the works *of the year* will be fully performed."

the precession of the equinoxes, which he estimated at one degree in 50 years] 'reckoned the circuit of the heavens' [= the sidereal year] 'at 365°.26, rather more than 365¼, and the circuit of the year' [= the tropical year] 'at 365.24 days; rather less than 365¼.

'Under the Sung dynasty' [*i.e.*, the northern Sung, which succeeded the Tsin], 'Ho Ching-t'ëen' [about the middle of the 5th century] 'made another alteration in these reckonings, and estimated the circuit of the heavens at 365°.255, and the tropical year at 365.245 days.

'Under the Yuen dynasty, Kwoh Show-king' [died A.D. 1316, at the age of 86], 'on a comparison of ancient and modern observations, fixed the circuit of the heavens at 365°.2575, and the tropical year at 365.2425 days. The accumulation of decimal figures, however, in both of these quantities' [while the degree was made to correspond to a day] 'made all calculations founded upon them difficult.

'But the philosopher Shaou' [邵堯夫; died A.D. 1017; his tablet has a place in the temples of Confucius], 'in his 元會運世, adopted the number 360 as an arbitrary standard, the circumference of the heavens being the basis of his calculations. That being once fixed' [at 360°], 'it became comparatively an easy matter to deal with the other fractional quantities.' [It must be observed that the phrase 天周, circuit or circumference of the heavens, here changes its meaning; and the value assigned to it, in its former sense, of 365.2575, now to be reckoned in days, is as necessary to astronomical calculations as ever.] 'Accordingly, the calendar now published by authority determines the circumference of heaven to be 360° (a degree containing 60 minutes, a minute 60 seconds and all the parts below continuing to be reckoned by 60); and the tropical year consists of 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, 45 seconds (365.2421875).

'Through successive ages, though the fractional parts have been now a little more and now a little less, the determinations have all been based on the round number in this Canon of Yaou, and have served to illustrate it. As to the conjunctions of the sun and moon, determining the changes and first days of months, and the conjunctions of the sun and' (various fixed stars in) 'the heavens, determining the equinoxes and solstices,—whereas the solar period and the lunations do not correspond, so that there arise what are called the surplus of the former and the deficiency of the latter, there is required the use of intercalation to make the four seasons come each in its proper place. This is the practice indicated in this Canon of Yaou, which constitutes it the model for all ages.'

Yaou certainly commanded his officers to use intercalations;—how they did so we cannot tell. Previous to the Han dynasty, Chinese history does not furnish us with details on the subject of intercalation. In the time of that dyn., however, we find what is called the Metonic cycle well known. It is not mentioned as any discovery of that age. See the 'History of the Former Han' by Pan Koo (班固), finished about A.D. 80, in the 律歷志, 第一, 下, where the whole process is fully described. No doubt it came down to the Han from the Chow, and was probably known in China long before Meton reformed the Athenian calendar according to its principles, B.C. 432. I abstract the following account from Woo Ch'ing (吳澄) of the Yuen dynasty's Work on the Shoo:—A common year of 12 months of 30 days each, or 360 days, is assumed. Not that there ever was such a year in China, as Medhurst says by mistake (Shoo King, p. 8, note); but it is convenient to lay down that as the length of the year in order to exhibit the process of intercalation. Now, the sun makes his circuit of the heavens in 365 days and ¼, or 365 days and 235–940ths (a day being divided into 940 parts). The year as determined by the sun, therefore, is 5 days and 235–940ths over 360, which excess is denominated 氣盈. A synodic revolution of the moon, again, takes place in 29 days and 499–940ths, so that 12 months = 354 days and 348–940ths, short of 360 by 5 days and 592–940ths, which deficiency is denominated 朔虛. Adding the excess and the deficiency, we have 10 days and 827–940ths, the difference of the two from 360 in one year.

In the third year this amounts to 32 days and 601–940ths, when the first intercalation of one synodic period is supposed to be made, leaving 3 days and 102–940ths unabsorbed.

In the sixth year there have accumulated 35 days and 703–940ths, which a second intercalation reduces to 6 days and 204–940ths. A third intercalation in the ninth year would leave 9 days and 306–940ths, which by the eleventh year would amount to 31 days and 80–940ths, reduced by intercalation to 1 day and 521–940ths.

A fifth intercalation in the fourteenth year would leave 4 days and 623–940ths.

A sixth in the seventeenth year would leave 7 days and 725–940ths, which in the nineteenth year would amount to 29 days and 499–940ths, which the last intercalation would exactly absorb.

績咸熙。○
九節 帝曰、疇咨
若時登庸。
放齊曰、胤
子朱啟明。
帝曰、吁、嚚
訟、可乎。○
十節 帝曰、疇咨
若予采。驩
兜曰、都、共

9 III. The emperor said, "Who will search out for me a man according to the times, whom I may raise and employ?" Fang-ts'e said, "There is your heir-son Choo, who is highly intelligent." The emperor said, "Alas! he is insincere and quarrelsome:—can he do."
10 The emperor said, "Who will search out for me a man equal to the exigency of my affairs?" Hwan-tow said, "Oh! there is the minister of Works, whose merits have just been displayed in various

It is to be observed that the above division of a day into 940 parts was different from that of the Han dynasty, and indeed only began to obtain in the time of the great Sung dyn. Practically, moreover, a month must be estimated by a whole number of days; and hence the Chinese have so many short months in the year of 29 days, while the rest are of 30 days.

允釐百工、庶績咸熙 is very well given by Sze-ma Ts'een—信飭百官、衆功皆興. 百工=百官, 'the hundred' (*i.e.* all, the various) 'officers,' each office having its special department of *work*. It is not said that He and Ho had any further charge of the officers beyond supplying them with a correct calendar.

CH. III. THE ANXIETY OF YAOU TO FIND THE RIGHT MEN FOR THE EXIGENCIES OF THE TIMES, AND ESPECIALLY THE BEST MAN. ON WHOM TO DEVOLVE THE THRONE:—ALL ILLUSTRATING HIS FREEDOM FROM EVERY SELFISH CONSIDERATION. The events described in the prec. 6 parr. are referred by the compilers of Chinese history to the 1st and 2d years of Yaou's reign; but we really cannot say when they took place. Par. 12 belongs to the 70th year of his reign; par. 11 is referred with some probability to the 61st; the 10th must be of about the same date.

P. 9. *Yaou inquires—prob. in open court—for an officer whom he may employ in high affairs.* What the affairs were we cannot know. Ma Yung thinks that by this time the four Hes and Hos were dead, and that one was wanted to enter on their duties as ministers of the four seasons. A meaning is thus found for 時 as =四時; but the view is to be rejected at once. Gan-kwŏ takes 時 as=是, 'these,' and connects the par. with the 8th, making the inquiry to be for a premier to direct all the officers, and all the works of the year, (so also Ts'een); but the only connection between the parr. is of fragments brought together into the present canon. The matter must be left indefinite. 疇=誰, 'who.' 咨 is here not a particle of exclamation, as hitherto, but a verb,=訪問, 'to inquire for.' 若 as in p. 3, 'to accord with.' It is observed that in those times of wise antiquity, forceful control was not the way of sovereigns and ministers, but a cautious accordance with nature and circumstances. 庸=用, 'to use.' Fang-ts'e (Ying-tă makes 放 in the 2d tone) only appears here. He must have been a minister. Sze-ma Ts'een for 胤子 has 嗣子, 胤=' to continue, to succeed;' and I have translated accordingly. Gan-kwŏ takes 胤 for the State so called, (see Pt. III. iv.), and 子 for the title of its ruler,= 'count;' and Ying-tă says it seems to him unnatural for the emperor's son to be recommended and spoken of as here. But that only serves to exalt the character of Yaou, who was free from the partialities of common men, that 'do not know the wickedness of their own sons' (Great Learning, Comm. viii. 2). The difficulty would disappear, if we could suppose that Yaou is here proposing to resign his throne. 吁 is a particle of exclamation, intimating the speaker's decided dissent.

P. 10. *Yaou again makes inquiry for a minister who might be equal to the management of his affairs.* Such seems to be the meaning of 采, which is given by Gan-kwŏ as=事. Ma Yung explains it by 官, 'officers,' as if it were a prime minister to be over all the other ministers, who was wanted. Hwan-tow and the K'ung-kung appear in the next Book, p. 12, as two of the four great criminals whom Shun dealt with. 共工 is the name of the one's office. In the next Book, p. 21, Shun calls Ching to the same. It is about = Minister of Works. Ch'ing sup-

工方鳩僝功。帝曰、吁、靜言庸違、象恭、滔天。○（十一節）帝曰、咨、四岳、湯湯洪水方割、蕩蕩懷山襄陵、浩浩滔天、下民其咨、有能俾乂。僉曰、於、鯀

ways." The emperor said, "Alas! when unemployed, he can talk; but when employed, his actions turn out differently. He is respectful *only* in appearance. See! the floods assail the heavens."

11 The emperor said, "Oh! *chief of* the four mountains, destructive in their overflow are the waters of the inundation. In their vast extent they embrace the mountains and overtop the hills, threatening the heavens with their floods, so that the inferior people groan and murmur. Is there a capable man, to whom I can assign the correction *of this calamity*? All *in the court* said, "Oh! there is

poses that the Kung-kung here was the 水官, 'officer of the Waters.' He had no doubt, as we shall see, been employed to relieve the distress occasioned by the prevailing floods. 都 is an exclamation, the opposite of 吁, indicating approval and commendation. Choo He says that 方鳩僝功 cannot be understood, but that the old view—as in the transl.—may be allowed to stand. Sze-ma Ts'een gives Hwan-tow's reply:—共工旁聚布功可用. 靜, 'to be still,' = unoccupied. Gan-kwŏ explains it by 謀, 'to plan;' but that meaning only arises from the context here.

滔天 is joined by Gan-kwŏ to the prec. characters:—'He appears to be respectful, but his heart is full of pride as if it would inundate the heavens.' Dissatisfied with this, Ts'ae Ch'in declares the two characters to be unintelligible, and that they dropt into the text here somehow from the next par. In the transl. I have followed an art. on the passage in the 盧學士, 龍城札記, which forms the 388th Book of the 皇清經解. The writer starts from an intimation in the 'Annals of the Bamboo Writings' (竹書紀年), that Yaou in his 19th year appointed the Kung-kung to the management of the Ho. That management had been on the whole unsuccessful. The result was the existing state of inundation, to which Yaou in the text points as evidence of the officer's incompetency.

P. 11. *The appointment of K'wăn to remedy the distress occasioned by an overflowing flood.* This overflow of waters has been called by some western writers 'the deluge of Yaou;' and it has been endeavoured to identify it with the deluge of Noah. The descriptions in the classic, however, will not permit this; see on Pt. III. i. The emperor addresses himself to the 四岳 (or 嶽), literally 'The four Mountains:'—those mentioned in the next Book, par. 8, Tae-tsung or Mount T'ae on the east (in the present Shantung); Mount Hwăng in the south (in Hoonan); Mount Hwa in the west (in Shan-se); and Mount Hăng, in the north. These were central points in the empire, to which different quarters of it were referred. In the text does Yaou address one great officer styled the chief of the four Mountains, or does he address the body of great officers in charge of the different quarters? Gan-kwŏ held that the four Yŏ were four individuals, the successors of the Hes and Hos, parr. 4–7. K'ang-shing thought that at the time of Yaou's reign to which this par. belongs, the places formerly held by those Hes and Hos were filled by eight chiefs (八伯), who are addressed. Choo He determined that only one man was intended, the president of all the nobles of the empire, regulator of the relations between the court and its feudal retainers. To this opinion I must give in my adhesion. It has its difficulties; but when Yaou proposes to the 四岳, in the next par., to take his place upon the throne, it is impossible to suppose that more than one individual is denoted. 湯 (read *Sëang*) 湯洪水方割—湯湯 = 水盛貌, 'the appearance of water in

哉。帝曰、吁、咈哉、方命圮族。岳曰、异哉、試可乃已。帝曰、往欽哉。九載、績用弗成。○十二帝曰、咨、四岳、朕在位七十載、汝能庸命、巽朕位。岳曰、

K'wăn." The emperor said, "Alas! no, by no means! He is disobedient to orders, and tries to injure his peers." His Eminence said, "Well but——. Try him, and then you can have done with him." The emperor said to K'wăn, "Go; and be reverent!" For nine years he laboured, but the work was unaccomplished.

12 The emperor said, "Oh! you *chief of the* four mountains, I have been on the throne for seventy years. You can carry out my appointments;—I will resign my throne to you." His Eminence said, "I have not the virtue; I should *only* disgrace the imperial seat."

abundance,' a sheet of water; 方, as in prec. par., = 旁, 'on all sides;' 割 'to cut with a knife,' hence generally 'to injure.' 滔 is expl. by 漫, 'great water,' 'water flooding, and destroying things.' 下民其咨,—下民 is exp. by Woo Ch'ing, 居處卑下之民, 'the people who live in the low places'; but the phrase, of not unfrequent occurrence in the mouths of great men in the Shoo, denotes simply the people, in distinction from themselves. Observe the use of 其, completing the rhythm of the clause, and giving the force of a double nominative to the verb. 僉 = 皆, 'all;' *i.e.*, all in the court, not the 四岳 only, but the other nobles with him. Of course it may be said that as the inquiry was addressed only to the Yŏ, and the answer is prefaced by 僉, this character shows that Yŏ was a designation not of one but of many. But tho' there were 4 or 8 Yŏ, I should understand 僉 of others beside them;—so does Ying-tă, yet believing that the Yŏ were four. K'wăn was a minister of Yaou, the father of the great Yu (禹), and chief of the state of Ts'ung (崇伯), corresponding to the present Hoo-heen (鄠縣) in the dep. of Se-ngan in Shen-se. 方命,—方 = 放, 'to disregard, neglect.' Ch'ing and Ma Yung both take the character so, and Ch'ing would also read it as 放, 3d tone. It is merely a conceit, which is given in the 集傳, that 'what is round moves, and what is square (方) stops,' so that 方 comes to mean 'to disregard,' or 'to disobey!' 异哉,—the 說文 defines 异 by 舉, a meaning which I don't see how to understand here. Ts'ae Ch'in says he does not understand the character. The rest of the Yo's reply is given more fully by Sze-ma Ts'een,—試不可用而已. Ch'ing's view is not so good —'Try him. He is fit for this, though not for other duties, in which you need not to employ him.' 載, 'a year. For this, acc. to Ying-tă, in the Hea dyn. they subsequently used 歲; in the Shang, 祀; and in the Chow, 年. 績用不成,—we may suppose that the force of 用 merges in that of 績, = 功.

P. 12. *Yaou, having been 70 years on the throne, wishes to resign the administration of affairs to the worthiest, and Shun appears on the stage.*

朕, the imperial We, was anciently simply = I, used both by superiors and inferiors. It was one of the characteristic actions of the founder of the Ts'in dyn. to appropriate it to the sovereign. 庸 (=用) 命,—'use, carry out my orders.' 巽 = 遜, 'to yield, to resign.' Ch'ing takes it = 入, 'to enter into.' He interprets Yaou's inquiry thus,—'Among all you princes is there

否德、忝帝位。曰、明明、揚側陋。師錫帝曰、有鰥在下、曰虞舜。帝曰、俞、予聞、如何。岳曰、瞽子、父頑、母嚚、象傲、克諧以孝、烝烝乂、不格姦。帝曰、我其試哉、女、于時觀厥

The *emperor* said, "Point out some one among the illustrious, or set forth one from among the poor and mean." All *in the court* said to the emperor, "There is an unmarried man among the lower people, called Shun of Yu." The emperor said, "Yes, I have heard of him. What is his character?" His Eminence said, "He is the son of a blind man. His father was obstinately unprincipled; his *step*-mother was insincere; his *half brother* Seang was arrogant. He has been able, however, by his filial piety to live in harmony with them, and to lead them gradually to self-government, so that they no longer proceed to great wickedness." The emperor said, "I will try him!

one, who, acting in harmony with things and obeying the orders of Heaven, can enter in and occupy my throne, discharging the duties that devolve on the emperor?' This is very far-fetched. It is found in a note in the 史記, whose own version of the passage is decisively in favour of what is now the common view:—汝能庸命, 踐朕位. 否德,—Ts'een has 鄙德, with substantially the same meaning. 明 (a verb)=舉, 'to recommend;' 明 (an adj.)=高明者, 'those already high and distinguished.' 側陋=微賤之人, 'men small and mean.' Yaou wants to find the worthiest, in whatever social position. 師=僉 in the former par., 'all,' and not as Ch'ing thinks, 'the chiefs of the princes.' 錫 is expl. by 與;—'All said to the emperor.' Ts'een has it 衆皆言於堯曰. 虞舜,—see on the title of next Part. 瞽子,—'the son of a blind man.' Gan-kwŏ says that Shun's father was not physically blind, but mentally and morally, so that people spoke of him as if he were really blind, and he received the designation of Koo-sow (瞽瞍). It may have been so, but the general belief of antiquity, and the language of the text are not to be received in other than their natural significancy on mere surmise. 母,—'mother;' not Shun's real mother, but his step-mother. Sze-ma Ts'een says so in express terms. 諧=和, 'harmony.' It is not easy to say whether we should take it actively—'to bring them to harmony,' or intransitively—'to live in harmony with them.' The usage of the term in the next Book is in favour of the former view. 烝, properly,=steam.' But steam ascends and moves forward; hence here 烝烝乂='to move by gradual progress to self-government.' The account here given of the influence which Shun had produced on his parents and brother is not borne out by the statements in Mencius, Book V. Pt. I., i. and ii. 我其試哉,—'I will test him,' or 'Let me test him.' The 其 has a peculiar force, which neither Premare in his Grammar, nor Morrison, Medhurst, or Williams, in their Dictionaries, has pointed out. The usage is specified in K'ang-he's dictionary, but with no further explanation than that 其 is then 'a particle, helping the sense.' It gives to the whole sentence a half hortatory, half imperative force.

Yaou would test Shun, and a very strange trial it was to which he put him. It impresses my mind with grave doubts as to the trustworthiness of the whole history. As it stands, it shows us one thing,—that polygamy had at this early time obtained among the Chinese.

刑于二女。釐降二女于嬀汭、嬪于虞。帝曰、欽哉。

I will wive him, and then see his behaviour with my two daughters." On this he gave orders, and sent down his two daughters to the north of the Kwei, to be wives in the family of Yu. The emperor said *to them*, "Be reverent!"

From 帝曰 to the end, I have translated according to Choo He's view of the passage:—that down to 刑于二女 we have Yaou's words; from 釐降 to 于虞, what he did; and that the 欽哉 at the end were addressed to his daughters. The construction is not easy; but the interpetation of Gan-kwŏ, and that of Keang Shing in the pres. dyn., make confusion worse confounded. 女 (3d tone).—'to give a daughter to a man to wife.' 刑=法, 'example,' 'behaviour.' The names of Yaou's two daughters are said to have been *Wo-wang* (娥皇) and *Neu-ying* (女英). 'The former,' says Woo Ch'ing, 'became Shun's wife, and the other his concubine.' But this is said, applying the ways of subsequent times to Yaou's age. We cannot acknowledge any inferiority of the one to the other. 嬪 (=婦, 'to be wife to)' applies equally to both. The 嬀 is a small stream in Shan-se, rising where the two depp. of P'ing-yang (平陽) and P'oo-chow (蒲州) border on each other, and flowing southwards to the Ho 汭 is defined 'the north of a stream;' or it may be, there was a smaller stream so called, which flowed into the Kwei, not far from its junction with the Ho A note on the 集說 in Yung-ching's Shoo says that there is such a stream so called, but that people may have been led by the text of the Classic to give it that name. Here was the dwelling-place of Shun.

THE SHOO KING.

PART II. THE BOOKS OF YU.

BOOK I. THE CANON OF SHUN.

尙書

虞書

舜典

曰若稽古、帝舜曰重華、協于帝、濬哲文明、温恭允塞、玄德升聞、乃命以位。

1 I. Examining into antiquity, we find that the emperor Shun was called Ch'ung-hwa. He corresponded to the *former* emperor; was profound, wise, accomplished, and intelligent. He was mild and respectful, and entirely sincere. The report of his mysterious virtue was heard on high, and he was appointed to occupy the *imperial* Seat.

TITLE OF THE PART. 虞書.—Yu is the dynastic designation of Shun, as T'ang was that of Yaou. It does not appear so clearly, however, how it came to be so. Ts'ae Ch'in, after K'ang-shing, says that 虞 was the 氏 or family name of Shun. Wang Suh said that it was the name of a place or country (地名), held to have been the pres. district of 安邑 in the dep. of 解州 in Shan-se. Some think that Yaou, after marrying his daughters to Shun, appointed him chief of this State (see the 通志 quoted in the 通鑑綱目, on the 70th year of Yaou's reign); but this is inconsistent with the first mention of Shun to Yaou, in the prec. Book. It is commonly held that Shun's ancestors had been lords of the principality of Yu to the time of his father, who somehow lost his patrimony and was reduced to the rank of a private man. It may have been so, and the old title would continue to be cherished, though without the accessories that made it valuable. As to the history of the family of Yu, there is much difficulty in tracing it. Mencius, Book IV. Pt. II. i., tells us that Shun was of the wild tribes of the east, born in Choo-fung. Sze-ma Ts'een makes him descended from Hwang-te through the emp. Chuen-heŭh. But as Yaou was also descended from Hwang-te through the emp. K'ŭh, Yaou and Shun must have had the same surname, and the idea of the one marrying his daughters to the other is so abhorrent to Chinese notions of propriety, that Choo He denounces Ts'een's genealogy as highly injurious to the fame of the sages. As Shun and the ladies would be cousins about ten times removed, a foreigner cannot sympathize

with the horror expressed at the thought of their union. From the 國語·晉語九, and the 左傳,昭公八年, it appears that there was, or at least that in the time of the Chow dyn. it was believed there was, high up among Shun's ancestors, one of the name of Mŏh (幕), who has no place in Ts'een's genealogy; and some, discrediting entirely the account in the "Historical Records," would fix on this Mŏh as being the progenitor of Shun, chief of the principality of Yu, and not of the lineage of Hwang-te.—I have given these details to illustrate the many uncertainties that attend questions relating to Chinese antiquity.

Title of, and Disputes about, the Book.—舜典, 'The Canon of Shun.' For the characters themselves, see on the title of the Canon of Yaou, and on par. 1 of that Book. This Canon is all found, with the exception of the first par., both in the texts of Fuh-shang, and of Gan-kwŏ. Fuh-shang, however, taught it as a part of the preceding Canon, and those who now deny the authenticity of the Books additional to his have no Canon of Shun in their editions.

On this question it may be observed :—First, the ancient preface to the Classic shows that there were originally two Canons—that of Yaou, and that of Shun—distinct from each other.

Secondly, about one half of the Book, as we have it, might very well belong to the Canon of Yaou, the parr. 2–12 being all occupied with the trial of Shun and his doings as acting emperor, while Yaou was yet alive. Par. 2, moreover, follows naturally the last par. of the prec. Book.

Thirdly, from par. 14th to the end we have the doings of Shun as emperor, which can with no propriety form a part of the Canon of Yaou.

The natural conclusion from these points is, that in the Canon of Shun we have the whole or a part of what was anciently and properly so called, and another portion which has been improperly separated from the Canon of Yaou. The Shoo has still its two Tëen, but the point of division between them has been incorrectly marked.

It accords with this conclusion, that Mencius, Bk. V. Pt. I. iv, quotes par. 13, as from the Canon of Yaou. Other similar quotations of portions of the first part of the Book are adduced. No quotation of any par. of the second part, as belonging to the Canon of Yaou, can be found.

In the 'Historical Records' (五帝本記), immediately after the account of Yaou's death, as in par. 13, there follow various accounts of Shun,—legendary, indeed, in their character, but having the sanction of Mencius, Bk. V. Pt. I. i., *et al.*—which are not now found in the Canon of the Classic. No doubt, the original and less *gossiping* version of those accounts formed, before the dyn. of Ts'in, part of the Shoo; and so much of the Canon of Shun I believe to be lost. See an attempt by Maou K'e-ling to reconstruct the whole, appended to his 尙書廣聽錄.

It is more difficult to come to a conclusion on another question, with which that about the Division of the Canons has been unnecessarily complicated,—the question of the

Genuineness of the first paragraph. These twenty-eight characters have a history of their own. Fuh-shang knew nothing of them, nor is it clear that Gan-kwŏ did. Had he found them among the other portions of the Shoo which were recovered from the wall of Confucius' house, the two Canons must have been from the first accurately divided by them.

When the work of Gan-kwŏ was first presented to the Government, as containing the Shoo in larger measure than Fuh-shang's Books, by Mei Tsih (梅賾), sometime in the beginning of the eastern Tsin [unfortunately, the Histories of the Tsin dynasty are some of them lost. The 'Book of Tsin' from which K'ung Ying-tă quotes his account of Tsih does not now exist; and it does not seem possible to ascertain the year when Gan-kwŏ's work was authoritatively recognized], this paragraph was wanting.

During the dyn. of the Southern Ts'e (南齊), in A.D. 497, one Yaou Fang-hing (姚方興), found 'in a large ship' (於大航頭得; so, Ying-tă; in the 'Books of the Suy dynasty [A.D. 589–617], however, it is said that Fang-hing 於大桁市, 'bought it in a large 桁. That character is given in the dict. as used synonymously with 航) a copy of Gan-kwŏ's Canon of Shun with the par. complete. He memorialized the Government on his discovery, and acc. to Maou K'e-ling, divided the Canons as we now have them. Not even yet, however, was the par. publicly recognized. Soon after the presentation of his memorial, Fang-hing was put to death; and the matter continued undecided till the early part of the reign of the first Suy emperor, when another copy was found containing the sentences in question.

This late recognition of the introductory portion of Shun's Canon justifies a suspicion of its genuineness. On the other hand, Ying-tă says that, while Mei Tsih's copy wanted this par., they supplied it from Wang Suh and Fan Ning, the former of whom had written on all the classic, and the latter specially on this Canon. (See the list of Books on the Shoo, in the time of the Suy dyn.) Now Wang Suh died A.D. 259, himself an adherent of the House of Wei (魏), yet before the final extinction of the Han. The industry of critics has also discovered portions of the par. in the remains of writers prior to Suh. Maou K'e-ling quotes especially from Wang Ts'an (王粲), who died A.D. 216, and from Wang Yen-show (王延壽), more than half a century earlier; and contends that the par. must have been with the rest of the Canon deciphered by Gan-kwŏ. Against this conclusion has to be put the fact of the improper division of the Canons, which I have pointed out. My own opinion is that some such par. did originally belong to the Canon of Shun. The fact of the Canon of Yaou, and the Counsels of Kaou Yaou (to say nothing of the Counsels

二節 ○慎徽五典、五典克從、納于百揆、百揆時敘、賓于四

2 II. *Shun* carefully set forth the beauty of the five cardinal duties; and they came to be universally observed. Being appointed to be General Regulator, the affairs of each department were arranged in their proper seasons. Having to receive *the princes from* the four

of Yu), being so prefaced, renders it all but certain that this Book had a similar introduction. Portions of this floated about among scholars from one source and another, and gradually coalesced into the par. which we now have. Maou K'e-ling is the best defender of its genuineness, in the second chapter of his 古文尙書寃詞. Against it, see the 50th art. in the 尙書古文疏證 of Yen Jŏ-keu (閻若璩).

Contents of the Book. The meagre and misleading account of the Book given in the prefatory notice of it has been pointed out. Looking at the Canon as it is now edited, we may conveniently divide it into six chapters:—the first, cont. par. 1. describing Shun's virtues and advancement: the second, cont. parr. 2–4, describing Yaou's trial of Shun, and resignation to him of the administration of affairs; the third, cont. parr. 5–11, describing the acts of Shun as Yaou's vicegerent; the fourth, parr. 13 and 14. describing the demise of Yaou, and accession of Shun to the throne; the fifth, parr. 15–27, describing Shun's choice of ministers, and other arrangements; and the sixth, par. 28, recording his death. As Yaou was the subject of the last Book, so is Shun of this.

Ch. I. The sagely virtues of Shun, and his consequent advancement to dignity. On the constr. of 曰若稽古, and on 舜曰重華, see on the last Book, p. 1. When 重華 is taken as descriptive of Shun, and not as his name, the interpretation is—'there was anew a display of virtue in him equal to that of Yaou.' 協于帝,—the 帝 of course is Yaou. 允塞,—塞 'to stop up;' then, 'fill up,' and hence, 'what is solid,' 'solidity.' It is observed by Chin Tih-show (眞德秀, of the Sung dyn.), that in the times of T'ang and Yu they had not yet the character 誠, *sincerity*, and that that is the meaning conveyed here by 允塞. 玄德,—玄=幽潛, 'dark and hidden.' An obj. is taken to the genuineness of the whole par. from the phrase, which belongs to the school of Taouism. No doubt it is a common phrase with Taouists, but I do not see why other writers might not use it also to express the idea of 'mysterious virtue.' 升聞, 'ascended and was heard of,' *i.e.*, came to the ears of Yaou. 乃命以位,—acc. to Ts'ae Ch'in, 位 is simply 職位, 'office,' or 'offices,' with reference to the various posts in which Shun was tested. Such an interpr. supposes the par. to be in its proper place; but it has been shown that it should stand after par. 13, and 位 = the throne, the imperial Seat.

Ch. II. Shun fully satisfying Yaou's hopes in various offices, the emperor after three years commits to him the entire administration of affairs. P. 2. It is supposed that Shun, after receiving the emperor's two daughters in marriage, ruled his house well, and Yaou proceeded to try him, first as minister of Instruction. 徽=美, 'to beautify.' Some expl it by 和, 'to harmonize.' 五典, 'the five Canons,'—what are elsewhere called 五教, 'the five lessons,' and 五常, 'the five constant duties,' the virtues belonging to the five social relations of husband and wife, father and son, sovereign and subject, elder and younger brother, and friends.

Thereafter Shun 納于百揆, 'was introduced into the office of General Regulator.' 揆, 'to consider,' 'to calculate,'=度. 百揆=揆度百官之事, '百揆 expresses the regulation of the business of all the officers.' The office of General Regulator is not heard of in subsequent dynasties. That of 冢宰 or premier corresponded to it under the Chow. It is said in the 'Historical Records' that in discharging the duties of minister of Instruction, Shun employed the services of 'the eight good men' (八元), descended from Kaou-sin (高辛氏) or the emp. K'uh, whom Yaou had not been able to employ; and in the office of prime minister, that he availed himself of the help of the 'eight triumphant ones' (八愷), descended from Kaou-yang (高陽氏), or the emp. Chuen-heŭh. The same thing is found in the 左傳.

Why may we not suppose that such legends, existing in the ancient documents, were purposely rejected by Confucius himself?

門、四門穆穆、納于大麓、烈風雷雨弗迷。○三節帝曰、格汝舜、詢事考言、乃言底可績、三載、汝陟帝位。舜讓于德、弗嗣。○四節正月上日、受終于

quarters of the empire, they all were docilely submissive. Being sent to the great plains at the foot of the mountains, amid violent wind, thunder, and rain, he did not go astray.

3 The emperor said, "Come, you Shun. I have consulted you on *all* affairs, and examined your words, and found that your words can be carried into practice;—*now* for three years. Do you ascend the imperial throne." Shun wished to decline in favour of some

4 one more virtuous, and not to consent to be successor. On the first day, of the first month, *however*, he received Yaou's retirement *from the imperial duties* in the *temple of the* Accomplished ancestor.

Shun was finally tried as the president of the nobles, in the office of the Sze Yŏ (四岳). 賓于四門,—賓, 'a guest,' and also 'to receive a guest,' 'to act the host.' This is its sense here. Ch'ing read it in the 3d tone, as if it had been 儐. 四門,—'to act the host at the four gates,' *i.e.*, to receive the nobles coming from the different quarters. So, Ma Yung. Keang Shing says ingeniously that the four gates were those of the 明堂, or Hall of Audience. The 'Historical Records' have a legend of Shun's banishing away 'the four bad ones' (四凶), in connection with the duties of this office. It is difficult to know what to think of the last part of the par. 麓 is expl. by Ch'ing as 山足, 'the foot of a mountain.' The 'Historical Records' take the account literally as in the transl. Looking at the phrase 納于大麓, following so close upon 納于百揆, it is natural to interpret it in the same way, as indicating Shun's appointment to some office. This Gan-kwŏ has done, and after him Wang Suh. They say—麓,錄也,堯納舜于尊顯之官,使大錄天下萬機之政, '*Luh* means to record. Yaou appointed Shun to an honourable and distinguished office, that he might record the govt. of the empire with its myriad springs.' This might be admitted as a good enough explanation of the phrase, but the sequel about the wind and rain cannot be made to harmonize with it. See in the 集說 various attempts to explain the passage, all unsatisfactory.

P. 3. 詢=咨謀, 'to consult about.' 乃 is in the sense of 汝, 'you.' 底=致, 'to come to, result in.' The paraphrase of the 'Daily Lessons' puts 詢 and 考 in the past complete tense:—'Formerly, when I called you to employment, I consulted you on what you would do, and examined the plans you laid before me.' But why should we suppose that the two had not been in frequent intercourse all along? Ch'ing strangely takes the 'three years' to be three years subsequent to Shun's receiving the nobles of all quarters. The last clause might also be translated—'Shun declined on the ground of his virtue's not being equal to the succession.'

P. 4. This demission of the actual conduct of affairs is referred to the 73d year of Yaou's reign. 正月上日,—see on p. 14. Here 正 (in this sense often, but not necessarily, read in the 1st tone) 月='the first month;' 上日='the first day.' This has been disputed but without reason; see the remarks of Lin Che-k'e (林之奇) in the 集說. Certainly, if this natural interpr. of 上 be rejected, we are altogether at sea as to its meaning. 受終 intimates that 'now Yaou *ended* his imperial administration, and Shun undertook it' (so, Ts'ae Ch'in). 于文祖 must be understood 'in the temple of,' or

文祖。○在〈五節〉璿璣、玉衡、以齊七政。○肆〈六節〉類于上帝、禋于

5 III. He examined the gem-adorned turning sphere, and the gem transverse *tube*, that he might regulate the seven Directors.

6 Thereafter, he sacrificed specially, but with the ordinary forms, to

'before the shrine of, the accomplished ancestor.' By this ancestor must be intended the individual to whom Yaou traced his possession of the throne,—perhaps Hwang-te. Ma Yung understood by 文祖 Heaven, saying that 'Heaven is the Father (祖) who beautifies all things, and therefore is called 文祖.' This would give a good meaning; but had it been intended, the text would have been different. K'ang-shing thought that Yaou had a Hall of audience and worship, called 五府, corresponding to the 明堂 of the Chow dynasty, the several parts of which were dedicated to 'the five *Tes*,' the Gods or divine powers presiding over nature; and that 文祖 was the name of the hall of the Red Te (赤帝), but is used here, a part for the whole, intending the whole structure. This view comes to be substantially the same with that of Ma Yung. The belief of five Tes was long posterior to the times of Yaou and Shun.

Ch. III. Labours and administration of Shun occupying the throne as vicegerent of Yaou. P. 5. *Astronomical labours.* 在=察, 'to examine,' as in the Canon of Yaou, p. 7. 璿 is the name of some kind of gem; the particular kind can hardly be ascertained. 璣 is given in the dict. as being 器名, 'the name of an instrument,' with a reference to this passage. Ts'ae Ch'in takes the char. as = 機, 'a spring,' 'a contrivance.' We can easily understand that the 玉 was an addition of subsequent times to both characters. Fuh-shang seems to have read 旋機, 'the turning contrivance' (see his 'Preface to the Shoo,' and Keang Shing, *in loc.*). There is no difference about the reading of the next two characters, which mean 'the gem transverse,' and the 玉 there will justify the same in the two previous characters. According to Ts'ae Ch'in, following the ancient interpreters, Gan-kwŏ, Ch'ing, and Ma Yung, the four characters describe a kind of armillary sphere, the 璿璣 representing the revolution of the heavens, and the 'transverse' being a tube made of a precious stone, and placed athwart the sphere, for the purpose of celestial observation. Earlier than Gan-kwŏ, a different view seems to have obtained. Fuh-shang says:—'What was the 旋機? 旋 means to revolve; and 機 means a spring, what is minute. That whose own motion is very small, while the movements which it produces are great, is what is called here 旋機. The words denote the north pole' (尙書大傳). Keang-shing says he approves of this view, but taking the four characters to be a description of the 'Great Bear,' called in Chinese the 'Northern Peck' (北斗). The 'handle' is the 'transverse' of the classic. 天璇 is the name still given to α Dubhe of Ursa Major; 天機 to β Dubhe; and 玉衡 to ε Alioth. This explanation is marked by simplicity, but the text of the classic will not admit of it. The writer must have had some constructed instrument in his mind's eye. De Guignes observes that the details are very singular for the time to which they refer, and asks whether astronomy had then made so much progress (Le Chou King, p. 13, note). But the existence of instruments of the character indicated is in accordance with the astronomical knowledge which we have seen that Yaou possessed. With regard to the form of Shun's sphere, it was no doubt very simple. The figure in Yung Ching's Shoo, said to represent it, is all of modern device.

The object of Shun's labours on the sphere and tube was 'to regulate (齊, "make uniform") the seven Governments.' By these 七政 Ma Yung understood the seven stars of the Great Bear. K'ang-shing said they meant 'spring, autumn, winter, and summer, astronomy, geography, and anthropology' (see Keang Shing, *in loc*). These opinions may be set aside at once. The consent of later times is all but universal to the view of Gan-kwŏ, that the seven governments were the sun, the moon, and the five planets, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, each of which had its own rules of government. According to this, we ought to translate 七政, 'the seven regularly governed Bodies.' But we have seen that the study of astronomy in those early times was all for practical purposes. The motions of the heavenly bodies were ascertained, to be a help to the movements of the government on earth. I prefer therefore to render the terms by 'the seven Directors.'

P. 6. *Acts of religious worship.* 肆=遂, 'upon this,' 'thereafter.' Gan-kwŏ (especially

六宗、望于山川、徧于群神。○輯七節五瑞、既月、乃日覲四

God; sacrificed purely to the six Honoured *ones;* offered their appropriate sacrifices to the hills and rivers; and extended his worship to the host of spirits.

7 He called in all the five tokens of gem; and when the month was over, he gave daily audience to the *chief of the* four Mountains, and all the Pastors, *finally* returning the tokens to the several nobles.

as expounded by Ying-tă) makes the char. follow in logical sequence from the prec. par., as if Shun had discovered by his examination of the heavenly bodies, that Yaou's urging him to occupy the throne was from Heaven, and immediately he proceeded to announce his compliance to all superior spiritual powers.

類, 禋, and 望 are the names of different sacrifices. 類 denotes a sacrifice offered to the Highest, on an extraordinary occasion, which characteristic is faintly indicated in the name, 類 being = 'of a sort,' 'a class.' Hence K'ang-shing says that Shun now sacrificed to Shang Te at the round mound, *i.e.*, at the place and with the ceremonies appropriate to the imperial worship of Heaven at the winter solstice. By 上帝 we are to understand God, the supreme Ruler. It is not till we come down to the times of the Chow dyn. that anything can be discovered to lead us to think of Shang Te as other than one and supreme. During the Chow there grew up the doctrine of five Tes, sometimes represented as distinct from Shang Te, and sometimes as different manifestations of Him. It has not, however, maintained itself. K'ang-shing's view of the name here has been indicated above. Ma Yung held that Shang Te was 'The supreme One' (太一); see the Record of Rites, 禮運, Pt. iv. 4. The whole of his comment is:—上帝太一, 神在紫微宮, 天之最顯者, 'Shang Te is the great One; his spirit occupies the palace of Tsze-wei' [a celestial space about the pole], 'the most distinguished of the heavenly *Powers.*' The blending of astrological fancies with the classical truth appears in it. Wang Suh made Shang Te here simply to be synonymous with Heaven; and Gan-kwŏ himself had defined the name as = 'Heaven and the five Tes' (天及五帝). I cannot doubt but Shang Te is here the name of the true God; but the truth concerning Him and His worship had been perverted even in this early time, as appears from the other clauses of the paragraph.

禋 is supposed by Ching K'ang-shing to be connected with 煙, 'smoke,' and have reference to the burnt sacrifices which were presented; but this view cannot be sustained. The word applies to a sacrifice offered 'with purity and reverence.' Who the 'six Honoured ones' were, it is not possible to ascertain. Fuh-shang and his earlier followers held that, though six were mentioned, only one Being or Power was intended,—a sort of plastic influence, working between heaven and earth and the four cardinal points (see Sun Sing-yen, *in loc.*) Subsequently every interpreter had his own view, as may be seen in Ying-tă. Acc. to Gan-kwŏ, followed by Wang Suh, the six Honoured ones are 'the seasons, cold and heat, the sun, the moon, the stars, and drought.' Of course we must understand that the emp. sacrificed to certain spirits, ruling over these phenomena and things, and residing probably in different stars.

望 is the name of sacrifices offered to the hills and streams. The sacrificer would probably *look towards* the quarter where each mountain or stream was situated. We are to understand that 'the hills and rivers' were all throughout the empire, not the more famous of them only, but all, with their presiding spirits.

Finally, Shun did homage to 'the herd of spirits,'—all spirits of heaven, earth, and men, not included in the above three clauses;—'to mounds, dykes, plains, forests, and the sages and worthies of ancient times.' So says Ying-tă, who points out also how, in thus sacrificing to 'all spirits' (百神), Shun was exercising an imperial prerogative. Such was the solemn worship of Shun, a sage, a perfect man, according to the Chinese ideal. It was offered in the year B.C. 2283, so soon had men departed from the truth of God, and added to His worship of their own inventions.

P. 7. *Shun gives audience to the nobles of the empire, and confirms them in their fiefs.* 五瑞,—'the five gem-signets.'—It is difficult to get a word exactly corresponding to 瑞. Medhurst transl. it by 'sceptre.' The fiefs of the empire were divided into five classes, the chiefs of which were known respectively by the titles of Kung, How, Pih, Tsze, and Nan (see Mencius, Bk. V. Pt. II. ii.); so it was in the Chow dyn., and there was an arrangement, the same or similar, in the earliest times. Each ruler, on obtaining his appointment from the emperor, received a token, differing in size and form according to the rank. This he kept, and brought with him whenever he appeared at

岳群牧、班瑞于群后。○（八節）歲二月、東巡守、至于岱宗、柴、望秩于山川、肆覲東后、協時月正日、同律度量衡、修

8 In the second month of the year, he made a tour of inspection eastwards, as far as Tae-tsung, where he presented a burnt-offering to Heaven, and sacrificed in order to the hills and rivers. Thereafter he gave audience to the nobles of the East, putting in accord their

court. The separate tokens were so constructed that they fitted into a sort of frame kept in the imperial treasury, by which their genuineness was tested, so that an impostor might in this way be detected The token held by the *Kung*, or nobles of the highest rank, was called 桓圭; that of the *How*, 信圭; of the *Pih*, 躬圭; of the *Tsze*, 穀璧; and of the *Nan*, 蒲璧 (see the 周禮, 春官, 大宗伯, 二). On Shun's accession to the administration of the empire, it was necessary that all the nobles should have their appointments confirmed by him.

There is a difficulty with the interpretation of 旣月. 旣 is taken as = 盡, so that the phrase = 'when a month was completed.' That month is understood to be the first month of the year after his accession. The summons had been sent to the nobles, and at the expiry of a month they began to arrive. The 羣牧 were the chiefs of the nobles in the different provinces, the lord-lieutenants, whose official chief again was the 四岳. To them Shun gave daily audience on the subject of the difft. nobles, whom they would introduce, and who were then sent back with their tokens to their various fiefs, to maintain the authority of the vicegerent.

P. 8. *Tours of Inspection*. 巡守 appears in Mencius, I. Pt. II. iv. 5, *et al.*, as 巡狩, = 'perambulated the Charges *of the nobles*.' To what year this first tour is to be referred cannot be determined. Ma Yung held that it was the 5th year after Shun undertook the govt. Gan-kwŏ again makes it the same as that in which he confirmed the nobles. The arranged chronol. places it in the year after, the 74th of Yaou's reign. Perhaps it was so. In making the circuit, Shun first travelled east, as far as 岱宗, called elsewhere and now 泰山, 5 *le* to the north of the district city of T'ae-gan (泰安) in the dep. of the same name in Shan-tung [Lat. 36°30', N., Lon. 1°, E., Med.] This mount. was deemed the first of all the hills of China, and therefore it has the epithet of 宗 or 'Honourable' When his work was done here, Shun went to the South.

卒乃復,—Gan-kwŏ and Ma Yung take 復 actively:—' he returned the five instruments of gem.' I have followed them. K'ang-shing takes it intrans., and supposes that Shun returned to the capital and sacrificed a single victim at the end of each tour. Choo He, foll. of course by Ts'ae Ch'in and others, also takes it intrans., but without suppos. a return to the cap. Shun simply turns back from his eastward course, and goes in another direction. They also suppose that the text has got transposed, and read 五玉, 三帛, 二生, 一死, 贄, immediately after 東后. There is no necessity for such a violent measure, if we take 復 actively, as I have done. From mount T'ae, Shun proceeded to the Southern mountain, generally supposed to have been mount Hwăng (衡), 30 *le* to the north of the dis. city of Hwăng-san (衡山), in Hwăng-chow dep. (衡州), Hoo-nan [Lat. 37°30', N., Lon. 4°15', W., Med.] This has been thought too remote, and other hills not so far south have been fixed on. From mount Hwăng, Shun trav. west to the Western mountain, or mount Hwa (華山), called T'ae-hwa (太華) in the 'Tribute of Yu.' It is 10 *le* south of the dis. city of Hwa-yin (華陰), in Shen-se, dep. of Se-ngan. [Lat. 34°30', N., Lon. 6°30', W., Med.]. From the west, he proc. north, to the Northern mountain. or mount Hăng (恆山), considered, in the sacrificial statutes of the pres. dyn., to be 20 *le* to the south of Hwăn-chow dis. (渾州), dep. of Ta-t'ung (大同), in Shan-se [Lat. 37°30', N., Lon. 2°30', W., Med.] From the north he ret. to the cap., which was at no great distance, in the pres. dep. of P'ing-yang (平陽) in Shan-se; and there he sacrificed a

五禮、五玉、三帛、二生、一死、贄、如五器、卒乃復。五月南巡守、至于南岳、如岱禮。八月西巡守、至于西岳、如初。

seasons and months, and rectifying the days; he made uniform the standard tubes, the measures of length and of capacity, and the steelyards; he regulated the five *classes of* ceremonies. As to the several articles of introduction,—the five instruments of gem, the three kinds of silk, the two living animals, and the one dead one, when all was over, he returned the five instruments. In the fifth month, he made a similar tour to the south, as far as the southern mountain, observing the same ceremonies as at Tae. In the same way, in

bull (特=一牛), in the temple of the Cultivated ancestor, announcing the completion of his circuit. 藝祖 is probably the same as 文祖, p. 4. So, Gan-kwŏ and K'ang-shing.

On arriving at each of his halting places, Shun first pres. a burnt-offering to Heaven. 柴, lit., = 'firewood.' On the altar a pile of wood was reared, on which the victim and other offerings were placed. The practice is the same at the pres. day. The old interp. placed no comma after 宗, but placed one after 柴. Choo He pointed at 宗, and then read on to 川. I put a comma both at 宗 and 柴. 秩, 'in order,' = 如其秩次, 'acc. to their order.' Difft. ranks were assigned to the hills and rivers, and the ceremonies paid to them varied accordingly.

Shun's business at the various points, after giv. audience to the nobles was:—1st, to see that they had the calendar correct—協時 (=四時) 月 (謂月之大小, *i.e.*, which months were long and which short. So, Gan-kwŏ; and this would imply a process of intercalation like the present) 日 (謂日之甲乙, *i.e.*, the names of the days, their designation by the cycle-characters); 2d, to see that the weights, measures, &c., of the difft. States were uniform. 同律,—'he made uniform the regulation-tubes.' 律 is defined by 分, 'that which divides.' The name was given to twelve tubes, originally made of bamboo, then of some gem, and in the time of the Han dyn. of brass or copper. They were a little more than three tenths of an inch in diameter, and the circumference of the bore was exactly nine tenths. The longest was called 'the yellow cup' (黃鐘), 9 in. long, and the shortest 'the responsive cup' (應鐘), only 4.66 in. The name of 律 more especially belonged to six of them, which gave the sharped notes in music. The others, giving the flat notes, were called 呂. The twelve together about formed, I believe, a chromatic scale. But besides their application to music (see on p. 24), the *hwang chung* was the standard measure of length. The 90th part of it was 1 *fun* (分); 10 *fun* were 1 inch (寸); 10 inches were 1 foot (尺); 10 feet were 1 *chang* (丈); and 10 *chang* were 1 *yin* (引) [It is said that the breadth of a grain of millet (一黍之廣) made a *fun*, and that 90 of them determined the length of the 1st tube. See the 'Commentary of Ts'ae Illustrated' (蔡傳旁通), by Ch'in Sze-k'ae (陳師凱) of the Yuen dyn. (pub. A.D. 1321)]. The same tube was the standard for measures of capacity. 13⅓ millet grains filled a *fun* of it, and 1200 grains filled the whole. So much made a *yoh* (龠); 2 *yoh* made a *kŏh* (合); 10 *kŏh*, 1 *shing* (升); 10 *shing*, 1 *tow* (斗); 10 *tow*, 1 *hoh* (斛). The tube, again, supplied the standard for weights. 100 grains of millet weighed a *choo* (銖); 24 *choo*; 1 *lëang* (兩) or tael; 16 taels, 1 *kin* (斤), or catty; 30 catties, 1 *keun* (鈞); and 4 *keun*, 1 *shih* (石), or stone. From all these applications of 'the yellow cup' we find it spoken of as 'the root of all human affairs' (黃鐘爲萬事根本).

十有一月朔巡守、至于北岳、如西禮。歸、格于藝祖、用特。○九節五載一巡守、羣后四朝、敷奏以言、明試以功、車

the eighth month, he travelled westwards, as far as the western mountain; and in the eleventh month he travelled northwards, as far as the northern mountain. When he returned *to the capital, he* went to the *temple of the* Cultivated ancestor, and offered a single bullock.

9 In five years there was one tour of inspection, and four appearances of the nobles at court. They set forth a report of their government in words. This was clearly tested by their works. They received chariots and robes according to their services.

Shun would carry with him from the capital standard tubes, measures, steelyards and beams, and weights. There was a 3d subject to occupy him. He had also 'to regulate the five ceremonies.' By these Ch'ing understood the ceremonies to be observed in appearing at court and in their intercourse with one another by the five classes of nobles indicated in the last par. Gan-kwŏ and Ma Yung take the ceremonies to be the same with those recognized under the Chow dyn.,—the various ceremonies of worship (吉禮); the ceremonies appropriate to calamity and mourning (凶禮), the ceremonies appropriate to guests of State (賓禮); the ceremonies appropriate to war (軍禮); and festive ceremonies (嘉禮) appropriate to marriages and other occasions of joy. This latter interpretation is to be preferred.

The nobles in waiting upon Shun brought with them their tokens of investiture,—the 五瑞 of last par., called here 五玉 and 五器; and also various articles which prepared the way for their audience, and are here called 贄. 'A man's gift maketh room for him, and bringeth him before great men.' This obtains in the east more than elsewhere, and obtained from the earliest times. The statutes enacted even in Shun's days recognized it, and endeavoured to regulate it and prevent its abuse. 三帛,—'three fabrics of silk.' Ch'ing says they were red silk (赤繒), on which the descendants of Kaou-sin presented their signets; black silk, on which those of Kaou-yang presented theirs; and white silk, used by the other nobles. Gan-kwŏ and Wang Suh, again, say that they were silks of a deep red, brought by the eldest sons of princes; dark azure silks, brought by 三公之孤; and yellow silks, brought by the chiefs of small attached territories. 二生, 'two living animals,'—lambs or kids, brought by the highest officers in the various States (卿); and geese, brought by inferior officers (大夫). 一死, 'one dead animal,'—pheasants brought by the smaller officers, and scholars expecting employment (士). 如五器, 'as to the five instruments,' *i.e.*, the signets. Those who would transpose this clause (see above) are obliged to expl. 如 by 同, 'to make uniform.'

This year of inspection must have been a busy one to Shun. Many commentators have doubted the possibility of his accomplishing all the work. Some things indicated have been pushed up, I must suppose, from the practices of a subsequent age.

P. 9. *Regular periods of tours of inspection and appearances of the nobles at court, with the results of such appearances.* After the circuit detailed in last par., it was probably enacted by Shun that such a tour should be made every five years. During the intermediate four years, the nobles and princes of the dift. divisions of the empire presented themselves at court. Ma and K'ung suppose that the 'four appearances' were those at the four points of meeting during the year of the imperial circuit. The other view—more in accord with the phrase 四朝—is given by Ch'ing. He says 'the nobles came separately,' intending, we may suppose with Ts'ae Ch'in, that the first year those of the east came, those of the south on the second, &c.

敷奏以言,—敷=陳, 'to lay out, set forth;' 奏=進 'to present,'=to represent. In want of any expressed nominative

服以庸。○肇十一節十有二州、封十有二山、濬川。○象十一節以典刑、流宥五刑、鞭作官刑、扑

10 *Shun* instituted the division of the empire into twelve provinces, raising altars upon twelve hills in them. He *likewise* deepened the rivers.

11 He gave delineations of the statutory punishments, enacting banishment as a mitigation of the five *great* inflictions; with the whip to be employed in the magistrates' courts, the stick to be employed in schools, and money to be received for redeemable crimes.

to these verbs, we may take them indefinitely.—'There was setting forth and representation by means of words.' So with the other clauses. 功, 'meritorious service,' is specially applied to 'service to the State' (國); while 庸 is 民功, 'service rendered to the people' like the teaching them agriculture (see the 周禮, 夏官, 司馬, 第四之三). 車服以庸,—see the She King Pt. II., Bk. VII., viii. 以 is here somewhat diff't. from its use in the prec. clauses, and = 'according to.'

P. 10 *Division of the empire into twelve provinces, and attendant circumstances.* This division must have taken place several years after Shun's accession to the administration. While Yu was labouring on the flooded provinces, their number was only nine, and the rearrangement of them as twelve must have been subsequent to the conclusion of his work. It is referred by the Annalists to the 81st year of Yaou. Fuh-shang in his Preface assigns it to the first year of Shun's independent reign, which would seem to be more likely. For the provinces, see next Part, Bk. I. Shun divided K'e into the three provinces of Ping (幷), K'e (冀) and Yew (幽); and Ts'ing into Ts'ing (青) and Ying (營). See Ying-tă *in loc.* This division into twelve provinces did not last beyond Shun's reign. 封十有二山,—封, 'to raise a mound,' here = 封土爲壇, 'to raise up earth for an altar' (Keang Shing). In every province Shun selected a mountain,—the largest probably,—and made it the 'guardian' of the territory (鎮山). See the 周禮, 夏官, 司馬, 第四之六. 濬, in p. 1, 'profound,' 'deep;' here a verb, = 'to deepen.' The mention of this leads us to refer the whole of this par. to Shun's own reign, some years after the completion of Yu's work.

P. 11. *Punishments.* Comp. p. 20; and Pt. V., Bk. XXVII. 象以典刑,—象, 'to delineate;' as in the Canon of Yaou, p. 3. There is much dispute about the meaning of the char. here. Gan-kwŏ takes it as = 法, 'laws,' and expl.—'according to the laws, he used the regular punishments, not going beyond the laws.' This view may at once be set aside. Ts'ae Ch'in says we are to understand it as in the phrase—'Heaven hangs out its appearances to show to men' (天垂象以示人); which gives us the idea of pictorial representation. 典刑,—'regular punishments,' said to be five in the next clause. Those were branding (on the forehead) (墨); cutting off the nose (劓); cutting off the feet (刖); castration (宮); and death [which might be by various modes of execution] (大辟).

It is maintained by some Chinese scholars that Yaou and Shun did not use those severe punishments. They did not need to do so, it is said. Ma Yung says on the text:—'Kaou Yaou instituted these five punishments, but none made themselves obnoxious to them. There were the representations (其象), but not the criminals' (其人). Fuh-shang speaks of persons liable to these punishments being dressed so as to attract attention, which made a greater impression than the infliction of the penalties would have done. These objections were made at a very early time, and answered by Seun K'ing, in the 3d cent. before Christ. Others allowing that Yaou and Shun had the punishment of death, say that the other four penalties in the flesh (肉刑) originated with the Hea dyn.; but neither is this correct. See Maou K'e-ling's 廣

作教刑、金作贖刑、眚災肆赦、怙終賊刑、欽哉、欽哉、惟刑之恤哉。十二 ○流共工于幽

Inadvertent offences and those which might be caused by misfortune were to be pardoned, but those who offended presumptuously or repeatedly were to be punished with death. "Let me be reverent; let me be reverent," *he said to himself*. "Let compassion rule in punishment."

12 He banished the minister of Works to Yew island; confined Hwan-tow on mount Tsung; drove the *chief of* San-meaou *and his people*

聽錄,—, *in loc.* Branding and the cutting off of the nose and feet were abolished by the emp. Wăn (文帝) of the Han dynasty (B.C. 178–156). Castration, however, remained on the statute book till the first emperor of the Suy dyn. (A.D. 579–600). From that time to the present the five punishments have been—beating with the bamboo (笞); with the cudgel (杖); the shorter banishment (徒); the longer (流); and (死) death [which may be by decapitation, strangulation, cutting or slicing to pieces, &c.] K'e-ling observes that in this respect the ways of modern times are more humane than the ways of the ancient sages were. 流宥五刑='banishment to mitigate the five severe penalties.' 鞭,—'a whip,' 'a piece of leather tied to a stick.' 扑 (*p'uh*),—'to beat;'—the Dict. says 'with a stick' (杖); Gan-kwŏ, 'with bramble-twigs, or with branches of the 榎.' The crimes punishable with the whip and stick are supposed to be slighter offences, not only below the penalty of the five inflictions, but also below banishment. The whip was employed against officers in the courts; and the stick against officers in the schools. Medhurst, indeed, translates—'the birch for the flagellation of scholars.' But if the next clause be correctly taken as applying to offences under these two heads, which is the common view of it, a commutation of the birch for a fine in schools becomes absurd,—to say nothing of Shun's condescending to such matters. 金,—'metal,' here = 'copper.' See Sun Sing-yen, *in loc.* 無心之過誤謂之眚, 'offences without intention are called 眚.' 不幸而獲過謂之災, 'offences by mishap are called 災:'—see the 日講. The old interpreters joined the two together—'injuries done without purpose.' 肆=縱, 'to let go.' 怙終賊刑,—Ch'ing expands:—怙其姦而終身以爲殘賊則用刑之, 'those who persist in their villainy, and all their lives are criminals, are to be punished.' It is better, with Gan-kwŏ, to take 賊=殺, and 怙 as in the translation; 怙=有恃, and 終=再犯. 欽哉云云,—it is best to take these two sentences as addressed by Shun to himself.

P. 12. *How Shun dealt with the four great criminals of the empire.* We do not know when the transactions here mentioned took place. Sze-ma Ts'een, I mentioned above, has a legend of 'four villains' (四凶), banished by Shun while Yaou was testing him; but he has also incorporated the present par. with his Work, so that he must have considered the 四罪 and the 四凶 to be different individuals.

The minister of Works, Hwan-tow, and K'wăn have all occurred in the Canon of Yaou. 三苗 was the name of a country. This appears clearly from a passage in the 左傳, 昭元年, and especially from the 戰國策, 卷十四, where Woo K'e (吳起) tells one of the princes of Wei (魏) that 'San-meaou had on its left the waves of the P'ang-le (彭蠡), and on its right the waters of the Tung-t'ing (洞庭), Mount Wan (汶山) on the South, and Mount Hwăng (衡) on the north.' This agrees with other accounts of its situation. It possessed the territory now occupied by the depp. of Woo-ch'ang (武昌) in Hoo-pih, Yŏ-chow (岳州) in Hoo-nan, and Kew-keang (九江) in Keang-se. Why it was

洲、放驩兜于崇山、竄三苗于三危、殛鯀于羽山、四罪而天下咸服。○十三節二十有八載、帝乃殂落、百姓如喪考

into San-wei, and kept them there; held K'wăn till death a prisoner on mount Yu. These four criminals being thus dealt with, universal submission prevailed throughout the empire.

13 IV. After twenty-eight years the emperor demised, when the people mourned for him as for a parent for three years. All within the

called the 'three Meaon,' it is only attempted to account for by foolish legends.

From the 國語,楚語,下, we see it was thought in the Chow dyn. that Yaou had been in hostilities with the people of Meaon, and we shall see in the next Book that Yu had likewise to proceed against them. Shun's measure seems to have been to remove their Chief and probably a portion of his people to another part of the country. We must suppose that their chief is specially intended, to make one in the quaternion of four great criminals. 流 = 'to banish.' 放 = 'to put in a place and confine there.' 竄 = 'to drive to, and keep as in prison.' 殛 would seem to mean 'to put to death,' and Ch'ing and Ma Yung expl. it by 誅, 'to take out of the way;' but Gan-kwŏ says that every one of the four criminals was dealt with in the way of 誅. A lighter meaning therefore is given to the term; and indeed, it is not easy to suppose that while Yu was his right hand, and rendering the greatest services to the empire, Shun would put his father to death. Woo Ch'ing says, 殛謂待死于此,以終其身.

幽洲 must originally have been 幽州, the 水 being a subsequent addition. This place was somewhere in the north;—it is said outside Chih-le province, to the north east of Meih-yun (密雲) dis., dep. of Shun-t'een. I am not sure, however, whether it is right to translate 洲, by 'island.' 崇山 was in the south, in the pres. Hoo-nan, in the dis. of Yung-ting (永定) in Le-chow (澧洲). 三危 was a district in the west, deriving its name from a hill of the same name. 'It rises,' says the Statistical Account of the empire under the pres. dyn., 'in the south-east of the dep. of Gan-se (安西) in Kan-suh, with three precipitous summits, which seem threatening to fall' (如危欲墜). 羽山 was in the east, in the pres. Shan-tung, 70 *le* to the north-east of the dis. city of T'an-shing (郯城), in E-chow (沂州).

四罪,—the char. 罪 originally was 辠, for which the founder of the Ts'in dyn. ordered 罪 to be used, disliking its similarity to the char. 皇. After 四罪 we must understand some characters equal to—'being thus discriminatingly dealt with.'

Ch. IV. The death of Yaou and accession of Shun to the throne. P. 13. 二十有八載,—it seems to me that every unprejudiced reader of the classic must understand this as meaning 28 years, reckoning from Shun's accession to the administration of affairs, mentioned p. 4, so that Yaou's death would occur in the 100th year of his reign, B.C. 2257. The matter is complicated, however by what is related in the 'Historical Records,' that Yaou, getting Shun in the 70th year of his reign, employed him for 20 years, and only then resigned to him the administration, dying himself 8 years after. This account would make Yaou's reign extend over 98 years. The conclusion we draw from the classic is all against this view.

殂落 together = 'to decease.' Ts'een has 崩. Choo He says that at death the *animus* goes to heaven, and the *anima* to the earth. In this case, 殂 ought to denote 'to ascend,' but it simply = 往, 'to go away.' 百姓,—as in last Bk., p. 2, the 四海 corresponding to the 萬國 and 黎民 there. Keang Shing remarks that the mourning for three years proves that 百姓 must be confined to officers; but this assumes that 喪 is to be understood in the sense of 'wearing mourning,' and not in that of 'lamenting' generally. Besides, the people of the imperial domain had to

妣三載、四海遏密八音。十四節 ○月正元日、舜格于文祖。十五節 ○詢于四岳、闢四門、明四目、

four seas, the eight instruments of music were stopped and hushed.
14 On the first day of the first month, Shun went to the *temple of the* Accomplished Ancestor.
15 V. He deliberated with the *chief of the* four Mountains, how to throw open all the doors *of communication between the court and the empire*, and sought to see with the eyes and hear with the ears of all.

wear mourning for three months (集傳, *in loc.*); and here they extended of themselves the rule to three years. 考 = a father, deceased; 妣, a mother, deceased. 四海,—'the four seas.' Anciently, the territories occupied by the nine *E* (夷), the eight *Teih* (狄), the seven *Jung* (戎), and the six *Man* (蠻), were called 'the four seas.' All within the four seas was divided into the 'nine provinces.' Within the nine provinces there were arranged the 'five domains,' divided into three,—the imperial, the nobles', the peaceful,—called the 'Middle Kingdom,' and two,—the domain of restraint, and the wild domain,—called the country of the 'four wild tribes;'—see Hoo Miug-king's (胡明經) Introduction to his Work on 'The Tribute of Yu.' According to this view, which is that of the ancient Dictionary, the 爾雅, 'the four seas' is a designation having nothing to do with the seas. The scholars and thinkers of the Sung dyn. did not understand how it could have arisen, and rejected this account of it. The phrase must have had its origin in some idea of the habitable territory as bounded on every side by water (see Con. Ana., XII. v., note). Yen Jŏ-keu, in his 'Topography of the Four Books,' art. 四海, says that the phrase has two meanings; generally it is to be taken in accordance with the ancient view, but sometimes it has a vast and vague signification, and = 天下, 'all under heaven.' Practically, this account is correct, but it says nothing of the origin of the phrase.—In the text, we must take the phrase vaguely, comprehending the empire. Even allowing the account of the 爾雅, 四海 must = 四海之內, or 九州. The writer could not have the barbarous territory beyond the empire in his mind.

八音,—'the eight sounds,' *i.e.*, all musical instruments, made of metal, of stone, of silk, of bamboo, of a gourd, of earth, of leather, or of wood.

P. 14. *Shun's accession to the throne.* This did not take place the year that Yaou died, nor the year after, but when the three years' mourning was expired. Nor did Shun then immediately occupy the throne. He allowed time for the expression of opinion from the nobles and people, and was willing that Yaou's son Choo should succeed to his father. Neither nobles nor people, however, would have any other but Shun to reign over them. See Mencius, Bk. V. Pt. I. v. 7. The date of the accession was B. C. 2254. 月正元日,—comp. p. 4., 正月上日. Gan-kwŏ and Wang Suh supposed the two passages identical, and that 月正 and 元 in the one and 正月 and 上 in the other are only variations of style, which a writer may indulge in without any great reason. Ch'ing on the other hand contends that the changes teach an important fact,—that Shun on his accession to the throne changed the first month of the year, from the month after the winter solstice, to the month beginning with it. It is slender ground on which to build such a conclusion. Suh says that it was only the Yin and Chow dynasties which changed the beginning of the year, and that the Hea dyn. and all previous times made it commence with the third month after the winter solstice; see on Con. Ana. XV. x. An expression in Pt. III. Book. II. p. 3. may be pressed in support of Ching's view. I do not know that there is any other evidence of it, and must here leave the point undetermined. 格于文祖,—文祖, see on p. 4. Shun went now to the temple to announce his accession to the throne; but henceforth he would go to the temple of his own ancestors.

CH. V. ACTS OF SHUN AS EMPEROR. With this par., or the prec., commences what is properly the Canon of Shun, or rather a fragment of that Canon. It wants the beginning, and we may say it wants the end also;—hardly carrying us beyond the events of one year.

P. 15. *Measure of Shun to call forth the good and able to public service, and make himself acquainted with the state of the empire.* 詢 is here more than 'to inquire;' it conveys the idea of plans

達四聰。○十六節咨十有二牧、曰食哉惟時、柔遠能邇、惇德允元、而難任人、蠻夷率服。○十七節舜曰、咨四岳、有能奮庸

16 He consulted with the twelve Pastors, and said, "The food!—it depends on *observing* the seasons. Be kind to the distant, and cultivate the ability of the near. Give honour to the virtuous, and your confidence to the good, while you discountenance the artful:—so shall the barbarous tribes lead on one another to make their submission."

17 Shun said, "Ah! *chief of* the four Mountains, is there any one who can vigorously display his merits, and give wide development

and measures (see the 書經備旨).

闢四門,— 'to open the four gates,' *i.e.*, to open the gates of the four quarters, remove every hindrance obstructing the access of worth and ability, wherever situated, to the notice of the sovereign and his service. K'ang-shing supposes an allusion to the audience given by the emperor to his officers 'in the gate.' Keang Shing brings in his favourite idea of 'the four gates of the Hall of Audience.' It is not necessary to be so minute. All agree in the general meaning, that Shun's object was—廣賢路, 'to widen the way of the worthy.' There is more difficulty in apprehending precisely the remaining two phrases—明四目,達四聰. Gan-kwŏ's expl. of them will suffice:—廣視聽於四方,使天下無壅塞, 'to enlarge his seeing and hearing throughout the four quarters, that nothing in the empire might be shut up or hid from him.' Good officers, in sympathy with him, would be eyes and ears to him.

P. 16. *Counsels to the twelve pastors of provinces.* 牧, 'pastor,' 'shepherd,' was a name given in the times of Yaou and Shun to the chief or superintendent of all the princes and nobles in a province; indicating that the nourishment of the people should be his chief concern. This is the reason why 'food' is here mentioned first. 食哉惟時,—'Food!—Only the seasons.' This is the second time we find the part. 惟 (see p. 11), which is of very frequent occurrence in the Shoo, and of varied *usus.* As to the sentiment, see Mencius, I. Pt. I. iii.

能邇,—能 is taken by K'ang-shing as = 恣, 'to be indulgent to.' So also the modern comm. Gan-kwŏ and Wang Suh, unwilling to adopt such a meaning, interpreted:—'give repose to the remote, and then you *can* do so to the near.' It does not appear to me that we need to depart from the usual meaning, only giving the term a *hiphil* force. 元=仁厚之人, 'men of benevolence and generosity.' 任人=佞人, 'artful people,' especially in speech. The standard interpretation of 任 is 包藏凶惡之人, 'men who treasure wickedness in their bosoms.' Instead of 任, we have 壬 in Bk. III. 2. [The Dict. gives the 任 of the text in the 3d tone, which must be a mistake.] 蠻夷,—'the wild tribes of the south and the east,' used for such tribes generally. 率=相率, 'lead on one another.'

P. 17. *Appointment of Yu to be General Regulator to Shun, as Shun had formerly been to Yaou.* 舜曰,—the use of 舜 here would seem to be purposely to mark that Shun was now the emperor. Hereafter the phrase is 帝曰. 奮=起, 'to put forward.' It gives the idea of vigour. Ma Yung explains it by 明, 'to illustrate,'—wrongly. 庸=功, 'services,' 'merits.' 熙,—as in the Canon of Yaou, p. 8. 帝之載,—the emp. of course is Yaou; 載, as in Doctr. of the Mean, xxxiii 6. 百揆,—see par. 2. 亮采,—亮=相, 'to assist,' 'to act as minister to' (see note by Lin Che-k'e in the 集傳); 采=事, as in the Can. of Yaou, p. 10. 惠疇,—惠=順, 'to accord with;' 疇=

熙帝之載、使宅百揆、亮采惠疇。僉曰、伯禹作司空。帝曰、俞、咨禹、汝平水土、惟時懋哉。禹拜稽首、讓于稷契暨皐陶。帝曰、俞、汝往哉。○十八節帝曰、棄、黎

to the undertakings of the emperor, whom I may make General Regulator, to aid me in all affairs, and manage each department according to its nature?" All *in the court* said, "There is baron Yu, the superintendent of Works." The emperor said, "Yes. Ah! Yu, you have regulated the water and the land. In this *new office* exert yourself." Yu did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of the minister of Agriculture, or Sëë, or Kaou-yaou." The emperor said, "Yes; but do you go, *and undertake the duties.*"

18 The emperor said, "K'e, the black-haired people are *still* suffering

類, 'a class.' The meaning of the phrase, so far as it can be ascertained, is given in the transl. Lin Che-k'e says;—謂天下之事,各以其類,無不順也, 'The meaning is, that all the affairs of the empire should be managed naturally, each according to its nature and class.' 僉曰,—as in the Can. of Yaou, p 11. 伯禹,—Baron Yu. Yu must by this time have superseded, or succeeded to, his father, as chief of Tsung; see on Can. of Yaou, p. 11. 司空,—see Pt. V. Bk. XX. 12. The 司空 was one of the great officers of the Chow dyn.; but only here do we find the name in connection with earlier times. In Yaou's time the minister of Works was styled 共工 (Can. of Yaou, p. 10), and we find the same designation continued in this Bk., p. 21. K'ang-shing supposed that 司空 was a special designation given for the time to Yu. It certainly had to do with his labours on the mountains and streams of the flooded empire. 惟時(=是)懋哉,—'now in this exert yourself!' Ma Yung takes 懋=美, 'to beautify;' but the meaning in the transl. is to be preferred. 禹拜稽首,—稽首 is exegetical of the 拜, which signifies 'to do obeisance,' 'to pay one's respects.' In the Chow Le, 春官,宗伯,第三之九, there are specified nine 拜, of which the first is 稽首, 'laying the head to the ground.' 稷 is the name of an office, that of the minister of Agriculture. The individual here mentioned had rendered, it is supposed, such services to the State in his office, that he came to be distinguished by it, and not by his own name which was K'e (棄). He was a son of the emp. K'uh (高辛氏); and to him the emperors of the Chow dyn. referred as their progenitor. See the wonders of his birth and infancy, and the achievements of his life, in the She King, Pt. II. Bk. II. i., *et al.* During Shun's administration of the empire, K'e had been apointed ruler of the state of T'ae (邰), to which his mother had belonged. 契 *(Sëë)* was a half-brother of K'e, and had been appointed ruler of Shang (商). From him the emperors of the Shang dyn. were descended. See the accounts of his birth, &c., in the last portion of the She King, the 'Praise-songs of Shang.' 皐陶,—see on Bk. III.

P. 18. *Confirmation of K'e as minister of Agriculture.* This is the confirmation of K'e, not his appointment. As Yu had mentioned him with Sëë and Kaou-yaou, the emperor turns to them, and praises them for their services, which they were to continue. All the old interpreters put the verbs in the past tense:—

民阻飢、汝后稷、播時百穀。○[十九節]帝曰、契、百姓不親、五品不遜、汝作司徒、敬敷五教、在寬。○[二十節]帝曰、皋陶、蠻夷猾夏、寇賊姦宄、汝作士、五刑

the distress of hunger. It is yours, O prince, the minister of Agriculture, to sow *for them* these various kinds of grain."

19 The emperor said, "Sëë, the people continue unfriendly with one another, and do not observe docilely the five orders *of relationship*. It is yours, as the minister of Instruction, reverently to set forth the lessons of duty belonging to those five orders. Do so with gentleness."

20 The emperor said, "Kaou-yaou, the barbarous tribes disturb our bright great land. There are *also* robbers, murderers, insurgents, and traitors. It is yours, as the minister of Crime, to employ the five

'The people were suffering,' &c. Perhaps we should so translate; but it seems more natural to render as I have done,—after Woo Ch'ing, and the 'Daily Explanation.' 阻＝戹, 'to be straitened.' For 阻 Sze-ma Ts'een has 始, from which some suppose the original reading was 祖, which, indeed, Ma Yung gives. Rather we may suppose that originally there was simply 且. 后稷,—K'e was 后, 'prince,' as being chief of T'ae; as minister of Agriculture he was called 稷, 'millet,' that being considered the best of the five principal grains (Woo Ch'ing.) 時＝是,—'these.' Ch'ing would have it read as 蒔, 'to transplant.' 百穀,—the hundred grains,' *i.e.*, all the various kinds of grain. Fan Sze-lin (潘士遴, Ming dyn.), indeed, makes out 100 in this way:—under the name of *leang* (粱), including millet, wheat, &c., 20 kinds; of *taou* (稻), including rice, and all grains that grow in water, 20 kinds; of 菽, *i.e.*, beans, peas, &c., 20 kinds; of vegetables (蔬), 20 kinds; and of fruits (果), 20 kinds.

P. 19. *Confirmation of Sëë as minister of Instruction.* 百姓 is here plainly the people. The commen. who have hitherto insisted on the phrase denoting 'the officers,' say nothing about it here. 不親,—I have said '*continue* unfriendly,' to indicate the reference to the past services of Sëë, which is properly supposed. 五品,—品＝'a class,' 'a rank;' 五品, 'the five ranks,' under which human society may be arranged;—parent and child, sovereign and subject, husband and wife, brothers, and friends. 五教, 'the five lessons of duty, belonging to those orders. See Mencius, III. Pt. I. iv. 8, who puts his seal to the meaning of 五品 and 五教. There need be no hesitation, therefore, in rejecting K'ang-shing's view, that the 'five 品' are 'father, mother, elder brother, younger brother, and son,' and the five 教 the duties belonging to those. 在寬,—lit., 'it is in gentleness,' *i.e.*, the people must be drawn, they can't be forced. to those duties.

P. 20. *Confirmation of Kaou-yaou as minister of Crime.* 猾夏,—猾＝亂, 'to throw into confusion.' Ch'ing expl. it by 侵亂, 'to invade and throw into confusion.' 夏, is a name for 'the middle country,' conveying the ideas of 'brightness and greatness.' The character 華 is generally found with it. 姦宄,—在外曰姦, 在內曰宄, 'external troublers are called 姦; internal, 宄.' The latter are *traitors*, members of one's household or State; the former are insurgents.

有服、五服三就、五流有宅、五宅三居、惟明克允。○帝（廿一節）曰、疇若予工。僉曰、垂哉。帝曰、俞、咨垂、汝共工。垂拜稽

punishments for the treatment of offences, for the infliction of which there are the three appointed places; and the five banishments, with their several places of detention, for which three localities are assigned. Perform your duties with intelligence, and you will secure a sincere submission."

21 The emperor said, "Who is equal to the duty of superintending my workmen?" All *in the court* said, "There is Suy." The emperor said, "Yes. Ah! Suy, you must be minister of Works." Suy did obeisance, with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in

or invaders. 作士,—Ch'ing exp. 士 as 'one who presides over the examination of civil and criminal causes'; Ma says he was 'the chief of such judges.' During the Chow dyn. there was the 士師, or chief criminal judge, but he was only a subordinate to the minister of Crime. Kaou-yaou's office was that of the 大司寇 of the Chow dyn. On the interpr. of 五刑有服,五服三就,五流有宅,五宅三居, opinions are much divided. The five punishments, we may assume, are the branding, castration, &c., mentioned on p. 11. 服, says Woo Ch'ing, 猶衣服之服,謂加其身,'服 indicates the application of the punishment to the body, as a garment is put on'. I do not think we can translate in English more closely than if we say—'There are the five punishments which are to be undergone, and for the undergoing of them there are three places to be resorted to.' What those three places were, cannot be determined.—Ch'ing says—'the open country (原野); the market-place and court (市朝); and the place where the 甸師氏 executed his functions' [more privately, on members of the imperial House]. Ma Yung takes the same view. Gan-kwŏ had determined the three places to be the open country, the market place, and the court,—from misunderstanding a passage in the 國語,魯語,上,大刑用甲兵,云云. Dissatisfied with these explanations, Ts'ae suggested that it may have been that capital sentences were carried into effect in the market place, castration, in some place corresponding to the 'mulberry apartment' (蠶室) of the Han dyn., and the other three punishments, in some other place, screened from the wind.—We must leave the subject undetermined.

The five severe inflictions might be commuted for banishments,—to a greater or less distance. Each banishment was undergone in a certain place (宅); but those five localities were comprehended within three larger divisions of territory. This is the extent of the conclusion to which we can come on this part of the passage. Gan-kwŏ says the lesser banishment was to a distance of a thousand *le*: the second was beyond the limits of the nine provinces; and the third was to the remotest region of barbarism. Ch'ing has a strange view. He would read 宅 as 咤 (*ch'a*), and thinks it means handcuffs, fetters, &c., with which the criminals were secured. 惟明克允,—does this mean, 'Be intelligent and you will secure the acquiescence of the people,' or 'Be intelligent and your sentences will be in accordance with the truth of the cases?' The characters will admit of either meaning. Ts'ae Ch'in joins them together, but a translation can only admit one of them.

P. 21. *Appointment of Suy to be minister of Works.* This office was vacant in consequence of Yu's appointment to be General Regulator. The minister of Works, it would appear, had to look after all the workers, or guilds of workers, in earth, stone, metal, leather, &c. 若予工,—see on 若, in Can. of Yaou, p. 9. 垂 (read *Suy*, like 瑞; see the Dict.),—mention is made of 'the bamboo arrows of Suy,' preserved as precious relics in the times of the Chow dyn.; see Pt. V. Bk. XXII. 19. The Taouist philosopher Chwang also speaks of 'the finger of Suy' (倕); see the 南華外篇,第三). Suy would appear from this to have

首、讓于殳斨暨伯與。帝曰、俞、往哉、汝諧。○帝廿二節曰、疇若予上下草木鳥獸。僉曰、益哉。帝曰、俞、咨益、汝作朕虞。益拜稽首、讓于朱虎熊羆。

favour of Shoo, Ts'eang, or Pih-yu. The emperor said, "Yes; but do you go and undertake the duties. Effect a harmony *in all the departments.*"

22 The emperor said, "Who is equal to the duty of superintending the grass and trees, with the birds and beasts, on my mountains and in my marshes." All *in the court* said, "There is Yih." The emperor said, "Yes. Ah! Yih, do you be my Forester." Yih did obeisance, with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of Choo, Hoo, Heung, or Pe. The emperor said, "Yes; but do you go, and undertake the duties. You must manage them harmoniously."

been himself a skilful worker. 殳,斨, 暨伯與 are three men in the 集傳, the two first being supposed to have got their names from their skill in making the weapons which the characters denote. The old interpr. made them two men—殳斨 and 伯與, which Keang Shing would identify with 朱斨 and 伯譽, in the 古今人表 of the Former Han. No doubt it was the object of Pan Koo there to mention the names in this par. 汝諧 is perhaps simply = 'make things go on harmoniously.' Yang Shaou-fang (楊肇芳, Ming dyn.) says:—'Under Suy and Yih there were many departments, which were to be carried on harmoniously.' Some take 諧＝偕, 'together with,' and make it refer to Choo, Ts'eang, and Pih-yu, who were to be Suy's assistants, and in concert with whom he was to manage his duties;—so, Woo Ch'ing.

P. 22. *Appointment of Yih to be forester.* 上下,—in the Can. of Yaou, p. 6, these characters were equiv. to 'heaven and earth;' here they = 山林, 'hills and forests,' on high ground, and 澤藪, 'marshes and fens,' in low. 益,—Yih had assisted Yu in his labours upon the flooded provinces. We are told that 'Shun then committed to him the direction of the fire to be employed, when he set fire to the forests and vegetation of the mountains and marshes, so that the birds and beasts fled away to hide themselves (Men. III. Bk. I., iv. 7). Some make him a son of Kaou Yaou, but this is not likely (see the 集說, *in loc.*). According to Sze-ma Ts'een he was descended from Chuenheuh, and, receiving from Shun the surname of Ying (嬴), became the progenitor of the rulers of Ts'in (秦). Ts'een gives his name 伯翳 and not 伯益 (see 秦本紀第五). As Yih had been associated with Yu, this may be the reason why Ch'ing, Ma, and Wang Suh all read 禹曰益哉 instead of 僉曰益哉. This is considered a flagrant proof of the falsehood of the common text. The 'Historical Records,' however, for 僉曰 read 皆曰. The text from which Sze-ma copied must have had 僉曰. 虞＝山澤之官, 'the officer of the hills and marshes.' In the time of the Chow dyn. each department had its superintendent, and the office was of smaller importance. 虞 means 'to consider,' 'to calculate' and the warden of the forests' was so styled, it is said, because he had so much to think about! Some would also make the name of the office to be 朕虞. 朱,虎,熊,羆,—lit., 'the fir,' 'the tiger,' 'the bear,' 'the grisly bear.' These were four officers, brothers, it is said, the sons of Kaou-sin. *Their* names, and those in the last par., might make us compare Shun's court to a council of Red Indians. The Historical Records add that these four men became Yih's assistants. This agrees with the meaning

帝曰、俞、往哉、汝諧。○帝(廿三節)曰、咨四岳、有能典朕三禮。僉曰、伯夷。帝曰、俞、咨伯、汝作秩宗、夙夜惟寅、直哉惟淸。伯拜稽首、讓于夔龍。帝(廿四節)曰、俞、往、欽哉。○帝曰、夔、命汝

23 The emperor said, "Ah! *chief of* the four Mountains, is there any one who can direct my three *religious* ceremonies?" All *in the court* said, "There is the baron E." The emperor said, "Yes. Ah! baron, you must be the Arranger of the ancestral temple. Morning and night you must be respectful. Be upright, be pure." The baron did obeisance with his head to the ground, and wished to decline in favour of K'wei or Lung. The emperor said, "Yes; but do you go, and undertake the duties. Be reverential."

24 The emperor said, "K'wei, I appoint you to be Director of music, and to teach our sons, so that the straightforward may yet be mild,

which I said on last par. some give to the diff. word 諧.

P. 23. *Appointment of Pih-e to be minister of Religion.* The 四岳 is specially consulted with reference to the appointment of Yu, p. 17, and the app. here;—showing, it is supposed, the superior importance of the two offices of General Regulator and minister of Religion. 典,—here a verb, = 主, 'to preside over,' 'to direct.' 三禮,—'the three ceremonies.' There is no difference of opinion as to the understanding of these. They are all the observances in the worship of the spirits of heaven (天神), the spirits of earth (地祇), and the spirits of men (人鬼). The ceremonies of the first went by the name of 祀; of the second by that of 祭; of the third by that of 享. The minister of religion under the Chow dyn. was called 大宗伯, and the duties of his office will be found described at length under that name in the 'Rites of Chow' (夏官).

伯夷,—'the baron E, 伯 being his title (爵, Woo Ch'ing). How it is that the emperor addresses him simply by the title, and that the historian describes him simply by it is a difficulty, which has not been solved (see 段玉裁's Work, *in loc.*). The 'Historical Records' do not use 伯 alone, but always say 伯夷. 秩宗,—秩 = 敍次, 'to arrange,' 'to dispose in order'; 宗 = 祖廟, 'the ancestral temple' (this is the proper meaning of the character). That this—Arranger of the ancestral temple—should be the name given to the minister of Religion, shows strikingly the chief place occupied by the worship of their ancestors in the religion of China, from the earliest times. 夙夜惟寅, 直哉惟淸,—Choo He says:—'From reverence there will come uprightness, and from uprightness purity' (惟寅故直, 惟直故淸). I suppose it is so, but it is very difficult to discover in the text the grammatical nexus of the different clauses.

P. 24. *Appointment of K'wei to be minister of Music.* It is singular how great an importance is here attributed to training in music, and that this should have been a special department regulated by imperial statutes from the earliest times. Under the Chow dyn., the minister of Music was styled 大司樂; see the chapter on his duties in the 'Rites of Chow,' 春官, 宗伯, 第二之六. 夔 is the name of a monstrous animal, 'a dragon with one leg.' I can find no other information about the officer thus designated, besides the notice here

典樂、教胄子、直而溫、寬而栗、剛而無虐、簡而無傲、詩言志、歌永言、聲依永、律和聲、八音克諧、無相奪倫、神人以和。夔曰、於、予擊石拊

the gentle may yet be dignified, the strong not tyrannical, and the impetuous not arrogant. Poetry is the expression of earnest thought; singing is the prolonged utterance of that expression. The notes accompany that utterance, and they are harmonized themselves by the pitch pipes. *In this way* the eight different kinds of instruments can all be adjusted so that one shall not take from or interfere with another, and spirits and men will thereby be brought into harmony."

and in Bk. IV., p. 9. 胄 is expl. by Gan-kwŏ by 長, 'eldest,' and he adds—'meaning the eldest son *of the emperor*, and the younger branches of the families of the nobles and officers.' He had before him a passage in the Le Ke,—the 王制, Pt. iv. p. 4, where we are told the minister of Music (樂正) taught 'the poems, ceremonies, and music of the former kings,' and was resorted to by the eldest and other sons of the king, the eldest sons of all the feudal princes, the eldest sons (by their proper wives) of the nobles and officers, and by the promising youth of the kingdom.' 胄, however, denotes descendants generally; and there was at an early time another reading of 育 for 胄, leaving the 子 quite unqualified. In 無虐, 無傲. 無=毋. 詩言志, 歌永言,—志 is defined by 心之所之, 'that to which the mind moves,' and hence it is translated by 'will,' 'aim,' 'purpose.' It denotes thought, but thought earnest and ardent, which seeks display and development. Shun's definition of poetry is not much amiss.

永 is, lit., 'water flowing on long and unbroken.' Ch'ing explains it here by 長, 'to prolong.' Singing is the poetic language 'in linked sweetness long drawn out.' 聲依永, 律和聲,—依 is 'to rely on,' 'to be according to,' 'to keep close to.' Its force is well brought out in the 'Daily Explanation:'—'This singing gives rise to the distinction of notes into high and low, treble and bass,—the five notes of music, indeed, which all come out in connection with the prolonged utterance' (皆依永而出). These five notes (聲) constitute the imperfect scale, common perhaps to all nations in their early attempts to form a musical system, into which no interval of less than a tone is admitted. Their names are *kung* (宮), *shang* (商), *këŏ* (角), *che* (徵, gen. read *ching*, but not in this sense), and *yu* (羽). The tubes (律) which produce and subsequently harmonize (和) these notes, are said to measure, in ninths of an inch, 81, 72, 64, 54, and 48 respectively. The next number in this series, corresponding to the octave to *kung*, should of course be $\frac{1}{2}$ of 80 $= 40\frac{1}{2}$: and we have thus according to our notation G, A, B, D, E, g. The series is constructed, starting from 81 as a basis, by making perfect fifths ascending (3:2), and perfect fourths descending (3:4). Thus from 81 is obtained 54; 54 gives, by the second proportion, 72; 72 again gives 48; and 48 gives 64. Carrying on this process, increasing or decreasing each time, as the case requires, the following set of twelve is obtained:—81, $75\frac{2}{3}$, 72, $67\frac{1}{3}$, 64, $59\frac{2}{3}$, $56\frac{2}{3}$, 54, $50\frac{2}{3}$, 48, $44\frac{2}{3}$, $42\frac{2}{3}$. (The fractions are not very accurate.) Twelve tubes of these several lengths constituted what I have called 'the standard tubes,' whose various application has been pointed out above. As regards the theory of music, could we be sure that the details which have been given, had really been wrought out in Shun's time, we could not refuse them our meed of admiration. The progress of the Chinese in music has not corresponded to such beginnings. A theoretical difficulty and a practical one have hindered them. They have found it impossible in theory for A to hold the same proportion to D as D to g; and in practice they have found that while their calculations might be applied to stringed instruments, the

石、百獸率舞。○ 廿五節 帝曰、龍、朕堲讒說殄行、震驚朕師、命汝作納言、夙夜出納朕命、

[K'wei said, "Oh! I smite the stone; I smite the stone. The various animals lead on one another to dance."].

25 The emperor said, "Lung, I abominate slanderous speakers, and destroyers of *right* ways, who agitate and alarm my people. I appoint you to be the minister of Communication. Early and late give forth my orders and report to me, seeing that every thing is true."

tube g must be made considerably less than half the length of the tube G in order to sound the octave to it. Their division of the tubes into 6 律 and 6 呂, moreover, has complicated the subject, and thrown around it the perplexity of their reasonings about the *yin* and *yang* principles. 八音克諧,—see p. 13. 神人以和,—on this the 'Daily Explanation' says:—'The instruments thus in harmony being played at the sacrifices to Heaven and in the ancestral temple, the spirits are all harmonious; being played in the court, men are all harmonious:—what then must be the power of music in teaching our youth!' 夔曰, 云云,—see Bk. IV. 9. There can be no doubt the reply of K'wei is out of place here,—appears here in fact from some displacement of the ancient tablets.

P. 25. *Appointment of Lung to be minister of Communication.* We are in ignorance of Lung just as we are of K'wei. 堲=疾, 'to detest.' In the 'Historical Records' we have instead of it 畏忌, 'to fear and suspect.' 讒說—'slanderous speeches.' The Taouist Chwang defines 讒 as 'the liking to speak of the evil of others' (漁父篇). 殄=絶, 'to subvert.' 'to make an end of;' 殄行 (3d tone) = 'to subvert the conduct.' The question arises,—Is the conduct subverted that of the individuals themselves? or that of others, so that this clause is an appendix to the former, a description of the object of the slander? Gan-kwŏ and Ma Yung take the latter view, and are followed by the modern interpreters (the 'Daily Explanation' expands—傷絶善人君子所行之事, 'they injure and keep out of view the actions of good and superior men'). Ch'ing takes the former view and explains the two phrases 讒說 and 殄行 by a reference to the words of Ana. XII. xx. 6.—'assuming the appearance of virtue, while opposing it in conduct.' This appears to me the more natural interpretation,—to take the clauses as coordinate. 師=衆, as in Can. of Yaou, p. 12, but does it mean 'all the people,' or 'all those in office'? Ch'ing restricts it to 'ministers' (衆臣); we may take it more generally. 納言 is the name of the office, which may be translated—'Communicator of words.' It is perhaps easier to describe the office, than to translate the terms, or those of the sentence below—出納朕命. Gan-kwŏ says:—'納言 was the officer of the throat and tongue. Hearing the words of those below, he brought them before the sovereign; receiving the words of the sovereign, he proclaimed them to those below:—in either case there was required fidelity' (納言喉舌之官,聽下言,納于上,受上言,宣于下,必以信). Here at the end of Shun's appointment of ministers, Woo Ch'ing has the following note:—'Shun gave nine commissions, of which four were new appointments:—those of Yu, Suy, Yih, and the baron E. On occasion of *their* wish to decline the appointments, he confirmed five ministers in their old offices:—Tseih, Sëĕ, Kaou-yaou, K'wei, and Lung. Some have thought, from the words "I appoint" standing before the designation of these two last, that they likewise were new men. But this is wrong. When the emperor asks advice and then appoints, and the designate makes obeisance and wishes to decline, the appointment is new. When he appoints without asking advice, and the designate does not make obeisance nor wish to decline, there is only a confirmation. Can we suppose that K'wei and Lung would not have made obeisance, on first receiving their appointments? The commentator Wang Yen (王炎) has observed:—"The General Regulator was the head of all the ministers, and therefore Yu first received his appointment. The nourishment of the people is the beginning of royal government, and therefore the minister of agriculture was next appointed. When people are well off, instruction may be given them; hence there followed the appointment of Sëĕ. Punishment

惟允。○帝廿六節曰、咨、汝二十有二人、欽哉、惟時亮天功。○三廿七節載考績、三考、黜陟幽明、庶績咸熙、分北三苗。○舜廿八節

26 The emperor said, "Ah! you, twenty and two men, be reverent, and so shall you aid *me* in performing the service of Heaven."

27 Every three years there was an examination of merits, and after three examinations the undeserving were degraded, and the deserving promoted. By this arrangement the duties of all the departments were fully discharged. The people of San-meaou were discriminated and separated.

is intended to help instruction; hence followed the appointment of Kaou-yaou. Workers make implements and utensils for the benefit of the people:—this is the conclusion of government; hence Suy was appointed, and so far as men are concerned, the organization of the government was pretty well complete. Shun then proceeded to care for the grass and trees, for birds and beasts, appointing Suy. This done, the time came for the cultivation and development of ceremonial observances and music. These two things are the grand consummation of government, by which service is done to Heaven, to earth, and to spirits, and all things are brought to harmony and order; hence there were the appointments of E and K'wei:—of E first and then of K'wei, because music must be a sequel to the ceremonial observances. With music the work of government might be supposed to be ended, but notwithstanding the abundance of able ministers, let slanderous dividers once go abroad, and the men of worth and ability would be made restless, and what had been done would come to nought. On this account the appointment of Lung was made last of all. The design of this was the same with that of Shun's concluding charge to the pastors of the twelve provinces, that they should *make it hard for the artful;* and with Confucius' concluding lesson on the administration of a country—*to keep far from specious talkers.*" (Ana. XV. xx. 6).

P. 26. *General address to all his principal ministers.* 汝二十有二人,—Who were these 22 men? There ought to be but one answer to the question,—that which we find in Ts'ae Ch'in. They were the chief of the four Mountains, the twelve presidents of the provinces, and the nine ministers, whose appointments or confirmations have been related. The old interpreters, thinking that the 四岳 were four individuals, mistook the meaning. Ch'ing is obliged to leave them out altogether, and says the 22 were the 12 presidents of provinces, with Yu, Suy, Yih, Pih-e, K'wei, Lung, Shoo-ts'eang, Pih-yu, Choo-hoo, and Heung-pe; and Wang Ming-shing argues, in his 後案, that this view should not be changed! Gan-kwŏ and Ma Yung leave out Tseih, Sëĕ, and Kaou-yaou, and say the 22 men were Yu, Suy, Yih, Pih-e, K'wei, Lung, the 12 presidents of provinces, and the four ministers called 四岳. This view is followed by Keang Shing. 惟時亮天功,—時=是; 亮 as in p 17. Sze-ma Ts'een has 敬哉惟是相事天.

P. 27. *Institution of examinations; and further discipline of the Meaouites.* 黜陟幽明, *i.e.*, 黜幽陟明; 幽, 'the dark,'=the idle and undeserving; 明 is the opposite of this. 庶績咸熙,—see Can. of Yaou, p. 8. 分北三苗,—北 (read *p'ei*, 3d tone), 'to separate.' Keang Shing would read it *pĕĕ*, contending, that the original character was two 八, one over the other, the old form of 別. In what year the Meaou were thus dealt with we cannot tell. Wang Suh thinks that after the discipline of them mentioned p. 12, those who were left in their original seat again proved insubordinate, and another separation and banishment of them had to be made.

CH. VI. SUMMARY OF SHUN'S LIFE; AND DEATH. There is no dispute about the first clause; all allow that Shun, when he was thirty, was called to employment by Yaou, and the testing of him began. The reading of 三十

生三十徵庸、三十在位、五十載、陟方乃死。○

28 VI. In the thirtieth year of his life Shun was called to employment. Thirty years he was on the throne *with Yaou*. Fifty years after, he went on high and died.

在位 is much disputed. Ch'ing read 二十, making Shun's life to have amounted altogether to 100 years. And there *was* a reading of 二十 for 三十. Wang Ming-shing and Twan Yuh-tsae adduce many proofs of it. But on p. 13 we saw that the 28 years there could only be understood of the years during which Shun acted as Yaou's vicegerent. Adding to them the three years of his testing, p. 3, we should have 31 years; but one of those three may naturally be considered the year in which he was called from his obscurity. We shall thus have the 三十 of the text. As to the 50 years on the throne, these must include the two years (three, including the year in which Yaou died) of mourning for Yaou, when opportunity was given for the accession of Yaou's son. Altogether then, Shun was on the throne, with universal recognition, 48 years, his life extended over 110 years; and he died B.C. 2202. Gan-kwŏ, not deducting the two years after Yaou's death, makes Shun's age 112.

陟方乃死,—I have translated this clause after Ts'ae Ch'in, who relies chiefly on the usage of the 'Bamboo Annals,' where 陟 is used of the death of the emperors, and = 崩. The 方 after it is a difficulty, and so is the 且死, for the going on high should be mentioned after the death, and not before it. Gan-kwŏ, to avoid these difficulties, takes 方 in the sense of region, and says 昇道南方巡狩死, 'he went up the way towards the southern region, on a tour of inspection, and died.' Maou K'e-ling argues for this view; but it is inadmissible as an explanation of the text of this paragraph. He builds principally on the account of Shun's life and death in the 'Historical Records.' It is there said:—'When Shun was 20, he was heard of for his filial piety; at 30, he was promoted by Yaou; at 50 he undertook the administration of affairs for Yaou, and when he was 58, Yaou died. At 61, he took his place, and occupied the imperial throne 39 years, after which, being on a tour of inspection in the south, he died in the wilderness of Ts'ang-woo (蒼梧), and was buried at Kew-e (九疑) of Keang-nan, in Ling-ling.' Ling-ling is the name of a district in the pres. dep. of Yung-chow (永州) in Ho-nan, where they still show, or pretend to show, the grave of Shun. Mencius (IV. Pt. II. i.) gives another name to the place of his death.

THE BOOKS OF YU.

BOOK II. THE COUNSELS OF THE GREAT YU.

大禹謨

一節 曰若稽古、大禹曰文命、敷于四海、祗承于帝。○

1 I. On examining into antiquity, we find that the great Yu was called Wăn-ming. Having arranged and divided *the empire*, all to the four seas, in reverent response to the *inquiries of the former* emperor,

TITLE OF THE BOOK.—大禹謨, 'The Counsels of the great Yu.' The Books of the Shoo have been arranged in six classes, according to the nature of their subject-matter. Of those classes the 'Counsels' form the second, containing the wise remarks and suggestions of high officers on the subject of government. In one of the Writings ascribed to K'ung Foo (孔鮒), Confucius is made to say—'In the Counsels of the great Yu, I see the loyalty and diligence, the service and merits of Yu' (孔叢子, 卷一, 論書篇) 謨=謀, 'plans;' but it is implied that the plans are the result of deliberation. Heu Shin defines it 'plans of deliberation;' and his expounder adds:—'The thoughtful consideration of a subject, and the description of a plan in consequence, is what is indicated by 謨.' Yu, it has been seen in the prev. Book, was the son of K'wăn, the chief of Tsung. According to Sze-ma Ts'een, K'wăn was a son of the emp. Chuen-heuh, so that Yu was the great-great-grandson of Hwang-te. He is here called 'the Great,' 'because of the greatness of his merit' (Gan-kwŏ),—the services he rendered on occasion of the great inundations which devastated the empire.

Into the question which is agitated about the GENUINENESS of the Book I do not here enter; the reader is referred to what has been said on the subject in the *proleg.*, and to the remarks that will be found on particular passages in the annotations. The 'Counsels of Yu' were a portion of the Shoo edited by Confucius. The preface, and many references to it in other books, sufficiently prove this. It was not among the portions recovered and taught by Fuh-shang, but it was among those recovered by K'ung Gan-kwŏ. In the words of Ts'ae Chin:—'The modern text wants it; the ancient text has it' (今文無, 古文有).

CONTENTS. The Book may be divided into three chapters:—the first, embracing 8 parr., and containing various counsels of Yu and Yih on principles and methods of good govt.; the second, parr. 9–19, occupied with Shun's resigning the administration of the govt. to Yu, and cont. many sage observations and maxims; the third, parr. 20, 21, describing Yu's measures against the people of Meaou. The *style* differs from that of the Canons. It is sententious as befits the subject: and we observe in it a tendency to fall into rhythm.

CH. I. YU; HIS COUNSELS AND THOSE OF YIH ON GOVERNMENT; COMPLIMENTS BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND THOSE MINISTERS. P. 1. *The achievement of Yu, and occasion of delivering his*

二節曰、后克艱厥后、臣克艱厥臣、政乃乂、黎民敏德。○帝三節曰、俞、允若茲、嘉言罔攸伏、野無遺賢、萬邦咸寧、稽于衆、舍己從人、不虐無告、不廢困窮、惟

2 he said, "If the sovereign can realize the difficulty of his sovereignship, and the minister can realize the difficulty of his ministry, government will be well ordered, and the people will sedulously
3 seek to be virtuous." The emperor said, "Yes; let this really be the case, and good words will nowhere lie hidden; no men of virtue and talents will be neglected away from court; and the myriad States will all enjoy repose. *But* to ascertain the views of all; to give up one's own opinion and follow that of others; to refrain from oppressing the helpless; and not to neglect the straitened and poor:—it

counsels. 曰若稽古,大禹曰文命. Gan-kwŏ, followed by Ts'ae Ch'in, takes 文命 as two nouns, the subject of the verb 敷,—'his accomplished virtue and the lessons of his teaching were spread abroad to the four seas,' according to what is said in the last par. of the 'Tribute of Yu.' The commeu. Soo Shih (蘇軾), or Soo Tung-po, moreover, asks to what 敷于四海 can be referred, if 文命 be taken as the name of Yu. The first words of the 'Tribute of Yu' enable us to answer the question,—禹敷土, 'Yu divided the land.' To the same effect, in the She-king, Pt. IV., in the 4th of the Praise-songs of Shang, we have 禹敷下土方, where 敷 is explained by 治, 'to regulate.' The meaning therefore may very well be as I have given it in the translation. 四海,—see Bk. I. p. 13. 祇(=敬)承于帝,—'he reverently received—took it up—from the emperor.' Wang K'ang-t'ang (王肯堂, Ming dyn.) says:—'The emp. with his love of questioning and delight in excellence addressed his inquiries to his minister, who reverently responded to his sovereign, laying on him what was difficult and setting forth what was excellent.'

P. 2. *Good govt. depends on sovereign and minister not shrinking from the difficulties of their position.* Comp. Con. Ana., XII. xv. 后=君, 'the sovereign,' 'ruler.' 敏, 'active,' 'alert,' here as a verb, = 'to follow earnestly.' It is better to take the char. thus, than to interpret,—'will quickly be virtuous,' though earnest endeavours will speedily attain their object.

P. 3. *Shun's response to Yu's sentiment, and disclaimer of such merit in himself.* 允,=信, 'truly.' 攸=所;罔攸, 'nowhere.' 'Good words will nowhere lie hidden,' *i.e.*, all capable of giving lessons of good will find their way to notice. 野, 'the wilds,' 'the fields,' = away from court. 'The myriad States will enjoy repose,' being ruled and directed by the wise and good. 舍己從人,—see Men., II. Pt. I. viii. 3. 不虐無告,不廢困窮,—comp. in 莊子,天道篇,—堯曰,吾不敖無告,不廢窮民. It is argued that the text is forged from these passages. I cannot but draw the opposite conclusion. In the chapter of Mencius, especially, he is evidently quoting from various books, in no case specifying their names or sections; the 2d par.,—禹聞善言則拜,—is taken from the Counsels of Kaou-yaou, p. 1;—shall we say that Book of the Shoo is also forged? 惟帝時克,—the emperor is Yaou; 時=是; Ying-tă paraphrases:—

帝時克。○益[四節]曰、都、帝德廣運、乃聖乃神、乃武乃文、皇天眷命、奄有四海、爲天下君。○禹[五節]曰、惠迪吉、從逆凶、惟影響。○益[六節]曰、吁。戒哉、儆

4 was only the emperor *Yaou* who could attain to this." Yih said, "Oh! your virtue, O emperor, is vast and incessant. It is sagely, spiritual, awe-inspiring, and adorned with all accomplishments. Great Heaven regarded you with its favouring decree, and suddenly you obtained all within the four seas, and became sovereign of the empire."

5 Yu said, "Accordance with the right is good fortune; the following of evil is bad:—the shadow and the echo." Yih said,
6 "Alas! be cautious! Admonish yourself to caution, when there

惟帝堯於是能爲此行, 'it was only Yaou in these matters who could act thus.'

P. 4. *Yih repudiates Shun's disclaimer, and celebrates his virtue.* I can by no means agree with Gan-kwŏ and Ch'in, that the 帝 in 帝德 refers to Yaou. Ch'in observes, indeed, that to take 帝 as some do, as referring to Shun himself, would make the whole plain, and is in harmony with the style of 'The Counsels,' 帝 in the mouth of Shun being Yaou, but 帝 in the mouth of Shun's ministers being Shun. He decides against it, however, because in the simple honesty of those early times Yih would not have praised Shun so to his face! But this is no more than what Kaou-yaou does in this same Book, p 12. 都,—see on Can. of Yaou, p. 3. Choo He here says that 都 meaning the capital, the place where superior men assemble, when used as an exclamation, it conveys the idea of admiration (see the 集說). 運, 'to revolve,' here = 行之不息, 'to move without ceasing.' 乃聖乃神,—see Men. VII. Pt. II. xxv. 7, 8. 乃武乃文.—as the civil (文) always takes precedence in China of the military (武), it is thought necessary to note here that the terms are inverted from the necessity of the rhythm (note in the 集傳). 眷, 'to look round to,'—with the idea of kindly regard. 奄 is taken by Gan-kwŏ as = 同, of which I can't make sense. Ch'in explains it by 盡, 'entirely.' 'the whole of.' The meaning which I have foll. seems more natural; and the rise of Shun might very well be thus described. In the 呂氏春秋, 十三卷 (near the end), we find a portion of this par. quoted from 'the Books of Hea,'—夏書曰, 天子之德廣運, 乃神乃武乃文. Wang Ming-shing argues that the par. of the text was made from this, the maker inserting 乃聖 before 乃神, to complete the rhythm and flow of the whole passage. But is it not more natural to suppose that Leu quotes the Classic incorrectly?

P. 5. *The certain connection between the right and happiness, between the wrong and misery.* 惠=順, 'to follow,' 'to accord with,' as in Bk. II. p. 17. 迪, 'to advance,' 'to go forward,' and here opposed to 逆, 'going backwards,' 'rebelliousness,'=' the right way.' 惟影響 and not 如影響 is an emphatic way of representing the truth of the two prec. statements; so, to say 'is good fortune,' rather than 'leads to good fortune' is not only a literal rendering, but is necessary to give exactly Yu's sentiment. 'We are not to look,' says Ch'in King (陳經, Sung dyn.) 'for good fortune or bad, beyond the complacency or displacency of the mind.' Yu's object by this remark was to deepen the impression of his previous observation.

P. 6. *Exhortation founded on Yu's proposition.* 吁,—see Can. of Yaou, p. 10. 儆

戒無虞、罔失法度、罔遊于逸、罔淫于樂、任賢勿貳、去邪勿疑、疑謀勿成、百志惟熙、罔違道以干百姓之譽、罔咈百姓以從己之欲、無怠無荒、四夷來王。○七節禹曰、於帝念哉、德惟善政、政在

seems to be no reason for anxiety. Do not fail in due attention to the laws and ordinances. Do not find your enjoyment in indulgent ease. Do not go to excess in pleasure. In your employment of men of worth, let none come between you and them. Put away evil without hesitation. Do not try to carry out doubtful plans. Study that all your purposes may be with the light of reason. Do not go against what is right to get the praise of the people. Do not oppose the people to follow your own desires. *Attend to these things* without idleness or omission, and from the four quarters the barbarous tribes will come and acknowledge your sovereignty."

7 Yu said, "Oh! think *of these things*, O emperor. Virtue is seen in the goodness of the government, and the government is tested

(Choo He says the original read. was 敬) 戒無虞,—'be reverently cautious where there is no calculating,' no forecasting, *i.e.*, no occasion for anxiety. 法度,—not only 'the laws of State and ordinances of govt.,' but all the rules for the regulation of conduct, be it even in eating and drinking (see a note in the 集傳). 淫, 'to go beyond,'—'like water overflowing and not returning.' 貳,—'in employing men of worth, to let mean men come between you and them is called 貳' (集傳). 百志惟熙,—'your hundred movements of mind,—let them be bright.' It is observed by She Lan (時瀾, Sung dyn.):—'The movements of the sages are accordant with reason. Whithersoever their spirits and mental exercises carry them, these are brightly intelligent and great; hence it is said 百志惟熙' (集說). 來王,—the wild tribes outside the provinces did not come regularly to court, but every chieftain of a tribe came once, on his taking the rule, to acknowledge the imperial supremacy; this was called 來王. So it was in the Chow dyn. See a note by Ch'in Sze-k'ae in the 集傳.

In a pass. in the 國策, the clauses 任賢勿貳, 去邪勿疑 are quoted from the Shoo in an inverted order;—a proof, it is said, that the pres. 'Counsels' is a forged compilation. But such arguments have no force. Irregular quotations from the acknowledged Books are not uncommon. The clause 無怠無荒 is found in the Books of the After Han, 卷五十二, near the end of the sketch of 崔駰, only we have 殆 for 怠. But there are other passages of the classics in the same sketch, without any specific acknowled. See Maou K'e-ling and Wang Ming-shing, *in loc.*

P. 7. *Further exhortations and details by Yu on the subject of government.* Choo He observes that parr. 2—6 were all one conversation, but whether what follows was spoken at the same time cannot be known. P. 7 is gen. connected with the prec. in the manner indicated in the transl., but the 念哉 may = 'think of

養民水火
金木土穀、
惟修正德、
利用厚生、
惟和九功
惟敘九敘
惟歌戒之
用休董之
用威勸之
以九歌俾

by its nourishing of the people. There are water, fire, metal, wood, earth, and grain,—these must be duly regulated; there are the rectification of *the people's* virtue, the conveniences of life, and the securing abundant means of sustentation,—these must be harmoniously attended to. When the nine services *thus indicated* have been orderly accomplished, let that accomplishment be celebrated by songs. Caution the people with gentle words; correct them with the majesty of *law;* stimulate them with the songs on those nine subjects,—in order that your success may never suffer diminution."

what I am now going to say.' 於 (*woo*),—as in Can. of Yaou, p. 2 德惟善政,—惟 connects the two parts of the clause; but I have spoken before of the difficulty in determining exactly the force of the particle. 'Virtue—just *is* good government;'—this is expanded in the Daily Explanations:—'Virtue does not exist ineffectively in one's own mind merely. It should be seen in the conduct of affairs, making the govt. entirely good, and then 'it is real virtue.' Now follows a description of good govt. as consisting in the nourishment of the people,—not the bare support of their bodies, but the sustenance and development of their whole being. We must wish, however, that the description were given in plainer terms.

First, to get food for the people, water, fire, metal, wood, earth [see V. Bk. IV. 5, which purports to be part of Yu's teaching], and grain must be regulated. The grain is the principal thing here, and the result of the whole process of regulation. Fire acting on metal melts it, and metal implements may be fashioned. These act on wood, and wooden implements are made. We have now the plough, &c., to act upon the earth, and by-and-by there will be the grain. But what use of water has been made in this process? Here is a difficulty. Ch'in Sze-k'ae says, 'Water acts on fire—subdues it, makes it subservient—for cookery'!

Second, food being provided, govt. goes on to 正德,—not, as Gan-kwo would make it, the rectification by the ruler of his virtue as an example to the people, but the getting the people to be virtuous—fathers kind, sons filial, &c. To this succeeds 利用, 'the facilitating of things used,' attained by the promotion of arts and commerce; and also 厚生, 'the enrichment of living,' abundant comforts and luxuries. These three great objects, it is said, 惟和, are to be harmonious,' to be attained by the measures appropriate to each, without any collision between them.

Third, the aid of song is to be called in, 九功,—'the nine services,' referring to the management of water, of fire, &c., and the other things just detailed. 叙 = the 修 and 和 above. 董 = 督責, 'to urge and reprove.'

In the 左傳, 文七年, we find—夏書曰, 戒之用休, 董之用威, 勸之以九歌, 勿使壞, 九功之德皆可歌也, 謂之九歌, 六府三事, 謂之九功, 水火金木土穀, 謂之六府, 正德, 利用, 厚生, 謂之三事, 義而行之謂之德禮, 云云. Here, it is said, are four clauses quoted from the Shoo, and then the author of the Chronicle gives his own explanations of their meaning, which the compiler of the present Book has taken and fashioned into part of the classic. I come to a different conclusion. There is so much quotation, and so much explanation;—and the writer of the 左傳 is fond of such a style. But the explanation would be absurd, if it were not founded on other passages of the Classic. To my mind the 左傳 testifies to the whole of this paragraph and the next.

勿壞。○八節帝曰、俞、地平天成、六府三事允治、萬世永賴、時乃功。○九節帝曰、格汝禹、朕宅帝位、三十有三載、耄期、倦于勤、汝十節惟不怠、總朕師。○禹曰、朕德罔克、民不依、皋陶邁種德、德乃降、黎民

8 The emperor said, "Yes. The earth is *now* reduced to order, and *the influences of* heaven operate with effect; those six magazines and three businesses are all truly regulated, so that a myriad generations may perpetually depend on them:—this is your merit."
9 II. The emperor said, "Come, you, Yu. I have occupied the
imperial throne for thirty and three years. I am between ninety
and a hundred years old, and the laborious duties weary me. Do
0 you, eschewing all indolence, take the leadership of my people." Yu
said, "My virtue is not equal *to the position;* the people will not repose
in me. *But there is* Kaou-yaou, with vigorous activity sowing

P. 8. *Complimentary response of Shun.* Yu has urged Shun to a certain style of govt., and Shun responds that the possibility of its realization was all owing to him. 地平,—this refers to Yu's labours on the inundated provinces. 天成,—'Heaven completes.' The meaning is that there could now be seed-time and harvest. Gan-kwŏ foolishly says'—五行序曰成, 'the five elements acting in order is what is called 成'; and Ying-tă more foolishly expands the 'five elements' into the spirits of the five elements' (五行之神). We find this sentence quoted as from the 'Books of Hea' in the 左傳,僖,二十四年. 六府,—'six treasuries' (see Con. Ana. XI. xiii). Those are the water, fire, &c., of the prec. par., the six treasuries' or magazines of nature. 三事,—three businesses,' *i.e.*, the rectification of the people's virtue, &c. 時=是, 'this.' 乃=汝 'you.' This par. prepares the way for the proposal in the next.

CH. II. YU IS CALLED TO ACT AS SHUN'S VICEGERENT, AND IS OBLIGED UNWILLINGLY TO ACCEPT THE DIGNITY. P. 9. *Shun on the ground of his age requests Yu to relieve him of the toils of government.* Ninety years of age is called 耄; a century, 期. Shun describing himself by both the terms, we are to understand that he was between 90 and 100, which, indeed, must have been the case after he had been on the throne 33 years. 倦于勤,—Leu Tsoo-hëem (呂祖謙, Sung dyn.) says, 止倦於勤而已,非倦於道. This is exactly our distinction;—'weary *in* the service, not weary *of* it.' 總朕師,—'gather together' (=take the lead of) 'my multitudes' (including both ministers and people). The language differs from that of Yaou to Shun—汝陟帝位, Bk. I. p. 3, because Yaou wished then to resign the throne altogether.

P. 10. *Yu wishes to decline the proposal in favour of Kaou-yaou.* 邁種德,—邁=勵, giving 'the idea of bold movement and strong action;' 種德 is 'to sow virtue,' to exhibit it so as to awaken responsive feeling in others. 念茲在茲,—in transl. these difficult sentences I have followed the view given of them in the 集傳. A difft. view was taken by Gan-kwŏ:—'If you would think of this (=any) man (*i.e.*, to employ him), it must be on the ground of this (=some)

懷之、帝念哉、念
兹在兹、釋兹在
兹、名言兹在兹、
允出兹在兹、惟
帝念功、○（十一節）帝曰、
皐陶、惟兹臣庶、
罔或干予正、汝
作士、明于五刑、
以弼五教、期于
予治、刑期于無

abroad his virtue, which has descended on the black-haired people, till they cherish him in their hearts. O emperor, think of him! When I think of him, my mind rests on him, *as the man for this office;* when I would put him out of my thoughts, they still rest on him; when I name and speak of him, my mind rests on him *for this;* the sincere outgoing of my thoughts about him is that he is the man. O emperor, think of his merits!"

11 The emperor said, "Kaou-yaou, that of these my ministers and people, hardly one is found to offend against the regulations of my government, is owing to your being the minister of Crime, and intelligent in the use of the five punishments to assist the *inculcation of the* five duties, with a view to the perfection of my government, and

merit; if you would not employ him, it must be on the ground of some fault.' As to his expl. of the next clauses, I can really not get hold of it with sufficient definiteness to attempt to describe it. The whole passage from 念兹 to the end is found quoted in the 左傳, 襄, 二十一年, and an explanation of it different both from Gan-kwŏ's and from Ch'in's, but so vague that I cannot adopt it.

The words of the par., 皐陶邁種德, 德乃降, are also found in the 左傳, 莊, 八年, and it is argued that this portion of the pres. 'Counsels of Yu' was evidently plagiarized from that place. We have Too Yu's (杜預, Tsin dyn.) commentary on the 左傳, acc. to which the words of the Shoo King are only 皐陶邁種德, and the 德乃降 are an observation of duke Chwang. Here, it is said, the ignorance of the forger has betrayed him. He found a quotation from the Shoo, and he incorporated it with his compilation, but he incorporated with it what was not a portion of the Shoo. But it may be that it was Too Yu who was in error here. He had not seen the 'old text' of Gan-kwŏ; he had not seen our present Book; and from his own reading of the 左傳 he supposed the quotation from the Shoo terminated at 德, and not at 降. From a study of the 傳, I am persuaded he was in error. Looking at the whole passage where the quotation occurs, I conclude that 德乃降 is a portion of the 'Books of Hea,' whether 降 be read *heang*, or *keang*, about which there is some unnecessary dispute.

Parr. 11—13. *Shun, not listening to Yu's recommendation of Kaou-yaou to be his vicegerent, yet praises the latter for his merits as minister of Crime. Kaou-yaou disclaims the merit, and attributes it to the emperor.* 11. 罔或干予正,—罔或, 'none, perhaps,' = our 'hardly any'; 干 = 犯, 'to offend against,' diff. from its use in p. 6; 正 is by Ying-tă expounded 正道, 'right ways,' but it is better with Ch'in to make it = 政, 'government,' 'regulations of govt.' 期, in both instances, has the force of 'aiming at.' The 集傳 defines well:—期先事取必之謂, 'anticipating the issue beforehand.' Gan-kwŏ

刑、民協于中、時乃功、
懋哉。○十二節皐陶曰、帝德
罔愆、臨下以簡、御衆
以寬、罰弗及嗣、賞延
于世、宥過無大、刑故
無小、罪疑惟輕、功疑
惟重、與其殺不辜、寧
失不經、好生之德、洽
于民心、茲用不犯于
有司。○十三節帝曰、俾予從

that through punishment there may come to be no punishments, but the people accord with the *path of the* Mean. *Continue to* be strenu-
12 ous." Kaou-yaou said, "Your virtue, O emperor, is faultless. You condescend to your ministers with a liberal ease; you preside over the multitude with a generous forbearance. Punishments do not extend to the criminal's heirs; while rewards reach to after generations. You pardon inadvertent faults, however great; and punish purposed crimes, however small. In cases of doubtful crimes, you deal with them lightly; in cases of doubtful merit, you prefer the high estimation. Rather than put to death an innocent person, you will run the risk of irregularity and error. This life-loving virtue has penetrated the minds of the people, and this is why they do not render themselves liable to be punished by your
13 officers." The emperor said, "To enable me to follow after and

badly takes it in the first case as = 當. 期于予治,—'aiming at my govt.' The 治 is in the 3d tone, with an intensive meaning, as in the transl. 民協于中,—Wang Ming-shing quotes from the 韓詩外傳:—聽獄執中者,皐陶也,故曰民協于中. 時乃功,—as in p. 8. 12. 臨 and 御 are both terms of imperial application. 'When a superior visits an inferior, 臨 designates the act'; 'wherever the son of Heaven stops is called 御' (see the Dict.). The diff. between them is indicated by the employment of them in the text. 臨 describ. Shun in his relation to his ministers (下), and 御 in his relation to the people. 嗣 and 世 are here synonyms, = 子孫, 'descendants.' 過 is equal to 眚, Bk. p. 11; 故 is crimes done 'on purpose.' 失不經,—'to fail by being not regular,' not according to the standard. 茲用 = 所以, 'therefore,' 'it is hereby that.' 有司,—'the officers,' 'an official;' see Ana. XX. ii 3, *et al.* I cannot but think that Kaou Yaou intended himself by the phrase, and feel inclined to translate:—'this is why they do not render themselves liable to be punished by *me, who am but* an officer.'

In the 左傳,襄,二十六年, we find quoted from the 'Books of Hea'—與其殺不辜,寧失不經. 13. Shun reiterates his sense of Kaou-yaou's merits. 惟

欲以治、四方風動、惟乃之休。○十四節帝曰、來禹、洚水儆予、成允成功、惟汝賢、克勤于邦、克儉于家、不自滿假、惟汝賢、汝惟不矜、天下莫與汝爭能、汝惟不伐、天下莫與汝爭功、予懋乃德、嘉乃

obtain what I desire in my government, the people everywhere responding as if moved by the wind;—this is your excellence."

14 The emperor said, "Come, Yu. The inundating waters filled me with dread, when you realized all that you represented, and accomplished your task,—thus showing your superiority to other men. Full of toilsome earnestness in the service of the State, and sparing in your expenditure on your family; and this without being full of yourself or elated; you *again* show your superiority to other men. Without any prideful presumption, there is no one in the empire to contest with you the palm of ability; without any boasting, there is no one in the empire to contest with you the claim of me-

乃之休,—乃=汝; 休=美, 'excellence.' In the Works of the philosopher Seun, 大畧篇, we find the first part of this par. with a slight change. He says—舜曰, 維予從欲而治.

Parr. 14–19. *Shun returns to insist on Yu's becoming his viceregent; delivers various admonitions to him; disallows his repeated attempt to decline the dignity; and finally Yu undertakes the government.* 14. 來禹, 洚水儆予,—see in Men. III. Pt. II. ix. 3, 書曰洚水警余. Ts'ae Ch'in says the old text read 降; and according to that char., Gan-kwŏ explains—'the waters flowing down.' No doubt the text of Mencius has prevailed to change 降 into 洚. 成允成功 is literally—'you accomplished sincerity, you accomplished merit.' I have translated according to the expansion of the meaning in the 集傳. There can be no doubt that by the 'merit' which Yu accomplished is intended his management of the inundating waters. The passage is quoted in the 左傳,襄六年, and explained in harmony with the case which it is adduced to illustrate:—'when one's good faith is established, he can accomplish his services.' 汝賢=汝賢於人, 'you are superior to, you surpass others;' see this meaning of 賢 in Ana. XI. xv., *et al.* 克勤于邦, 克儉于家,—comp. Ana. VIII. xxi. 假,—in the sense of 大, 'great.' 自假,—'making one's-self great,' being elated. 矜 is defined 自賢, 'making one's-self superior,' and 伐, 自功, 'arrogating to one's-self merit.' There is something like the four clauses beginning 汝惟不矜 in Seun's 君子篇, and also in Laou-tsze's 道德經; but we need not assume that the pres. text was compiled from those passages. 懋 is properly 'to urge,' it may be to urge another, or to exert one's-self, and Ying-tă makes the meaning here—'I urge your virtue.' But this is quite unsuitable, and hence Choo He says that 懋 and 楙 were anciently interchanged, and so understands it in

丕績、天之曆數在汝躬、汝終陟元后。○ 十五節 人心惟危、道心惟微、惟精惟一、允執厥

rit. I see how great is your virtue, how admirable your vast achievements. The determinate appointment of Heaven rests on your person; you must eventually ascend *the throne of* the great sovereign.
15 The mind of man is restless,—prone *to err*; its affinity for the *right* way is small. Be discriminating, be undivided, that you may sin-

the sense of 'great,' 'to consider great.' 天之曆數在汝躬,—see Con. Ana., XX. i. 1, where this and other parts of the pres. parr. are given as having been spoken by Yaou to Shun, though it is added that Shun used the same language in giving charge to Yu. 15. *Warning on the proneness of man to err.* Medhurst translates the first two clauses:—'The carnal mind is treacherous, while the virtuous feeling exists only in a small degree.' Gaubil says:—'The heart of man is full of shoals *(ecueils)*; the heart of Taou is simple and thin *(delie)*': and adds in a note:—'The heart of man is here opposed to that of Taou. The discourse is of two hearts,—one disengaged (?) from passions, the other simple and very pure. Taou expresses the right reason. It is very natural to think that the idea of a God, pure, simple, and Lord of men, is the source of these words.' Neither translation is good, and the note is altogether fanciful. The first clause does, indeed, suggest to a Christian reader of the classic what is said in the New Testament of the 'carnal mind;' but that phrase is not the correspondency of 人心. 危, moreover, is not 'treacherous,' but 'insecure,' 'tottering,' 'threatening to fall.' When the statement in this clause is taken in connection with that in the next, we have the idea of 'the carnal mind.' 道心 is, indeed, a difft. expression; and we seem to want in 道 some entity or being corresponding to 人. But that cannot be. The 道心 is still the 人心, the mind of man in its relation to the path of duty. The two clauses together tell us very truly that the mind of man, uncertain, unstable in what is good, is ever more likely, without a careful self-government, to fall into the way of evil.

Ying-tă, in paraphrasing Gan-kwŏ, seems to take 人 as = 民, as if Shun were cautioning Yu only about the proclivities of the *people*. But the term is of universal application. Choo He and other philosophers of the Sung dyn. have written much on this text. One of the scholars Ch'ing says:—'The heart of man which is restless denotes the desires of man; the reason to which it has little affinity is heavenly principle' (集說). Choo He says:—'The mouth, the nose, the ears, the eyes, and four limbs all belong to one's own body; they are the things which are of one's self, and are not like the conviction of right and duty (道), which belongs to one with all others. Thus we have at once the root of selfishness, and there is a proneness to it moreover; yet this is not in itself bad;—it is only the root of what is bad.' 'Take what is here called the 人心, and regulate and control (收之) it, and you have the 道心; take the 道心, and leave it uncared for (放之), and you have the 人心.' Putting the question, whether it could be said of the mind of the sages, that it was also restless and prone to err, he replies that the affinity for the right in them completely predominated so as to rule the other. (See the 集說). 惟精惟一,—these denote the exercise of mind and force of will by which the 人心 can be kept from disturbing the 道心, and there will result in practice the strict adherence to the Mean,—the course which neither exceeds nor comes short of what is right.

允執厥中 is found in the Con. Ana., XX. i. 1. The rest of the par., it is said, was made up in the time of the Tsin dyn. by Mei Tsih from Seun K'ing's 解蔽篇. We certainly find there, and quoted as from 道經, the passages 人心之危, 道心之微. There is also much in the context about being 精於道, and 一於道. Seun K'ing has written nothing which he was not likely to do, if he had the Shoo with this passage in his mind. And, on the other hand, it must be allowed that a forger might have compiled the first three clauses of the par. from him. His quoting from the 道經 can hardly be said to be decisive in the question, for as we refer to the Bible often as 'The word of Truth,' 'The book of Truth,' the phrase in question

中。○十六節無稽之
言勿聽、弗詢
之謀勿庸。○
十七節可愛非君、可
畏非民、衆非
元后、何戴、后
非衆、罔與守
邦、欽哉、愼乃
有位、敬修其
可願、四海困

16 cerely hold fast the Mean. Do not listen to unsubstantiated words;
17 do not follow undeliberated plans. Of all who are to be loved, is
not the sovereign the chief? Of all who are to be feared, are not the people the chief? If the multitude were *without* the sovereign, whom should they sustain aloft? If the sovereign had not the multitude, there would be none to guard the country for him. Be reverent. Carefully demean yourself on the throne which you will occupy, respectfully cultivating *the virtues* which are to be desired in you. If within the four seas there be distress and poverty, your Heaven-

may denote the Shoo under a similar designation. One thing is certain,—the sentences were put together before the time of Mei Tsih, for Ma Yung in his 忠經 quoted—惟精惟一,允執厥中 (see the 尚書寃詞, *in loc.*). He who has found reason to accept these 'Counsels' as genuine on other grounds will not have his faith disturbed by the difficulties connected with this passage.

It has been impugned not only on the critical grounds which I have indicated, but as containing heretical doctrine. Wang Ch'ung-yun (王充耘) of the Yuen dyn., and Mei Tsuh (梅鷟) of the Ming, especially, have contended that the idea of human nature which it gives is quite contrary to the orthodox truth; but even Ming-shing condemns them for being carried so far by their detestation of Mei Tsih.

16. *An admonition to prudence and caution in counsel and action.* 稽=考證, 'to examine and attest.' 'Unsubstantiated words' are counsels for which no precedents can be adduced. 'Undeliberated plans' are plans that have not been submitted for general consideration. 庸=用.

The 正名篇 of Seun K'ing concludes with a sentence which would seem to have been suggested by this paragraph:—無稽之言,不見之行,不聞之謀,君子愼之.

17. *Shun intimates his determined purpose that Yu should undertake the duties of the govt., and impresses on him various important considerations.*

The first clause, 可愛非君, and the next are to be taken interrogatively. The 日講 gives them;—民所可愛,豈非君乎,君所可畏,豈非民乎. Comp. a somewhat similar construction in Mencius, II. Pt. I. ii. 22, *et al.* 元后,—as in p. 14; 元=大, 'great.' We find the clauses—衆非元后,何戴,后非衆,無與守邦, quoted from the 'Books of Hea,' in the 國語,周語,上. 戴,—'to carry on the head;' and thence, 'to respect,' 'to honour.' 愼乃有位. I take as=愼汝將有之位, and the next clause also as addressed to Yu in his own person. 可願 is very much the same as 可欲 in Men., VII. Pt. II., xxv. 3. 四海困窮,天祿永終,—see Ana. XX, i. 1. I have adhered to the translation of this sentence which I gave in the Analects. Gan-kwŏ takes quite a different view of it. 'By 困窮,' he says, 'are intended the sufferers of distress through the empire, who have none to appeal to. Let the emperor cultivate the virtues appropriate to him, and care for these, and the possession of the throne will abide for ever in his person' (天之祿籍,長終汝身). Maou K'e-ling shows that previous to the time of the 'Eastern Tsin' this was the

窮、天祿永終、惟口出好興戎、朕言不再。○十八節禹曰、枚卜功臣、惟吉之從、帝曰、禹、官占、惟先蔽志、昆命于元龜、朕志先定、詢謀僉同、鬼神其依、龜筮協從、卜不習吉。禹拜稽首、固辭。帝曰、毋、惟

conferred revenues will come to a perpetual end. It is the mouth which sends forth what is good, and gives rise to war. My words I will not repeat."

8 Yu said, "Submit the meritorious ministers one by one to the trial of divination, and let the fortunate indication be followed." The emperor said, "Yu, the officer of divination, when the mind has been made up on a subject, then refers it to the great tortoise. *Now, in this matter*, my mind was determined in the first place. I consulted and deliberated with all *my ministers and people*, and they were of one accord with me. The spirits signified their assent, the tortoise and grass having both concurred. Divination, when fortunate, may not be repeated." Yu did obeisance, with his head to the ground, and firmly declined the throne. The emperor said, "Do

received interpretation of the language while that which I have followed (and which is much more likely and natural) prevailed from that time; and he argues that if the commentary of Gan-kwŏ were indeed a forgery of Mei Tsih he would not have given the explanation which had by his time gone into disuse. 惟口出好興戎,—see 墨子, 尙同, 中. Mih quotes the words as from 'The Books of the former Kings,' a usual formula with him when quoting from the Shoo King. It is not easy to trace what connection the truth declared in them has with the other remark of Shun.

18, 19. *Yu, still wishing to decline, and to have his appointment submitted to the trial of divination, is overruled by Shun, and finally enters on the duties of the administration.* 枚卜功臣,—枚, 'the stalk of a plant;' used also for a tally in reckoning things. From this comes its use in the text—枚卜, 'one by one divine about.' 卜,—'to divine;' properly, by means of the tortoise. Here it would seem, to sig. 'to divine generally,' including both the 龜 and 筮 below. 官占,—占, composed of 卜 and 口, indicates the answer supposed to be returned to the divination. 官占 was the officer who determined this. 蔽,—in the sense of 斷, 'to determine.' 昆—in the sense of 後, 'afterwards.' Wang Shih-p'ăng (王十朋, Sung dyn.) observes, 'The ancients understood 昆 as the elder brother; he is after the father:—hence the character is explained by 後.' 命于元龜, Ts'ae Ch'in and others explain 命 by 令. He says 令之于龜, 'charges it to the tortoise.' This I do not well understand. Whatever we make of the 命, the general meaning is evidently that given in the transl. We find the whole sentence, with the alteration of one character, quoted from the Books of Hea. in the 左傳, 哀十八年,—夏書曰, 官占惟能蔽志, 昆命于元龜. 朕

汝諧。○十九節正月朔旦、受命于神宗、率百官、若帝之初。○廿節帝曰、咨禹、惟時有苗弗率、汝徂征。禹乃會群后、誓于師曰、濟濟有衆、咸聽朕命、蠢茲有苗、昏迷不恭、侮慢自賢、反道敗德、君子在野、

19 not do so. It is you who can suitably *occupy my place.*" On the first morning of the first month, *Yu* received the appointment in the *temple of the* spiritual Ancestor, and took the leading of all the officers, as had been done at the commencement of the emperor's *government.*

20 III. The emperor said, "Alas! O Yu, there is only the prince of the Meaou, who refuses obedience;—do you go and correct him." Yu on this assembled all the princes, and made a speech to the host, saying, "Ye multitudes, listen all to my orders. Stupid is this prince of Meaou, ignorant, erring, and disrespectful. Despiteful and insolent to others, he thinks that all ability and virtue are with himself. A rebel to the right, he destroys *all the obligations*

志先定,詢謀僉同,鬼神其依,龜筮協從,卜不習志,—see on Pt. V. Bk. IV., pp. 20-31. It is observed by Chin Tih-sew (眞德秀), that we have here the first occurrence in the classics of the phrase 鬼神. 19. 神宗 is explained by Ts'ae Ch'in, as being 'the ancestral temple of Yaou.' But this would be contrary to all analogy. Shun received this appointment in the temple of Yaou's ancestors, and Yu would receive his in the temple of Shun's ancestors. That Shun had established such a temple appears from Confucius' words, Doct. of the Mean, xvii. 1. Ch'in was led into the error by misunderstanding a passage in the 禮記,祭法, where Shun is spoken of as having 宗 ed Yaou;—see Maou's 尙書廣聽錄, *in loc*

This accession of Yu to the administration took place B.C. 2222.

CH. III. YU UNDERTAKES AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE MEAOUITES; ITS CONDUCT AND RESULTS. P. 20. *Yu, being charged to act against the prince of Meaou, assembles his host, and makes a speech to it.* 惟是(=時)有苗弗率,—有苗=有苗之君; such is generally the force of 有 before the name of a country throughout the Shoo. We might render the charr. literally—'the possessor of Meaou.' 率 is here=遵 or 循, 'to honour' 'to be obedient.' It has been said that as Shun had twice dealt with the Meaouites (see Bk. I., pp. 12 and 27), there was nothing left for Yu to do with them. But there is no one chapter, perhaps, in the Shoo King which is so abundantly corroborated by citations from it and references to it in books of the Chow and Han dynn. as the present;—see the 後案, *in loc.* The prince of Meaou against whom he proceeded would not be the one whom Shun banished to San-wei, but some chieftain of the whole or a portion of the tribe who had been left in their native Seat. That Yaou, Shun, and Yu were all obliged to take active measures against them only shows the restlessness of the people, and the difficulty which those sage emperors had in establishing their sway over the country.

誓于師,—'made a speech to the host.' This is the proper meaning of 誓, throughout the Shoo. Formed from 折 and 言, 'to

小人在位、民棄不保、天降之咎、肆予以爾衆士、奉辭伐罪、爾尚一乃心力、其克有勳。○三旬、廿一節 苗民逆命、益贊于禹曰、惟德動天、無遠弗屆、滿招損、謙受益、時乃天道、帝

of virtue. Superior men are kept by him in obscurity, and mean men fill all the offices. The people reject and will not protect him. Heaven is sending calamities down upon him. On this account I have assembled you, my multitude of gallant men, and bear the instructions *of the emperor* to punish his crimes. Do you proceed with united heart and strength, so shall our enterprize be crowned with success."

1 At the end of three decades, the people of Meaou continued rebellious against *the emperor's* commands, when Yih came to the help of Yu, saying, "It is virtue which moves Heaven; there is no distance to which it does not reach. Pride brings loss, and humility receives increase:—this is the way of Heaven. In the early time of the

decide' by 'words,' it often = 'an oath;' but in the classic its application is to the solemn charge laid upon his soldiers by a general, a speech delivered to a host. It is said in the 禮記, 檀弓, 下, p. 11, that 誓 were first made in the time of the Yin or Shang dyn.; but incorrectly, as the present instance is sufficient to show. The speech of Yu is given by Mih Teih, with some omissions and alterations, in the last part of his chapter on 'Universal Love.' 濟濟 is given in the Dict. as meaning 'the appearance of multitudes' (衆盛之貌), to which Ts'ae Ch'in would add, 'and of marshalled order.' 有衆 simply = 爾衆. This use of 有, in sententious, half rhythmical passages, is not uncommon. 蠢, from 'summer' and 'insects,' signifies 'insects moving about,' brought to all their activity by the summer heat. 'To be insubordinate,' and 'to be stupid,' are secondary significations. It is here a term of contempt, applied to the chief of Meaou, buzzing, heedless, as an insect. 咎 = 災, 'calamities';—this is the meaning given to the character in the 說文. 奉辭 = 奉帝之辭 'bear the words—instructions—of the emperor.' 爾尚一乃 (= 汝) 心力,—尚 is defined in the Dict., and by Ts'ae, as = 庶幾. It has the force of exhortation and entreaty. Hing Ping (邢昺) says, 'it indicates the hope of the mind' (謂心所希望). 其克有勳,—其, 'this,' *i.e.*, such union and energy being realized. 21. 苗民逆命,—Ts'ae explains, 苗頑猶不聽服, 'the *prince of* Meaou obstinately still refused to submit.' The most natural conclusion is that Yu's expedition was unsuccessful, and that the people of Meaou were too strong for him. 益贊,—Yih assisted Yu when labouring to regulate the waters. Here we find him also in Meaou. Afterwards he was his chief minister. There seems to have been a peculiar intimacy between the two. 贊 = 佐 or 助, 'to assist.' 時乃天道,—時 = 是, 'this.'

初于歷山、往于田、日號泣于旻天、于父母、負罪引慝、祗載見瞽瞍、夔夔齋慄、瞽亦允若、至諴感神、矧茲有苗。禹拜昌言曰、俞。班師振旅、帝乃誕敷文德、舞干羽于兩階、七旬、有苗格。○

emperor, when he was living by mount Leih, he went into the fields, and daily cried with tears to compassionate Heaven, and to his parents, taking to himself and bearing all guilt and evil. *At the same time*, with respectful service, he appeared before Koo-sow, looking grave and awe-struck, till Koo also became truly transformed by his example. Entire sincerity moves spiritual beings;—how much more will it move this prince of Meaou!" Yu did homage to the excellent words and said, "Yes." *Thereupon* he led back his army, having drawn off the troops. The emperor *also* set about diffusing his accomplishments and virtue more widely. They danced with shields and feathers between the two staircases *of the court*. In seventy days the prince of Meaou came to make his submission.

帝初于歷山,—the 初 here is always referred to Shun's early life, before he was taken notice of by Yaou. The 日講 here expands it—帝微賤之初,嘗耕于歷山, 'early in the emperor's life, when he was in a low and private station, he ploughed upon mount Leih.' In opposition to this, however, Mencius says the weeping and crying to heaven and his parents took place when Shun was 50 years old. See Men. V. Pt. I. i. 5. There is no way of reconciling these representations. Mount Leih is referred to a hill, 30 le south of P'oo-chow (蒲州), dep. of P'ing-yang (平陽), in Shan-se. 號泣于旻天,于父母,—see Men., *loc cit.*, p 1. 祗載見...允若,—see Men. V. Pt. I. iv. 4. The 日講 expl. 祗載 by 敬修爲子之事, 'he reverently performed the service of a son.' In Men. I translated 允若 by 'believed him and conformed to virtue,' but parag. 3 may satisfy us that 允 is to be taken adverbially. 禹拜昌言,—see Men. II. Pt. I. viii. 2. 班師振旅,—Ts'ae and others take 振 in the sense of 整, 'to adjust,' 'to trim,' and make the whole equal to 'he withdrew his army in good order.' Ts'ae gives also another view, without disapproving of it, according to which 班師 intimates the quitting Meaou, and 振旅 describes what was done on their re-entering the capital. We find the phrase 振旅, however, in the She King, Pt. II., Bk. III., iv., st. 3, where it means 'to draw off the troops.' With reference to that passage, the Dict. explains it by 止, and so I have translated it here. 文德 is explained by Ts'ae Ch'in by 文命德教. I have a persuasion myself that the best translation would be—'the virtues of peace,' 文 being used in opposition to 武. *War* had been tried, and found ineffectual; they would now see what effect would be produced by an exemplification of the blessings of *peace*. 舞干羽于兩階,—see on Ana III. i. The 舞 was more a posture-making

than what we call *dancing*. 于兩階 = 于兩階之間, 'between the two staircases,' that appropriated to the sovereign as host, and that employed by his guests. The expression = the 於庭 of the Analects. The shield was a weapon of war appropriate to a war-dance. On this occasion Shun wanted by this exhibition in the court to show how he disliked war. And the consequences, we are told, justified Yih's advice. The prince of Meaou came and made his submission.——From the whole of this 3d. chapter, I conclude that Yu's expedition against Meaou was unsuccessful. He had to retreat. The advice of Yih, with the subsequent measures, and their result, serve merely to gloss over the real fact.

BOOK III. THE COUNSELS OF KAOU-YAOU.

皐陶謨

曰[一節]若稽古、皐陶曰、允迪厥德、謨明弼諧。禹曰、俞、如何。皐

1 I. On examining into antiquity, we find that Kaou-yaou said, "If *a sovereign* sincerely pursue the course of his virtue, the counsels *offered to him* will be intelligent, and the aids *of admonition* will be harmonious." Yu said, "Yes; but explain yourself." Kaou-yaou

TITLE OF THE BOOK.—皐陶 (Yaou) 謨, 'The Counsels of Kaou-yaou.' 'Counsels,'—see on the title of the last Book. Kaou-yaou was minister of Crime to Shun (Bk. I., p. 20). Tsze-hea has recorded his merit, saying, 'Shun, being in possession of the empire, selected from among all *the officers* and employed Kaou-yaou, on which all who were devoid of virtue disappeared' (Ana. XII. xxii. 6). There are few or no reliable details of his history. In the 左傳 he appears with the style of T'ing-këen (字庭堅), one of the 'eight able sons' (才子八人) of the emp. Chuen-heuh; and Wang P'oo-meih (皇甫謐), of the Tsin dyn., says, in his 帝王世紀, that Kaou-yaou was born in K'euh-fow (曲阜, still the name of a district in Yen-chow dep. [兖州], Shan-tung), in the country of Yen (偃), whence he was surnamed Yen. Sze-ma Ts'een in his Record of the sovereigns of Hea (夏本記二), says that Yu, on his accession to the throne, made Kaou-yaou his chief minister, with the view of his ultimately succeeding him, but the design was frustrated by Kaou-yaou's death, and that then his son was appointed to the principality of Ying-luh (英六, in the prov. of Gan-hwuy. We have still the dis. of 英山, in the dep. of 六安), which was extinguished under the Chow dyn., by the power of Ts'oo (楚), and an end was made of the representatives of Kaou-yaou. See a note on Kaou-yaou in the 四書經註集證, Ana. XII. xxii. There is still a clan of the surname Kaou which traces its origin to Kaou-yaou (see the 氏姓譜, 臯氏); but Kaou and yaou are to be taken together as the minister's name.

CONTENTS. The Book is found in the texts both of Fuh-shang and K'ung Gan-kwŏ, so that there is no question of its genuineness. I have divided it into four chapters. The first, pp. 1, 2, enunciates the principle that in govt. the great thing is for the prince to pursue the course of his virtue, which will be seen in his knowledge of men, and giving repose to the people. The second chap., pp. 3—5, is designed

陶曰、都、愼厥身修思永、惇敘九族、庶明勵翼、邇可遠在茲。禹拜昌言曰、俞。○皐二節

said, "Oh! let him be careful about his personal cultivation, with thoughts that are far-reaching, and then he will effect a generous kindness and nice observance of distinctions among the nine classes of his kindred; all the intelligent *also* will exert themselves in his service; and from what is near he may reach in this way to what is distant." Yu did reverence to the admirable words, and said,

to illustrate the former of these things,—the knowledge of men; and the third, pp. 6, 7, treats ot the repose of the people. In the fourth chap., p. 8, Kaou asserts the reasonableness of his words, and humbly expresses his own desire to be helpful.

CH. I. THE DUTY OF A SOVEREIGN TO BE TRULY VIRTUOUS; ITS HAPPY EFFECTS; ITS NATURE; ITS GRAND EVIDENCES; AND ITS DIFFICULTY. 1. *Kaou-yaou and Yu on the nature and consequences of a sovereign's course of virtue.* 曰若稽古,—see on the 1st par. of the previous Books. Those who would accept K'ang-shing's expl. of 稽古, as applied to Yaou, allow that it is not admissible as applied to the minister; and they say that we must not obstinately think that the same words have always the same meaning in the classics (不可泥于一說, Keang Shing)! When we go on to the next clause—皐陶曰允德云云, however, we cannot explain according to the analogy of the corresponding passages. Tung-po asks—'Will those who take Fang-heun, Ch'ung-hwa, and Wăn-ming, as the names of Yaou, Shun, and Yu, say that Yun-teih (允迪) was the name of Kaou-yaou'? This certainly cannot be said, but we are in no better case if we take Fang-heun and the other expressions as descriptive epithets. *Yun-teih* is neither the name of Kaou-yaou, nor any honourable description of his doings or character. In whatever way we interpret the passages in the other Books, 皐陶 (or, as Keang Shing and others edit, 咎繇)曰 must be translated, 'Kaou-yaou said.' 允迪厥德,謨明弼諧,—it is not easy to understand this passage. In the 'Historical Records' it appears as—信其道德,謀明輔和, 'Believing his path *of duty* and virtue, his plans will be intelligent and his aids harmonious.' 允 being taken as an active verb, =信, and 迪=道, as in the last Book, p. 5. Keang Shing and Sun Yen adopt the same view. But if this were the correct view, we should have read—允厥迪德. All suppose, it will be seen, that Kaou-yaou is speaking of *the sovereign.* Gan-kwŏ takes 迪 as=蹈, 'to tread on,' 'to walk,' so that 迪德='to pursue the course of virtue.' He takes a peculiar view, however, of 厥, which is with him not= 'his,' but 'their,' and 厥德 is 'the virtue of the ancients;' and he expounds the whole:—'A sovereign ought sincerely to tread the path of the virtue of the ancients, planning how to enlarge his intelligence in order to assist and harmonize his govt.' Woo Ch'ing has a view of his own, and takes 允迪厥德 as descriptive of a minister's duty to his sovereign. He defines 迪 by 導, 'to lead forward,' and 明 by 明哲之人, 'intelligent men.' His expos. is:—'The duty of ministers to their sovereign is truly and really to stimulate and promote his virtue. In taking their counsels, he must strive that he have the intelligent to assist him, and must harmonize them.' None of these interpretations is satisfactory, and unable to suggest one more so, I have followed in the transl. the view of Ts'ae Ch'in, who expounds:—'If the sovereign really pursue the course of his virtue, what his ministers counsel will be intelligent, and wherein they would aid him, they will be harmonious.'

This agrees better with what is said in the sequel, though it has its difficulties. An ingenious note by Wang Kăng-t'ang (王肯堂; Ming dyn.) is given in the 集傳;—'謨 indicates the setting forth of counsels and 弼, the exercise of correction. 謨 and 弼 belong to the ministers; 明 and 諧 to the sovereign. When they offer counsels on occasion of occurring affairs, he can understand their mind, without any doubts; when they differ from him and offer admonitions, he can harmonize with their words, and not put himself against them.' This is ingenious, but too refined. While approving of Kaou's words, Yu

陶曰、都、在知人、在安民。禹曰、吁、咸若時、惟帝其難之、知人則哲、能官人、安民則惠、黎民懷之、能哲而惠、何憂乎驩兜、何遷乎有苗、何畏乎巧言令色孔壬。三節 ○皐陶曰、都、亦行有九德、亦言

2 "Yes." Kaou-yaou said, "Oh! it lies in knowing men, and in giving repose to the people." Yu said, "Alas! *to attain to* both these things was a difficulty even to the emperor *Yaou.* When *a sovereign* knows men, he is wise, and can put men into their proper offices. When he gives repose to the people, he is kind, and the black-haired people cherish him in their hearts. When *a sovereign* can be *thus* wise and kind, what occasion will he have for anxiety about a Hwan-tow? what to be removing a prince of Meaou? what to fear any one of fair words, insinuating appearance, and great artfulness?"

3 II. Kaou-yaou said, "Oh! there are in all nine virtues to be discovered in conduct; and when we say that a man possesses *any* virtue, that

might well ask—如何, 'what do you mean?'

愼厥身修思永 are to be understood as a sort of explanation of what is intended by 迪厥德. The remaining clauses describe the effects of such a course of virtue. First, there will be 惇敘九族, 'the making generous, and nicely observant of discriminations, the nine classes of his kindred,' equivalent to the regulation of the family or clan, in the Great Learning; second, there will be 庶明勵翼, 'all the intelligent exerting themselves as wings,' equiv. to the govt. of the State: thirdly, there will be the good order of the whole empire, 邇, 'the near,' being the Family and the State, and 遠, 'the distant,' being the empire.—In this way it is attempted to interpret the text,—not very satisfactorily.

2. *Kaou-yaou explains by what processes such effects are realized, and Yu enlarges on their difficulty.* The concluding 'Yes' of the last par. was pronounced, we may suppose, in a tone equiv. to another 如何. 咸若時 (=是),—'all as this,' *i.e.*, to attain to both these things. 惟帝其難之,—Gan-kwŏ, followed by Ts'ae Ch'in, supposes the emp. intended to be Yaou,—correctly, I think. Woo Ch'ing and Keang Shing suppose Shun is referred to. The former gives a hortatory turn to the clause:—'the emperor should feel the difficulty of this.' The latter supposes the force of the 其 is to *insinuate* an advice:—'the emperor—yes, perhaps,—he feels the difficulty of this.' The clause is to me declarative simply.

能官人,—'can *office* men,' *i.e.*, put men into the offices for which they are fit. By 巧言令色孔壬 (壬, comp. 任人, Bk. I., p. 16) it is supposed the 共工 of the Can. of Yaou, p. 10, is intended. This would give three of 'the four criminals' of Yaou's reign, whom Shun punished, leaving only K'wăn, Yu's father, unmentioned, 'Yu,' says K'ang-shing,' purposely concealing *his* name.'

CH. II. ON KNOWING MEN:—THE VIRTUES BY WHICH THEY MAY BE KNOWN; RIGHT MEN IN THE RIGHT PLACES; AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EMPEROR'S PERSONAL EXAMPLE. 3. 行有九德,—'Actions (行, 3d tone) have nine virtues.' There is a difficulty with the 亦 before 行. Ts'ae defines it by 總, 'altogether,' 'in all;' and expounds:—'Speaking comprehensively of the virtues which appear in conduct, they are in all nine.' I don't see

其人有德、乃言曰、載采采。禹曰、何。皐陶曰、寬而栗、柔而立、愿而恭、亂而敬、擾而毅、直而溫、簡而廉、剛而塞、彊而義、彰厥有常、吉哉。○四節日宣三德、夙夜浚明有家、

is as much as to say—he does such and such things." Yu said, "What *are the nine virtues?*" Kaou-yaou said, "Affability combined with dignity; mildness combined with firmness; bluntness combined with respectfulness; aptness for government combined with reverence; docility combined with boldness; straightforwardness combined with gentleness; easiness combined with discrimination; vigour combined with sincerity; and valour combined with righteousness. *When these qualities are* displayed, and that permanently, have we not the good *officer?*

4 When there is a daily display of three *of these* virtues, their possessor could early and late regulate and enlighten the Family, *of*

what else the char. can mean here, but this signification of it is not in the Dict., nor have I seen any other example of it. Keang Shing arguing from the definition of 亦 in the 說文, says that 亦 and 掖 were anciently, interchanged. They were so in the sense of the 'armpit.' 掖 has a secondary mean.—'to uphold,' 'to sustain,' and attributing that also to 亦, he interprets—'supporting the actions of men, there are nine virtues.' I cannot accede to this view. The 亦 which follows has its common meaning of 'and,' 'and moreover.' 載采采,—'He does such and such things.' The Historical Records read, instead of these characters, 始事事; and Woo Ch'ing and Keang Shing both interpret 載 here by 始. It is certainly easier to take it with Gan-kwŏ as =行. Ying-tă says:—'載 has the signification of transport and movement (運行之義), hence we define it by 行.' 采=事, as in Can. of Yaou, p. 10. 載事事=其人行某事某事. 寬而栗,—as in Bk. I. p. 24. So also 直而溫. 愿而恭,—on 愿 (*al.* 原), see Ana. VIII., xvi; XVII. xiii; and esp., Men. VII. Pt. II. xxxvii. 8, 9. I translate it here by 'bluntness,' acc. to the account of it by Ying-tă—愿者遲鈍,外失於儀. 亂=治, 'to govern,' here 治才, an aptness for government, often associated with a spirit of lightness and self-confidence. 簡而廉,—in Bk. I. p. 24, we have 簡而無傲, where I have translated 簡 by 'impetuous.' The impetuous will overlook many things, and in their hot haste not discriminate. The same want of discrimination may result from an easy indifference, which is the force of 簡 here. The pairs of different qualities specified are understood to constitute the unity of the virtue; it is not that the one compensates for the other. 吉=善, 'good.'

4. This par. is specially illustrative of 哲, 能官人 in p. 2. It sets forth the knowledge of men turned to the right account by employing them according to their capacity and aptitude. Perhaps as close a translation of the first portion of the par. as can be given (to be intelligible) would be:—'The daily displayer of three virtues *would be* early and late a regulating and brightening holder of a Family.' The 'Daily Explanation' expands it thus:—九德之中,有其三者,能日宣而

日嚴祗敬六德、亮采有邦、翕受敷施、九德咸事、俊乂在官、百僚師師、百工惟時、撫于五辰、庶績其凝。○無^五節^教逸欲有邦、

which he was made chief. Where there is a daily severe and reverent cultivation of six virtues, their possessor could brilliantly conduct the affairs of the State, *to which he was constituted ruler.* When such men are all received and employed, the possessors of these nine virtues will all have their services. Then men of a thousand and men of a hundred will fill the offices *of the State;* the various ministers will emulate one another; all the officers will accomplish their duties at the proper times, observant of the five *elements-regulated* seasons:—and thus their various duties will be fully accomplished."

5 "Let not *the emperor* set to the rulers of States an example of

克廣之,使之益以著,此三德之有常者也,使之爲大夫而有家,必能夙夜匪懈以治其家,而家之事無不明治矣, 'When a man has three of these virtues, and can daily display and enlarge them, making them still more conspicuous, he is a man of whom those three virtues are a permanent characteristic. Let him be made a great officer, the head of a Family, and he will be found early and late ruling that Family with all diligence, and its affairs will all be brilliantly regulated.' 浚 is here taken, after Ts'ae, as = 治. The second portion might be similarly translated and expanded. 亮 is here best defined by 明. 翕受敷施,—this is spoken of the supreme authority,—of the emperor. 翕=合. 敷施=布而用之. 俊乂在官,—Ma, Wang, and Ch'ing, all describe 俊 as being men in ability and virtue beyond a thousand, and 乂 as men exceeding in the same way a hundred. 百僚師師,—同官曰僚, 'those who are in office together are called 僚;' hence the term is often = 'companions,' 'colleagues.' 師師,—'the one will make the other his model.' 百工惟時,—the 百工 are the same as the 百僚, called 工 with reference to their duties, the work they had to do. 惟時,—comp. the same phrase in Bk. II. p. 16. 撫于五辰,—撫=順, 'obedient to,' 'accordant with;' 辰 is defined in the Dict. with ref. to this passage, by 時, and Ch'in says 五辰,四時也, 'the five 辰 are the four seasons.' Of the five elements, wood predominates in the spring; fire in the summer; metal in the autumn; and water in the winter; while earth is to be recognized equally in all the seasons. We read in the Le Ke 禮運, Pt. iii. 2, 播五行於四時, 'the five elements are distributed over the four seasons;' and in the context of that passage much is said on the doctrine of the *Yin* and *Yang*, the five elements, five virtues, five tones, &c., much of which is mystical, and much absurd. In the Historical Records, after 俊乂在官 we have only 百吏肅謹. The rest of the paragraph is wanting;—possibly, because Ts'een and his father did not well understand this phrase. 庶績其凝 (=成),—comp. in Can. of Yaou, p. 8, 庶績咸熙, which follows after the settlement of the seasons, and the regulation of the officers in accordance with them, which is perhaps all that is meant here by 百官惟時,撫于五辰.

5. *How the emperor must himself set the*

兢兢業業、一日二日萬幾、無曠庶官、天工人其代之。○六節 天敘有典、勑我五典、五惇哉、天秩有禮、自我五禮、有庸哉、同寅協恭和衷哉、

indolence or dissoluteness. Let him be wary and fearful, *remembering* that in one day or two days there may occur ten thousand springs of things. Let him not have the various officers cumberers of their places. The work is Heaven's;—it is men's to act for it."

6 III. "From Heaven are the *social* arrangements with their several duties; to us it is given to enforce those five duties, and then we have the five courses of generous conduct! From Heaven are the *social* distinctions with their several ceremonies; from us proceed the observances of those five ceremonies, and then do they appear in regular practice! When *sovereign and ministers* show a common

example of careful attention to his duties, and so get all his officers and nobles to give the same.

無教逸欲有邦—'do not teach idleness and desires to the holders of States.' 無=毋. Gan-kwŏ explains:—不爲逸豫貪欲之教,是有國者之常, 'Do not practise the lessons of idle pleasure and inordinate desires, which is the constant way of the holders of States.' He does not suppose the counsel given to the emperor for his personal benefit, but to concern generally princes and officers; but his interpretation altogether is inadmissible. 教 is the teaching of example;—非必教令,謂上行而下效也 (Ts'ae Ch'in). 幾, 'that which is small and minute,'=機, 'the spring' or motive force, which, indeed, is Keang Shing's text. Gan-kwŏ explains 曠 by 空, 'empty.' The phrase in the transl. gives its force. 天工,人其代之,—Keang Shing says that 人 is the sovereign. So it is, but embracing the officers employed by him;—'the king as supreme, and governors that are sent by him.'

CH. III. ON GIVING REPOSE TO THE PEOPLE:—THE ACCOMPLISHMENT BY MEANS OF GOVERNMENT OF HEAVEN'S PURPOSES FOR THEM. 6. 天敘有典,—Keang Shing reads 五典 after Ma Yung; but as we have below—天秩有禮, &c., 有典 is here probably the correct text. And, acc. to the same analogy, 有典 must = a concrete noun, under the govt. of 敘, like 有罪, 有德, under the govt. of 討 and 命. We might render therefore:—'Heaven arranges in their orders those who have the cardinal duties.' The orders are of course the constituent relations of society,—sovereign and minister, father and son, brothers, husband and wife, and friends. 勑我五典,—'charges on us the five duties.' 正 is accepted by all the commentators as the explanation of 勑 here. A much better meaning comes from the ordinary signif. of the char. By 我 is intended the sovereign and his ministers and officers,—the sovereign specially, as the head of govt. 五典,—as in Bk. I. p. 2, *et al.* 五惇哉,—perhaps we should give this clause as nearly literally as our language will permit, if we said;—'and to the five there is a large obedience!' 天秩有禮,—'Heaven arranges in their ranks those who have the ceremonies.' The 典 belong to the essential constituents of society; the 禮 have their foundation also in the mind, which seeks for an outward recognition of the different ranks that actually obtain in society. 自我五禮,—'from us'—that is, the sovereign and his ministers—'are the definition and ordering of the five ceremonies.' But what are 'the five ceremonies?' Keang Shing supposes the

天命有德、五服五章哉、天討有罪、五刑五用哉、政事、懋哉懋哉。○ 七節 天聰明自我民聰明、天明畏、自我民明威、達于上下、敬哉有土。○

reverence and respect for these, do they not harmonize the moral nature *of the people?* Heaven graciously distinguishes the virtuous;—are there not the five habiliments, five decorations of them? Heaven punishes the guilty;—are there not the five punishments to be severally used for that purpose? The business of government!—ought we not to be earnest in it? ought we not to be earnest in it?

7 "Heaven hears and sees as our people hear and see; Heaven brightly approves and displays its terrors, as our people brightly approve and would awe:—such connection there is between the upper and lower worlds. How reverent ought the masters of the earth to be!"

ranks spoken of to be the different orders of nobility, and that the 禮 are the ceremonial distinctions appropriate to each. But this can hardly be correct, though K'ang-shing and Wang Suh both give a partial sanction to it. Down to 衷哉, Kaou-yaou seems to have before him the influence of govt. on the mass of the people. I take myself 五禮 as = 五者之禮, all the ceremonies belonging to the distinctions of rank in connection with the five constituent relations of society. This is the most natural view in the connection. I have hesitated between it and an interpretation in accordance with the use of the phrase in Bk. II. p. 8, which indeed may be harmonized with it. 有庸哉,—here Ma Yung read 五庸哉, which should probably be adopted, on the same ground that 有典 should be sustained,—the analogy, namely, of the other clauses. 同寅協恭和衷哉,—I have followed Choo He and Ts'ae in translating this clause. Keang Shing, in acc. with his view of the prec. one to which I have referred, explains:—'all who advance together to position in the court will be respectful both in body and mind.' He takes 寅 as = 進; 協恭, reverence of the body; and 和衷, reverence of the mind. The view is quite inadmissible. 天命有德,—命 = 眷命, 'to regard and appoint,' *i.e.*, to distinguish graciously. 五服五章哉,—see on next Book, p. 4. 五刑五用哉,—see on Bk. I. 11. The commentator She Lan (時瀾) observes:—'In connection with the distinguishing of the virtuous, and punishment of the guilty, there is no reference to anything to be done by us (不云我), to show that reward and punishment are to be simply in harmony with the mind of Heaven. The social arrangements and ceremonial distinctions have indeed their foundation in the mind of Heaven, but man is necessary, with his help and regulations, to complete them. But in the matter of rewards and punishments, man may not introduce one jot or tittle of his own.' This is a good instance of the way in which Chinese critics refine upon the letter of the classical texts.

7. *The sympathy between Heaven and the people.*—A warning to rulers, that they strive to give repose to the people. 天聰明自我民聰明,天明畏自我民明威 (Ma Yung read 威 in both places),—comp. Pt. V. Bk. I. i. p. 11; ii. 7. 達于上下,—'*this* reaches to above and below.' Here 上 refers to heaven, and 下 to the people. 敬哉有土,—on 有土 Ying-tă quotes from K'ang-shing:—'The em-

八節 皐陶曰、朕言惠、可底行。禹曰、兪、乃言底可績。皐陶曰、予未有知、思曰贊贊襄哉。

8 IV. Kaou-yaou said, "My words are reasonable, and may be put in practice." Yu said, "Yes; your words may be put in practice, and crowned with success." Kaou-yaou said, "*As to that* I do not know, but I wish daily to be helpful. May *the government* be perfected!"

peror, the princes, high nobles, and great officers, —all who have their domains—are styled 君; and from the great officer upwards all may be comprehended in the 有土 here, though its chief reference is to the emperor.'

Ch. IV. Kaou-yaou's confidence in his principles; and his humility. 惠=順於理, 'accordant with reason;' comp. the use of 惠 in Bk. I. p. 17; II. p. 5. 底行; 乃言底可績.—comp. Bk. I. p. 3. 思曰贊贊襄哉,—the 'Historical Records' have here simply 思贊道哉. Gan-kwŏ and Ying-tă join the 思 to the upper clause:—'*As to that* I do not know nor think about it.' On the 曰 they make no remark. Keang Shing supposes there may be a transposition of 思曰 for 曰思, and then he would take 曰 as=爰. It is certainly an easier solution of the difficulty to say with Ts'ae Ch'in that 曰 is here a mistake for 日 贊,—as in the last Book., p. 21. It is repeated, to show that Kaou-yaou would be helpful in any way (所助非一事). At the second 贊 I put a comma, and read 襄哉 by itself, taking 襄 as=成. For other interpretations, see Keang Shing and Wang Ming-shing.

THE BOOKS OF YU.

BOOK IV. YIH AND TSEIH.

益稷

一節 帝曰、來禹、汝亦昌言。禹拜曰、都、帝、予何言、予思日孜孜。皐陶曰、

1 I. The emperor said, "Come Yu, you also *must* have admirable words *to bring before me*." Yu did obeisance, and said, "Oh! what can I say *after Kaou-yaou*, O emperor? I can only think of maintaining a daily assiduity." Kaou-yaou said, "Alas! Will you

Title of the Book.—益稷, 'Yih and Tseih.' The names Yih and Tseih occur in the first paragraph, and occasion is thence taken so to entitle the whole Book. But without good reason;—for those worthies do not appear at all as interlocutors in it. Yu is the principal speaker; the Book belongs to the class of 'Counsels.'

Ying-tă says that Ma, Ch'ing, and Wang edited this Book as a portion of the 'Counsels of Kaou-yaou,' and that, in the preface to the Shoo which they made use of, this Book, or, rather, what they considered to be another Book, was called 棄稷, and not 益稷. Keang Shing, acting on this note of Ying-tă's, gives the 4th par. of the preface—咎繇矢厥謨,禹成厥功,帝舜申之,作大禹,咎繇謨,棄稷. On first reading there the combination 棄稷, I concluded there was a misprint, on the ground that it was most unnatural to join together the name and the office of the same man in such a way. This is the very point urged by Ying-tă against Ch'ing and the others. He says:—'棄 and 稷 are one man. It is improper to give his name, and then besides to give his office. Those scholars were mistaken' (棄稷一人,不宜言名,又言官,是彼誤耳). As to incorporating the Book with the preceding one, that had been done by Fuh-shang; and the 'modern text' (今文) is always published with this Book as the conclusion of the 'Counsels of Kaou-yaou.'

Contents. These have been divided into three chapters. The first, embracing parr. 1—9, relates a conversation between Yu and the emperor, in the presence of Kaou-yaou. Yu relates his own diligence and achievements as a model to the emp., and administers various advices; and Shun on the other hand insists on what his ministers should be. The second chapter, parr. 9, 10, has no apparent connection with the former. K'wei appears in it as minister of Music. In the third chapter, p. 11, Kaou-yaou and Shun sing to each other on the mutual relations of the sovereign and his ministers.

Ch. I. P. 1. *Yu, urged by the emperor to counsel him, describes his own diligence and labours to remedy the calamity of the inundating waters.* 來禹,汝亦昌言,—the 亦, '*also*,' connects this Book closely with the prec.;—so closely, indeed, that many contend it is only a portion of it, and should not stand by itself as a division of the Shoo. But the expres-

吁、如何。禹曰、洪水滔天、浩浩懷山襄陵、下民昏墊、予乘四載、隨山刊木、曁益奏庶鮮食、予決九川距四海、濬畎澮距川、曁稷播奏庶

describe it?" Yu said, "The inundating waters seemed to assail the heavens, and in their vast extent embraced the mountains and overtopped the hills, so that people were bewildered and overwhelmed. I mounted my four conveyances, and all along the hills hewed down the woods, at the same time along with Yih showing the multitudes how to get flesh to eat. I *also* opened passages for the streams throughout the nine provinces, and conducted them to the sea. I deepened *moreover* the channels and canals, and conducted them to the streams, at the same time along with Tseih

sion in the prefatory notice, 帝舜申之, which is all there is of introduction to the 'Yih and Tseih,' quite agrees with this close connection between it and the other 'Counsels.' 予何言,—'what can I say?' All commen. understaud here something equivalent to the '*after Kaou-yaou*' of the translation. 予思日孜孜,—comp. the closing words of last Book. 孜,—the 說文 defines 孜 by 汲汲, 'unceasingly assiduous.' The Historical Records give 孳孳. 皐陶曰, 吁,如何,—the Historical Records read—皐陶難禹,曰,云云, 'Kaou-yaou troubled Yu with the question,' &c. 洪水滔天.浩浩懷山襄陵,—comp. Can. of Yaou, p. 11, from which Yu would almost seem to be quoting. 下民昏墊—K'ang-shing defines 昏 by 沒, 'to sink in the water,' so that it and the next character have the same meaning. I have followed the better expl. of Gan-kwŏ, who defines 昏 by 瞀. 予乘四載,—the Historical Records give this sentence at much greater length, and Yu is made to say:—'To travel along the dry land, I used a carriage (乘車); to travel along the water, I used a boat (乘舟); to travel through miry places, I used a sledge (泥行乘橇. [*k'eaou*]. To designate this sledge several other characters are used. It is described as being like a sieve, and slid easily over the surface of the soft and marshy ground); to travel on the hills, I used spikes' (乘欙 [*keuh*]. This contrivance is also expressed by various characters. It was only a shoe with a spike, 'like an awl,' under it, to prevent the feet from slipping). 隨山刊木,—隨 is defined by 行. It is better to take it as = 'along,' 刊, written also 栞 and 栞, acc. to older forms, = 'to hew down,' 'to remove.' 曁益奏庶鮮食,—曁 = 與, 'along with;' 奏 = 進, 'to introduce;' 庶 = 衆 or 民, 'the people;' Ma Yung defines 鮮 by 生, meaning, as applied to meat, 'raw,' 'fresh.' 鮮食 is flesh meat, the flesh of birds, beasts, fishes, turtles, &c. But it is not to be supposed that this was eaten raw. Mencius tells us that Shun, in connection with Yu's labours, entrusted to Yih the direction of the fire to be employed, and Yih consumed the trees and tangled vegetation of the forests and marshes, so that the birds and beasts were driven away. In this way the people, unable yet to cultivate their inundated fields, had in the capture of animals a resource against starvation. 奏庶鮮食 = 進衆民于鮮食. Some prefer to expand it—進衆鳥獸魚鼈之肉於民. 決九川距四海,—決, 'to open a passage for a stream;' comp. Men. VI. Pt. I. ii. 九川 is best taken, after Wang Suh,

艱食鮮食、懋遷有無化居、烝民乃粒、萬邦作乂。皐陶曰、俞、師汝昌言。○禹曰、都、帝、慎乃在位。帝曰、俞。禹曰、安汝止、惟幾惟康、其弼直、

sowing *grain*, and showing the multitudes how to procure the food of toil *in addition to* flesh meat. I urged them *further* to exchange what they had for what they had not, and to dispose of their accumulated stores. In this way all the people got grain to eat, and all the States began to come under good rule." Kaou-yaou said, "Yes; *we ought to* model *ourselves* after your excellent words."

2 Yu said, "Oh! be careful, O emperor, of the manner in which you occupy the throne." The emperor said, "Yes." Yu said, "Find your rest in your resting-point. Attend to the springs of things, study stability; and let your assistants be upright:—then

as 九州之川, 'the streams of the nine provinces.' Some have enumerated '*nine* rivers,' as intended by the phrase; but in fact, the rivers on which Yu laboured, as will be seen in the next Book, were many more than nine. 距＝至, 'to,' 'to reach to.' 距四海,—'to the four seas.' But what were those 'four seas?' This passage shows to my mind that this phrase, in the mouth of Yu and others, with reference to his labours, has more sound than sense. 濬 (as in Bk. I. p. 10) 畎澮距川,—畎 and 澮 were artificial channels cut in the fields for the purposes of agriculture. The 畎 was the smallest of such channels, a foot deep and a foot wide; the 澮 was the largest, 16 feet wide, and as many deep. Between them there were 遂, 溝, and 洫. So it was at least in the Chow dynasty;—see the Rites of Chow, 考工記之四. 'To the streams' is definite enough, and we ought to have as substantial a meaning in the 'four seas.' 曁稷播,—播, must be taken as ＝ 布種五穀, 'to sow the various kinds of grain.' K'ang-shing, indeed, will have the sowing and cultivating here to be only of vegetables, such as could be grown in marshy ground. 艱食,—'the food of toil,' a good name for the produce of agriculture. Ma Yung read 根食, 'root-grown food.' 懋遷有無化居,—Keang Shing reads 貿, principally on the authority of a passage in Fuh-shang's Introduction to the Shoo, which is now lost. It would give a good enough meaning. 遷,—to remove,' 'as,' says Lin Che-k'e, 'to convey fish and salt to the hilly country, and bring the lumber of the woods to the low grounds.' 居 is defined in the Dict., with reference to this pass., by 積也, 蓄也, 'stores,' 'accumulated materials.' 粒,—米食曰粒 'rice food is called 粒.' The rice is eaten whole, and not ground. But we should not confine the meaning of 粒 to rice.

P. 2. *Yu admonishes the emperor on the way to secure the blessing and favour of Heaven.* 都帝, 慎乃在位,—comp. 慎乃有位, in Bk. II. p. 17, noting the diff. of 在 and 有. 安汝止,—comp. the Great Learning, T. 2, *et al.* But after this reference, it is difficult to say exactly what Yu means. 惟幾惟康,—惟＝思, 'to think of.' Immediately below, however, in 惟動, it is the particle, whose various application is so difficult to determine. 惟動丕應徯志 is expanded in the Daily Explanation thus:—一有動作, 布之政令, 則天下翕然丕應, 若先待我志之發矣, 'on the occasion of any move-

惟動丕應徯志、以昭受上帝、天其申命用休。○三節帝曰、吁、臣哉鄰哉、鄰哉臣哉。禹曰、俞。○四節帝曰、臣作朕股肱耳目、予欲左右有民、汝翼、

will your every movement be greatly responded to, *as if the people only* waited for your will, and you will brightly receive *gifts from* God. Will not Heaven renew its favouring appointment, and give you blessing?"

3 The emperor said, "Alas! ministers! associates! Associates! ministers!" Yu said, "Yes."

4 The emperor said, "*My* ministers constitute my legs and arms, my ears and eyes. I wish to help and support my people;—you give effect to my wishes. I wish to spread the influence *of my go-*

ment, when you send forth yonr orders about it throughout the empire, they will with one accord greatly respond to them, as if they had first been waiting for the intimating of your will.' 昭受上帝,—'you will brightly receive God.' We must understand 上帝之命, or some similar phrase. 天其申命用休,—the force of the 其='will it not be that'—? Woo Ch'ing well expanded the clause:—天亦申重其已然之命而嘉美之. 'Heaven likewise will renew its existing regard, and indicate its favour and esteem.' He interprets the prev. clause, however:—'you will brightly respond to the favour which you have received from God.'

P. 3. *The emperor enlarges on his dependence on his ministers, and the services which they render.* 3. 吁,—'alas'! Shun speaks, it is said, under excitement, unable to receive all that Yu had just said, and with special reference to 其弼直. Ts'ae says:—'臣 indicates the men; 鄰 indicates the office.' Woo Ch'ing makes them two classes, 臣 being the ministers in the administration of business, and 鄰, those in personal attendance on, and intercourse with, the emp. The 臣 and the 隣 must be the same persons, the former term express. their official station, and the latter the personal intimacy of the emp. with them;—see a note by Chang Wang (張綱. Sung dyn.) in the 集說. 4. 臣作朕股肱耳目,—the emp. himself is the head,—元首; see below, p. 11. 左右有民,—左右=助, 'to assist.' Ma Yung says:—左右助, 'to assist on the left hand and the right.' 有民=我所有之民, 'the people which I have,'= my people. 翼,—'wings;' to serve as wings to; then, metaphorically, 'to assist,' 'to give effect to' (成). The literal meaning is lost in the text. 宣力,—'to proclaim my strength.' Gan-kwŏ defines 力 by 治功, 'the services of govt.' 古人之象,—'the ancients.' Gaubil observes:—'It is remarkable that Shun, who is so ancient, speaks of the figures on the dresses of the ancients' (Le Chou-king, p. 36, note). In the first supplement to the Yih King (繫辭下傳, Ch. II. p. 5) we read that Hwang-te, Yaou, and Shun let fall their robes, and the empire was governed (黃帝,堯,舜,垂衣裳而天下治). By 'the ancients,' therefore, we may be conducted to Hwang-te, 'the Yellow emperor,' the inventor of the cycle, B.C. 2637, but not beyond him. There were twelve figures, six painted on the upper garment or robe (衣), and six embroidered on the lower garment (裳). They were called altogether 'the twelve ornaments' (十二章). Those

予欲宣力四方、汝爲、予欲觀古人之象、日、月、星辰、山、龍、華蟲、作會、宗彝、藻、火、粉米、黼、黻、絺繡、以五采彰施

vernment through the four quarters;—you are my agents. I wish to see the emblematic figures of the ancients,—the sun, the moon, the stars, the mountain, the dragon, and the flowery fowl, which are depicted *on the upper garment;* the temple-cup, the aquatic grass, the flames, the grains of rice, the hatchet, and the symbol of distinction, which are embroidered *on the lower garment:—I wish to see* all these displayed with the five colours, so as to form the *official*

on the robe were the sun, the moon, stars (Gan-kwŏ would place a comma in the text after 星, and make the 辰 refer to the three prec. nouns, and be in apposition with them. Ch'in Ts'eang -taou [陳祥道] says the 星 were the five planets, and 辰, the twelve zodiacal spaces. But 星辰 go together, and simply = stars), a mountain, a dragon, and a pheasant (華蟲, 'the variegated animal.' 蟲 is often used not for insects only, but for living creatures generally. These figures—prob. two of each—were painted (作會. 會 is used for 繪). The figures on the lower garment were a cup. used in the services of the ancestral temple (of the temple cups, one had the figure of a tiger on it [虎彝], and another of a kind of monkey [蜼彝]. One or both of these was on the 裳), some kind of water plant, flames, grains of rice, an axe-head (黼. This character denotes a texture of black and white stripes, ornamental. The Dict. says that an axe or hatchet is so called from its white head and black handle. I should rather suppose that 黼 was used for 斧, from their agreement in sound), and what I have called the symbol of distinction (黻. This is defined as a texture of black and azure stripes. As applied to the embroidered ornament, that was made in the form 亞, or two 已 placed back to back). These figures were embroidered (絺繡. Ch'ing takes 絺 to be for 黹, 'to embroider,' syn. with 繡. Gan-kwŏ would take it in its ordinary sense of 'fine cloth made of the fibres of the 葛.' I do not see how it is then to be construed). 以五采彰施于五色,—Ch'ing says that 采 and 色 refer to the same thing, only 采 is the substance of the various colours, unused, and 色 those colours employed in painting and embroidery. The sacrificial robes of the emperor had all these 12 figures painted or embroidered upon them, emblematic of various attributes, which I will not attempt to specify. The 公 or highest nobles were restricted from the use of the sun, moon, and stars; the 侯 and 伯 were further restricted from the mountain and dragon; and, by a constantly decreasing restriction, five sets of official robes were made, indicating the rank of the wearers. See last Book, p. 6,—天命有德, 五服五章哉. [The practice of the earlier times in the use of these ornaments was a good deal altered during the Chow dynasty. The subject is often perplexed, from not bearing this in mind.]

六律, 五聲, 八音,—see Bk. I. p. 24. As to what follows—在治忽以出納五言, I am far from clearly understanding it. 在 is supposed to = 察, 'to examine,' as in Bk. I. p. 5. 忽 is taken as 'the opposite of 治, = misrule. 五言 is made = 五聲. The 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases the passage thus:—音和由政事之修治, 音乖, 由政事之怠忽, 其察之之法, 則以朝廷所出之絲綸, 民間所納之歌謠, 言之叶于五聲, 播之樂章者, 爲君德民風之驗

于五色、作服、汝明、予欲聞六律、五聲、八音、在治忽、以出納五言、汝聽。○予[五節]違、汝弼、汝無面從、退有後言、欽

robes; it is yours to adjust them clearly. I wish to hear the six
pitch-tubes, the five notes *determined by them*, and the eight kinds
of musical instruments, *regulated again by these*, examining thereby
the virtues and defects of my government, according as the *odes*
that go from *the court*, and the *ballads* that come in *from the people*
5 are ordered by those five notes:—it is you who hear for me. When
I am doing wrong, it is yours to correct me;—do not follow me to
my face, and when you have retired, have other remarks to make.
Be reverent, ye who stand before and behind and on each side

而我不盡自聽也, 'The harmony of all musical instruments is owing to the happy order of the govt., and their dissonance to its being ill attended to. The method of examining into the matter is to look upon the elegant compositions which proceed from the court, and the songs and ballads which are brought in from the people,—all pieces, in fact, which are put together in harmony with the five notes, and set to music, as evidence of the sovereign's virtue and the people's manners; and I am not able to hear them all for myself.' Gan-kwŏ gives substantially the same view of 在治忽 as the above, but he takes the clause 出納五言 differently, and explains:—'Moreover, the use of music, thus regulated, is to communicate instructions about the five virtues of benevolence, righteousness, propriety, knowledge, and faith, giving them forth to the people to accomplish their transformation.' The reading—在治忽 is by no means certain. The 'Historical Records' give, instead of it, 來治滑, which is unintelligible. Ch'ing read 在治曶, and took 曶 as = 笏, a writing-tablet of gem, ivory, or other material, according to the rank of the bearer. The nobles and officers carried this with them into the court. 'The sovereign also,' says Ch'ing, 'was provided with one, to communicate to the principal officers (五官) the lessons of govt.' But what have those tablets to do with music? Ch'ing's reading does not make the passage any plainer. The reading—采政忽 has had its advocates, but its meaning would not differ from that of the *textus receptus*. In the Books of the 'Former Han' dyn., however, 律曆志. 上, we have the passage—書曰, 予欲聞六律, 五聲, 八音, 七始, 詠, 以出納五言, 女聽. No doubt this was a current reading in the early times of the Han. It makes the whole clause refer somehow to the subject of music, without introducing the matter of examining about the govt., and so far it is to be preferred. But what are we to understand by the 七始, or 'seven beginnings?' Pan Koo. the historiographer of Han, says they are 'heaven, earth, man, and the four seasons.' So far as I can understand Woo Ch'ing, he understands by them the complete musical scale, containing the five notes (五聲) and two semitones. They are no doubt terms with some musical significance. A sinologue, understanding the theory of music, and having some practical acquaintance with the art, might succeed in elucidating the subject. Pan Koo takes 出納五言 in the same way as Gan-kwŏ. 五言 = 五常之言.—We go on to the next par., wishing that the second part of this were more apprehensible, or that we understood it better. 5. *The duty of ministers freely and openly to correct the sovereign's faults.* 予違,—'I am opposing;' *i.e.*, going contrary to the right (有違戾於道). 汝弼,—with reference to 其弼直 in p. 2. 弼 has the idea of *correction*. 後言 = after and other words. 欽四鄰,—I have translated 四鄰 after Gan-kwŏ, in illustration of whose interpr. Ying-tă refers to 惟予一人無良. 實賴左右前後

四鄰。○庶(六節)頑讒說、若不在時、侯以明之、撻以記之、書用識哉、欲竝生哉、工以納言、時而颺之、格則承之庸

6 of me. As to all the obstinately stupid and calumniating talkers, who are not to be found doing what is right, there is the target to exhibit their true character; the scourge to make them remember; and the book of remembrance! Do we not wish them to live along with us? There are also the masters of music to receive the compositions which they make, and continually to set them forth *in*

有位之士,匡其不及, in Pt. V., Bk. XXVI., p. 3. Fuh-shang and K'ang-shing after him supposed that there were four ministers attendant on the person of the emp., specially called 鄰,—'a helper on the left, a corrector on the right, a solver of doubts before, and a stimulator of purpose behind.' There is no evidence that there were such officers. 鄰 is here equivalent to 臣, as in p. 3. 6. *That ministers are not only to be strictly faithful to their sovereign, but are to use stringent measures to correct others, and provide a supply of good men for the use of the State.* 庶頑讒說,—these are the 讒說殄行 of Bk. I. p. 25. We are to understand these words not of the people generally, but 'of the sons of officers, and youths of greatest promise of ability, who may be expected to discharge hereafter the functions of the State' (see Woo Ch'ing, *in loc*). 若不在時,—the 時=是. Gan-kwŏ takes it as the 是 emphatic,='what is right.' Woo Ch'ing, with ref. to his observation on the prec. clause, says 不在是選者, 'who are not in this selection,' *i.e.*, selection to office. 侯以明之,—'there is the target to show them clearly.' Archery was made much of anciently in China; see the 儀禮,卷八至十四. Wang Ming-shing, quoting from the 射義, says, 'The archers must advance, retreat, and move round, according to the proper rules. Where the aim of the mind is right, the adjustment of the body will be correct; and thus archery supplies an evidence of character. Unworthy men will not be found hitting frequently. There were three ceremonial trials of archery, belonging to the emperor, the princes, the high ministers and the great officers. First, there was the Great archery, used to select those who should assist at the sacrificial services. Second, there was the Guests' archery, used on occasion of the princes appearing at court, and their visiting among themselves. Third, there was the Festive archery, used at entertainments generally. From the first kind expectant scholars were excluded; but they could take their part in the other trials.' He then goes on to describe the various targets used at those trials. What we call the 'bull's-eye,' was the figure of a small bird (鵠 See Doctr. of the Mean, xiv. 5). Confucius more than once spoke of archery as a discipline of virtue (see Ana. III. xvi., *et al.*). Certain vices will of course unfit men for the successful practice of archery, but to lay down success in archery as a test of moral character is tearing a subject to tatters. The most famous archers of Chinese antiquity were very bad men: see Men. IV., Pt. II., xxiv. 撻以記之,—'there is the scourge to make them remember.' The archery field was, according to this, truly a place of discipline. This illustrates the 扑作教刑 of Bk. I. p. 11. 書用(=以)識 (read *che*) 哉,—'there is the *book*,' not, it must be borne in mind, a book of paper and printing, but a record made on cloth or on a tablet. It does not appear that the record should be confined to the result of the trials in archery;—see the 周禮,地官,司徒,第二之四, where the Heads of districts are all supposed to keep a register of the characters of the people, in reference to the laws generally. 欲竝生哉,—the object of the trial, the punishment, and the record, is to effect a reformation. The characters may be translated—'Oh! we wish them to live together *with us*.' Keang Shing defines 生 by 進, 'to advance;' and explains it by 'to advance to goodness.' This is far-fetched. 工以納言,時而颺之,—工 is, no doubt,=樂官, 'an officer of mu

之、否則威之。
七節 ○禹曰、俞哉、
帝光天之下、
至于海隅蒼
生、萬邦黎獻、
共惟帝臣、惟
帝時舉、敷納
以言、明庶以
功、車服以庸、
誰敢不讓、敢

song. If they become reformed, they are to be received and employed; if they do not, let the terrors *of punishment* overtake them."

7 Yu said, "Yes, but let your light, O emperor, shine all through the empire, even to the grassy shores of the seas, and in the myriad States the most worthy of the people will all wish to be your ministers. Then, O emperor, you may advance them to office. They will set forth, and you will receive, their reports; you will make proof of them severally by their merits; you will confer chariots and robes according to their services. Who will then dare

sic.' All commentators agree in this. As to the interpretation of the whole clause, I have followed Ts'ae Ch'in, as in the concluding part of p. 4, without feeling sure of being right. To quote here again from the 'Daily Explanation,' we have there this paraphrase:—然必觀其改過與否,又當命樂官取彼所進納之言,播于樂章,時時而宣颺之,其言和平,是能改過. 'But it must be seen whether they really reform or not. The officers of music must also be charged to take the words which they present and send in, and set them to music, continually rehearsing them. If their words are harmonious and mild, it is an evidence of their reformation.' On the other hand, Gan-kwŏ, foll. by Woo Ch'ing and others, thinks the use of the musical officers in the matter was to bring their songs and sentiments to bear on those who had undergone the discipline described, in order to complete their reformation. This is, perhaps, the preferable view. 格則承之,—格, as in Ana. II. iii. 7. *Yu suggests to the emperor that his chief dependence must be on himself, and not on any assistance or correction of his ministers.* 俞哉,—'Yes!' Tung-po says that while this phrase expresses the assent of the mouth, it indicates that the mind does not quite consent. But this is hypercriticism, suggested by the design apparent in the sequel of the paragraph. 海隅蒼生,—隅=角, 'a corner;' 蒼生 is given in the 'Daily Explanation' as equivalent to 黎民, 'all the people;' and this is a meaning now often attached to the phrase. But it is contended that it was not so understood before the Tsin dynasty. 蒼 properly denotes the green colour of grass, and Gan-kwŏ connects the phrase with 海隅 as in the translation (至于海隅蒼蒼然生草木). 黎獻,—獻=賢, 'the worthy,' 'the wise,' as in Ana. III. ix. 黎 may be taken as = 'all;' or in the sense we have hitherto attached to it:—'the wise of the black-haired race.' 時舉,—時=是. The whole clause = 'and your Majesty will simply have to employ them.' 敷納以言,明庶以功,車服以庸,—comp. Bk. I. p. 9. Ying-tă explains the slight difference between the two passages, saying that the first is descriptive of Shun's dealings with the princes, whose standing was recognized, and this speaks of the first selection and employment of officers. Hence we have here 納 and 庶, 納 denoting the receiving and choice of them, and 庶, the distinction of them from their fellows (納謂受取之,庶謂在羣衆). This is ingenious, though the 庶 has to me a suspicious appearance. Choo He would read 試. Keang Shing reads the whole according to a quotation from the 'Books of Hea' (which, however, may possibly be of the passage in the Can. of Shun) in the 左傳,

不敬應、帝不時、敷同日奏罔功。○九節無若丹朱傲、惟慢遊是好、傲虐是作、罔晝夜頟頟、罔水行舟、朋淫于家、用殄厥世、予創若時、娶于

not to cultivate a humble virtue? Who will dare not to respond to you with reverence? If you, O emperor, do not act thus, all *your ministers* together will daily proceed to a meritless character.

8 "Do not be like the haughty Choo of Tan, who found his pleasure only in indolence and dissipation, and pursued a proud oppression. Day and night, without ceasing, he was thus. He would make boats go where there was no water. He introduced licentious associates into his family. The consequence was that he brought the honours of his House to an end. I took warning from his course. When I

傳,二十七年,—賦納以言,明試以功,車服以庸. 帝不時,敷同日奏罔功,—時=是. 不時=不若是, 'not thus.' 敷同 is taken as=普同, 'all together,' *i.e.*, even the ministers of good character whom you at present employ, to say nothing of the calumniating parties whom you talk about our reforming. We read in the 'Historical Records'—帝卽不時,布同善惡,則無功. The compiler of these would seem to have understood 敷同 in the sense of—'if you employ together the good and the bad.' 8, *Yu proceeds to warn Shun by the example of himself, Shun in reply compliments both Yu and Kaou-yaou.* In the 'Historical Records' this par. appears introduced by a 帝曰, while after the equivalent there for 予創若是, we have the addition of 禹曰. Keang Shing follows Ts'een, and edits his text accordingly. He adduces other evidences of the reading, as in the 楚元王傳, in the Books of the Former Han, where we find (in the acct. of 向子政)—帝舜戒伯禹,毋若丹朱敖. There must have been the readings of 帝曰 and 禹曰 in some copies of the Shoo during the Han dyn. But, if we are to judge in the matter by the canon that the more difficult reading is to be preferred, we shall adhere to the *textus receptus*. It is startling to find Yu lecturing Shun, and warning him not to be like Choo of Tan,—Dared a minister to speak so to the sage emperor? This diffi. is somewhat got over by introducing the characters 帝曰, which again necessitate the 禹曰 below. 丹朱,—it is stated, in the 漢書律曆志, that 'Yaou placed his son Choo in 丹淵,' from which it is concluded that Tan was the name of a State to which Yaou appointed his son. 頟頟 is defined 不休息貌 'the appearance of unceasingness.' Ch'ing connects the phrase with the clause below, and says:—'Choo having seen people moving about in boats during the inundation, after the waters were reduced, would still live in a boat, and made men unceasingly push it along.' Wang Mingshing argues for a metaphorical explanation of 罔水行舟, making it = Mencius 從流忘反 (I. Pt. II. iv. 7),—absurdly, it appears to me. 朋淫家內,—this is illustrated from the orgies of Këĕ, the last emp. of the Hea dyn,, who dug a pool, and made a night palace, where men and women lived promiscuously together, and where he once remained himself for a whole month.' 用殄厥世,—殄=絕, 'to extinguish.' Ts'ae Ch'in says 世者世堯之天下也, '世 means making hereditary—handing down to future generations—the empire of Yaou.' 予創若時 (=是),—創 (1st tone), 'a wound inflicted by a knife;' here=as in the transl. Gan-kwŏ defines it by 懲, 'to repress,'

塗山、辛壬癸甲、啟呱呱而泣、予弗子、惟荒度土功、弼成五服、至于五千、州十有二師、外薄四海、咸建五長、

married in T'oo-shan, *I remained with my wife only* the days *sin, jin, kwei, and keă.* When *my son* K'e was wailing and weeping, I did not regard him, but kept planning with all my might my labour on the land. *Thus* I assisted in completing the five tenures, extending over 5,000 *le; in appointing* in the provinces twelve Tutors; and in establishing, in the regions beyond, extending to the four seas, five Presidents. These all pursue the right path and are merito-

'to reprove' and Ying-tă says:—'創 and 懲 have both the meaning of seeing wickedness, and stopping one's-self from a similar course.' Ts'een gives, for this clause, 予不能順是, which is quite inane. The clause is natural in the mouth of Yu, unnatural from Shun. I do not see how with this clause we can adopt the reading 帝曰 at the begin. of the par.

娶于塗山,—塗山 was the name of a principality, the daughter of the ruler of which was married by Yu. A hill called 塗, gave its name to the territory, and is identified with one in the pres. prov. of Gan-hwuy, 8 *le* to the south-east of the dis. city of Hwae-yuen (懷遠), dep. of Fung-yang (鳳陽). Ch'ing says that Yu was married on the day 辛, and got the emperor's command to undertake the remedy of the inundation on the day 甲, so that he spent only three nights in his house. But I suppose he was already engaged in his great work, and could only spare four days from it for the business of his marriage. 啟呱呱,—啟 was Yu's son who afterwards succeeded to the throne. The two other characters express the sound of an infant's crying.

弗子, 'did not *son* him,' *i.e.*, did not regard him. Mencius tells us (III. Pt. I. iv. 7) that Yu, when engaged upon the waters, was eight years away from his family, and though he thrice passed the door of his house, did not enter it. 荒=大, 'great,' 'greatly.' 土功, 'the service of the land,' *i.e.*, all the work which he had to perform in regulating the waters.

弼成五服,—see on the next Book, Part ii., parr. 18—22. Yu speaks of himself here, it is said, as only 'assisting,' (弼), because he would attribute the great merit to the emp. Woo Ch'ing, however, considering 弼 to mean, primarily, the effort employed in forming the figure of a bow, explains the text of the figure and formation of the difft. tenures;—a very likely explanation. 州十有二師,—Medhurst has translated this clause:—'In every district I appointed twelve officers,' and then he has a note to the effect that over every province there was established only *one* nobleman, as officer. Gaubil translates the text in the same way as Medhurst:—'Chaque Tcheou eut douze chefs.' It is a vexed question whether in each province there was only one 師, or whether there were eleven. The old interpreters, not without differences among themselves, yet all maintain the larger number. It will be sufficient here to give an abridgment of the views of Ch'ing.—'Inside the tenure of Restriction (要服) were the nine provinces (九州), containing altogether a space of 49,000,000 square *le*. Deducting from these the imperial domain, there remain 48,000,000; or 6,000,000 square *le* to each province. Now, when Yu assembled the princes of the empire at Hwuy-k'e (會稽), they amounted to 10,000. Such was the number of the States of the nine provinces. Over every province was a Pastor (牧), and the worthiest of the princes were selected to be tutors or counsellors (師) to him. For every hundred States there was one 師, and 12 師 would suppose 1200 States. Each province contained of States 100 *le* square, 200; 70 *le* square, 400; 50 *le* square, 800:—altogether 1400. Deduct 200 of these, as an allowance for waste lands, and there remain 1,200 States. Multiply these by 8; we have 9,600, and allowing 400 for States within the imperial domain, we have the 10,000 States forming the empire.' The value of these statements and figures will have to be considered in connection with the next Book. In the meantime, according to these views there were in all

各迪有功、苗頑弗即工、帝其念哉。帝曰、迪朕德、時乃功惟敘、皐陶方祗厥敘、方施象刑惟明。○

rious; but there are *still* the *people of* Meaou, who refuse to acknowledge their duty. Think of this, O emperor." The emperor said, "That my virtue is followed, this is the result of your meritorious services, so orderly displayed. And now Kaou-yaou is respectfully carrying out your arrangements, and employing the represented punishments with entire intelligence."

96 Tutors or Counsellors in the empire. The ancient commentators agree in this view, and many of the moderns follow them,—Ts'ae Ch'in for instance, and the authors of the 'Daily Explanation.' On the other hand, many scholars maintain that, the 12 師 are the same as the 12 牧 of Bk. I., p. 16; and that the appointment of them here is not to be referred to the time when Yu reduced the waters of the inundation, and the provinces were nine in number, but to the subsequent period, when Shun had altered that division, and made twelve provinces (Bk. I. p. 10.) This was the prevailing opinion in the Yuen dyn. Woo Ch'ing advocates it, and so does Wang Kang-yay (王耕野). I may quote the language of the latter:—'Twelve Tutors in provinces were the same officers as those elsewhere denominated pastors. It was their duty to nourish the people, and therefore they were called pastors; it was their duty also to be the instructors of the people, and therefore they were called tutors. Don't let it be supposed that, besides the 12 pastors, there were other 12 princes appointed in every province to be their tutors' (see the 讀書管見, 卷上, *in loc.*) This was the view which occurred to myself on the study of the classic, without reference to commentaries, and I am inclined still to prefer it. I have made the translation so literal that it will admit of either view.

外薄四海, 咸建五長,—it is difficult to know the exact meaning here, as much is in the prec. clause. 外 must be 九州之外, 'beyond the nine provinces.' 薄 (*p'ŏh*)=被, 'reaching to.' 薄四海 is a vague expression, indicating all the territory beyond the nine provinces, which partially acknowledged the imperial sway. Medhurst translates the clause:—'Beyond these districts, even to the four seas, everywhere I established the five elders,' and in a note, translated from Ts'ae, he says:—'Beyond the nine regions, bordering on the four seas, in every part he separately established five elders as superiors, to take the general charge of the country.' The translation of Gaubil is entirely incorrect:—Joining the foll. 各迪有功 closely with the clause immediately preceding, he translates the whole:—'Au dehors je renfermai dans leurs bornes les quatre mers, cinq autres choses furent etablies, et je reussis dans mon entreprise.' This is evidently not the meaning; what the meaning is, it is not so easy to determine. According to my interpretation, it is that there were five chiefs to whom was given the superintendence of all this outlying territory. I do not find this view, however, supported by Chinese authorities. Ch'ing said:—'Outside the nine provinces over five States was appointed a chief, to cause' each of them—*i.e.*, the rulers of each—to observe their duties' (外則五國立長, 使各守其職). This view is supposed to be confirmed by a passage in the Le Ke, 王制, ii. 2, where it is said that 'five States formed a connection, and every connection had a chief' (五國以爲屬, 屬有長). Such an arrangement, however, belonged to the Chow dynasty, and it prevailed all beyond the imperial domain. Woo Ch'ing makes the 五長=五等諸侯, 'the five kinds of princes,' the kung, how, pih, &c. He adds that the 師 were leaders of all princes in a province, the 長 presided each over one State.—Neither of these interpretations appears to me so likely as the one which I suggest. 各迪有功,—I take 迪 as in the last Book p. 1, only that 迪 is here intransitive, unless we take 有功 together, as a noun governed by it. The meaning adopted in the former passage of 迪=導 by Woo Ch'ing would answer here. He of course adheres to it, and Keang Shing here adopts it, making 各迪有功=率道諸侯就功. 弗即工,—即=

九節 夔曰、戞擊鳴球、搏拊琴瑟、以詠、祖考來格、虞賓在位、群后德讓、下、管鼗鼓、合止

9 II. K'wei said, "When the sounding-stone is tapped or strongly struck; when the lutes are swept or gently touched; to accompany the singing:—the *imperial* progenitors come to the service, the guest of Yu is in his place, and all the nobles show their virtue in giving place to one another. Below there are the flutes and drums and hand-drums, which join in at the sound of the rattle, and cease at the sound of the stopper; with the calabash organs and bells:—all

就:工=功. 帝曰,迪朕德,云云,—in the Historical Records we read for this—道五德乃女功序之也,皐陶於是敬禹之德,令民皆則禹,不如言,刑從之,舜德大明. The meaning is substantially the same as that which I have given, with the exception of the view which is taken of the concluding 惟明. It will be seen also that the compiler of the Records supposed Shun's words to terminate with 惟敘, and that what followed was historical. The first 方 is certainly more natural, considered as narrative; as to the second, one would gladly follow Keang Shing, and take it as=旉.

Ch. II. *K'wei celebrates the power of the music which he superintended.* Ts'ae Ch'in observes that this chapter is to be considered by itself, and has no connection with the previous or subsequent portions of the Book. Shun, he observes, reigned more than 50 years, and must have had many conversations in which Kaou-yaou, K'wei, and Yih took part. The historian has preserved the most remarkable of their remarks, but not in the sequence of their conversations. Ts'ae blames, therefore, the efforts of scholars to force a connection between this and the context. It is as well to admit this view, though the mind naturally likes to think that we have in the various 'Counsels' so many integrals. 戞擊鳴球,—球 is defined as 'the sonorous gem-stone (玉磬), and also as 'a fine gem' (美玉). It is, no doubt, used here in the former application. I have seen a *king*, brought in 1861 from the 'Summer palace,' that had been made for the emp. K'een-lung of jade stone fully an inch thick, and like a ship-builder's' *knee*, the form in which the instrument is commonly represented. When suspended and struck with a piece of metal, it emitted a rich ringing sound

輕敲曰戞,重敲曰擊, 'To strike lightly is called 戞; heavily, 擊.' The striking in both ways was applied to the stone, and not, Gan-kwŏ supposes, also to the 柷 and 敔 mentioned below, which he thinks regulated the music in the raised part of the hall, as well as that in the lower. 搏拊琴瑟,—I call the 琴瑟 *lutes*, whithout having for myself definite ideas of the instruments. [I hope to be able to describe them fully and correctly in the next volume, upon the She King]. They were stringed. Ch'ing K'ang-shing says the *k'in* had five strings, and the *shih* twenty-five. There were different sizes and forms of them. A note in the 爾雅 says:—'The *k'in* was 5.66 feet long, with five strings to which other two, called the civil and martial, were subsequently added. The Great *shih* was 8.1 feet long, and 1.8 ft. broad, with 27 strings; the Elegant *shih* of the same size, had 23 strings, and one in common use only 19; the Praise *shih* of the same breadth, but nearly a foot shorter, had 23 strings. Some ascribe the invention of the *k'in* to Fuh-he; some, to Shin-nung; and some to Shun. 搏 is a forcible striking of the strings; and 拊, a slighter. 以詠 is expanded in the 'Daily Explanation' to 以合于人聲之歌, 'to accord with the singing of the human voice.' 祖考,—'grandfather and father,'=ancestors. 祖考來格=祖考之神來至, 'the spirits of ancestors come.' The whole of the service is supposed to take place in the ancestral temple of Shun.

'The guest of Yu' is Choo of Tan, the son of Yaou; comp. are 作賓于王家, Pt. V. Bk. VIII. 1. 下=堂之下, 'in the lower part of the hall.' We understand from this that the sounding-stone and lutes were in

柷敔、笙鏞以閒、鳥獸蹌蹌、簫韶九成、鳳凰來儀。

filling up the intervals; *when* birds and beasts fall moving. When the nine parts of the service according to the emperor's arrangements have all been performed, the male and female phœnix come with their measured gambollings *into the court*."

the higher or raised portion of the hall. 管鼗鼓,—the 管 was a kind of flute, originally made of bamboo. Accounts differ as to its exact form. It is generally figured as double, two tubes, each with a mouth-hole and five other holes. It is difficult to see how the two could be blown together. Other flute instruments were the 籥 and the 篪. 鼗鼓.—鼓 is the general name for drums. The 鼗 was a small drum, held by a handle, with two strings fixed to the sides and terminating in knobs. When twirled by the hand, those knobs struck on the ends, and produced the sound. Pedlars now carry a small instrument of this kind about with them, and by the noise it makes attract the public attention. Ts'ae supposes that the two characters of the text belong to the one instrument, the *t'aou*. Woo Ch'ing, with whom I rather agree, takes them to signify the small hand-drum and the large drum. 合止柷敔,—the 柷, it is said, was a lackered box, a foot deep and 2.4 ft. square (other dimensions are assigned), with a handle going down to the bottom, and moveable so as to strike against the sides when turned round. At the sound of this the other instruments struck up. The 敔 is represented as a couchant tiger of wood, with 27 teeth along the ridge of his back, which when rasped against by a handle gave the signal for the music to stop. This is the common account of these instruments and their use, which however does not go higher than the Han dynasty. Woo Ch'ing calls it in question, and with him agrees Sun Ke-yew (孫繼有; Ming dyn. See the 集說). According to them, the 敔 was made of earth, an instrument similar to the 塤. In this way all the 八音, or eight kinds of musical instruments are mentioned by K'wei. This explanation is not unlikely; but I cannot make out fully what Woo Ch'ing says about 合止(合止爲二音合作,止則敔止,柷木音,敔當是土音,塤之類,而舊說相傳以爲斲木成伏虎狀,背有鉏鋙,櫟之以爲聲,蓋因敔名而生鉏鋙之義,必不然也). 笙鏞,—the 笙 was made of reeds or tubes (19 in large instruments, and 13 in smaller), placed upright in an emptied calabash, with a cross piece of metal at the mouth of each tube. G. T. Lay, Esq., in his 'The Chinese as they are,' p. 88, has called the *shang* Jubal's organ, and says:—'This seems to be the embryo of our multiform and magnificent organ, and consists of several tubes varying in length, so as to utter sounds at harmonic intervals from each other. These tubes are inserted into a bowl' (were originally placed in a calabash), 'which must be taken as the humble representative of the wind chest, while the office of bellows is of course discharged by the human breath.' The invention of this primitive organ has been ascribed to a fabulous female sovereign (女媧氏), who followed Fuh-he. 鏞=大鐘, 'a large bell.' The invention of the bell is carried up to Koo-yen (鼓延), a grandson of Fuh-he. 以閒 is expanded in the 'Daily Explanation' to 以與堂上衆樂,更迭閒作, 'to strike up at the intervals, in their turns with the instruments in the higher part of the hall.' Ts'ae says:—與詠歌迭奏, 'striking up in their turn with' (after) 'the singing.' The meaning is the same. 蹌蹌 is defined 行動之貌, 'the appearance of moving.' Ts'ae says:—'The music not only moved spirits and men; but even birds and beasts—ignorant creatures—led on one another to gambol to it.' 簫韶九成,—簫韶 are to be taken together as the name of the music of Shun, said to have been made by him in the 5th year of his reign (see the 資治通鑑綱目前編,卷之二). For 簫 we should read 箾, meaning a sort of castanets, held by the dancers as they kept time to the music; but the two characters lose their individual meanings, and represent the music of Shun. 成 is defined by Ying-tă as 樂曲終, 'the completion of the music and song.' He adds that when one song was concluded, another was sung to a different tune; and this was repeated in Shun's music 9 times, with reference to what is said in Bk. II. p. 7,—'when the nine services

十節夔曰、於、予擊石拊石、百獸率舞、庶尹允諧。○帝十一節庸作歌曰、勑天之命、惟時惟幾、乃歌曰、股肱喜哉、元首起哉、百工熙哉。皐陶拜手稽首、颺言曰、念哉、率作興事、

10 K'wei said, "Oh! when I strike the stone or tap the stone, all kinds of animals lead on one another to gambol, and all the chiefs of the officers become truly harmonious."

11 III. The emperor on this made a song, saying, "Being charged with the favouring appointment of Heaven, we must be careful at every moment, and in the smallest particular." He then sang, saying,

"When the members work joyfully,
The head rises flourishingly;
And the duties of all the officers are fully discharged!"

Kaou-yaou did obeisance, with his head to the ground, and with a loud and rapid voice said, "Oh! think. It is yours to lead on,

have been orderly accomplished, let that accomplishment be celebrated in songs.' 鳳凰來儀,—see Ana., IX. viii. In K'ang-he's dict., char. 鳳, several descriptions of the bird will be found. 來儀＝來舞有容儀, as in the transl. Ch'ing's expl. is different, and to me hardly intelligible. He says, 儀,匹也,來止巢而乘匹. I suppose he means that they came and bred in the court.——— K'ung Ying-tă observes that though the descent of the spirits of ancestors is mentioned in connection with the music high up in the hall, and the movements of animals in connection with that below, and the appearance of the phœnix in connection with the whole service, we are not to suppose that the particular effect was owing to the whole or particular part of the service as specified. Ts'ae notices also the opinion of some who explain the statements away, and ask how we can suppose that birds and beasts and phœnixes really came gambolling in the court. He replies that such suspicions merely show ignorance of the power of music, and then he adduces instances duly recorded (見於傳者), quite as marvellous as those in the text. It was the music of Shun, as preserved in Ts'e, which so affected Confucius that for three months he did not know the taste of flesh (Ana. VII. xiii.). P. 10. See Book I. p. 24. I said the passage was out of place there. It would almost seem to be the same here, though the concluding clause,—庶尹允諧, adds a particular point to the effects of music, not mentioned in the prec. par. 尹 is defined, both by Gan-kwŏ and Ch'ing, by 正, which again＝官長, 'the heads of the officers,' *i.e.*, the directors of the various official departments. The 'stone' is here mentioned by K'wei (for particular reasons, which exercise the ingenuity of commentators), by synecdoche,—one of the kinds of musical instruments for all the eight kinds.

Ch. III. Songs of the emperor and Kaou-yaou, on the duties of the emperor and his ministers. This par., if the two prec. did not intervene, might well be taken as a sequel to parr. 4—6 on the part of Shun, and parr. 7, 8, where Yu tells him that his dependence must be on himself, and not on his ministers. 庸＝用; but we cannot tell with what reference it is used. It indicates that the reflection and song of Shun were consequent on something previously mentioned, being＝'on this.' There is nothing in the parr. immediately prec. to which the *this* can be referred. 勑天之命,—勑, as in p. 6. of the last Book:—'being charged with the favouring appointment of

愼乃憲、欽哉、屢
省乃成、欽哉。乃
賡載歌曰、元首
明哉、股肱良哉、
庶事康哉。又歌
曰、元首叢脞哉、
股肱惰哉、萬事
墮哉。帝拜曰、兪、
往欽哉。○

and to originate things, with a careful attention to your laws. Be reverent! Oh! often examine what you have accomplished. Be reverent!" With this he continued the song, saying,

"When the head is intelligent,
The members are good;
And all business will be happily performed!"

He again continued the song, saying,

"When the head is vexatious,
The members are idle;
And all affairs will go to ruin!"

The emperor said, "Yes; go ye, and be reverently *attentive to your duties*!"

Heaven.' 惟時,—comp. 食哉惟時, Bk. I. p. 16. 股肱,—see p. 4. 元首,—the sovereign is evidently intended by this phrase. In Ying-tă's paraphrase (foll. by K'ang-he's dict., char. 元), 元 is taken as = 首; but it is rather an adj., with some eulogistic meaning, = 'the great,' 'the superior.'

百工熙哉,—comp in Can. of Yaou, p. 8, 允釐百工,庶績咸熙. 颺言曰,念哉—Gan-kwŏ defines 颺 by 大言而疾, 'with great words and rapid.' 念哉 is evidently addressed to the emp. Ch'ing says that they are a summons to all the ministers to give heed to the warning just uttered by the emperor; and Ming-shing and Keang Shing, in their prejudice, endorse the view. 憲=法, 'the laws.' A careful attention to these on the part of the emp. would be a good example to the officers to attend to their duties. 'Examine what you have accomplished;'—*i.e.*, that you may carry on your undertakings and govt. with the same success. 賡載歌曰,—賡=續, 'to continue.' 載 is taken by Ch'ing as=始, making the meaning,—'he continued and sung his *first* song,' with ref. to 又歌 below. Gan-kwŏ takes it as = 成, 'to complete.' making the meaning—'he continued and completed the meaning of the emperor.' 叢脞哉,—Ch'ing explains 叢脞 by 總聚小小之事, 'a general collection of small affairs.' To the same effect, substantially, are the views of Gan-kwŏ and Ma Yung. 'Vexatious,' as in the transl., seems to give the idea, though it is not easy to collect it from the several characters. 墮 (read *to*) = 壞, 'to fall in ruins.' 往欽哉,—see Can. of Yaou, p. 11, *et al.*

THE SHOO KING.

PART III.

THE BOOKS OF HEA.

THE SHOO KING.

PART III. THE BOOKS OF HEA.

BOOK I. THE TRIBUTE OF YU. PART i.

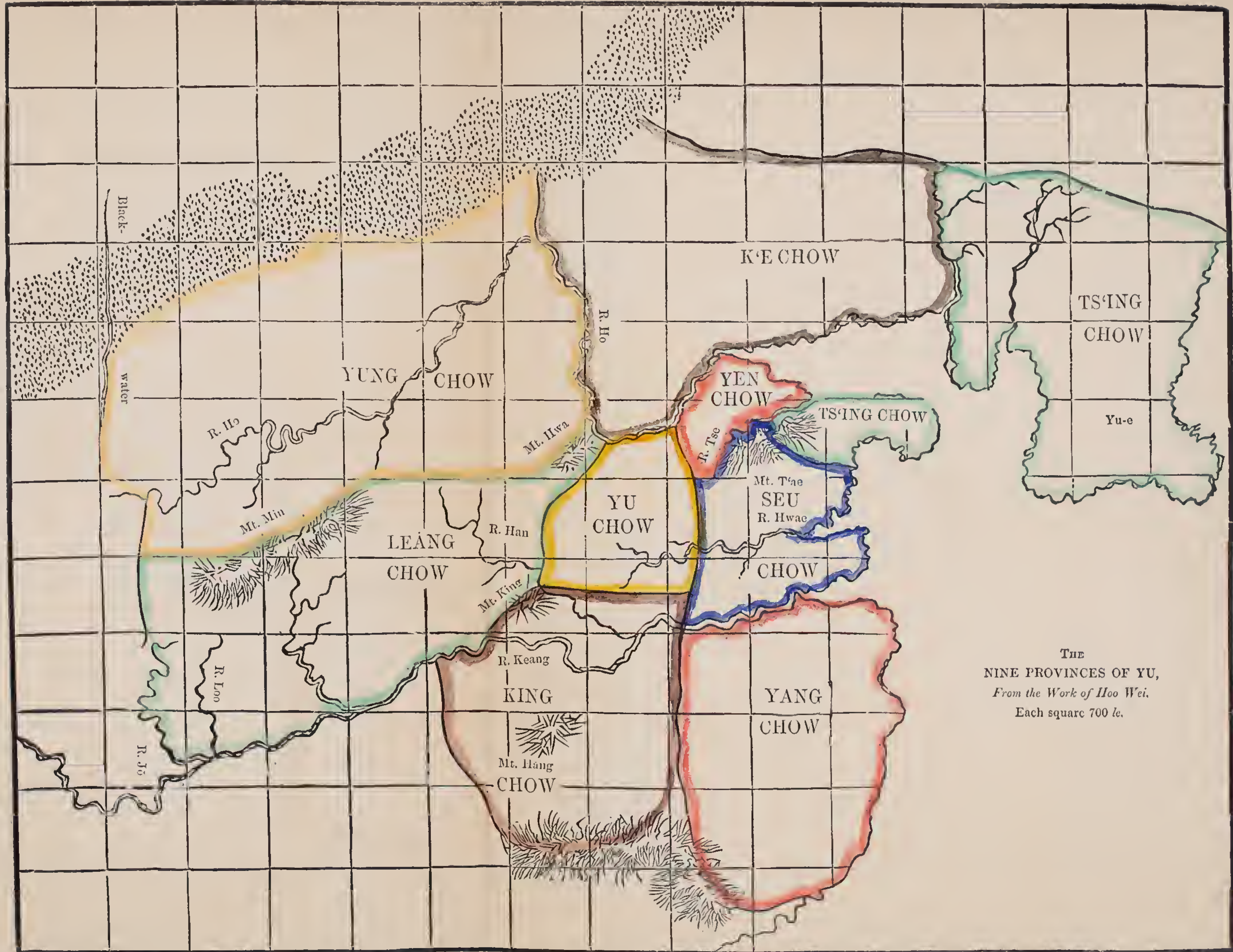
夏書

禹貢上

禹敷土、隨山刊木、奠高山大川。一節

1 I. Yu divided the land. Following the course of the hills, he hewed down the woods. He determined the high hills and great rivers.

NAME OF THE PART.—夏書, 'The Books of Hea.' 夏 is the dynastic designation under which Yu and his descendants possessed the empire, B.C. 2,204—1,766, a period of 439 years. Hea was a small territory, which still retains the name of Yu (Yu-chow [禹州], dep. of K'ae-fung in Ho-nan), to which he was appointed after the conclusion of his labours on the inundated empire. Hwang-poo Mih (皇甫謐), in his 'Chronicle of Emperors and Kings,' says:—'Yu was constituted Chief of Hea, south of Yu-chow, the present Yang-chih (陽翟) of Ho-nan' (Mih wrote dur. the Tsin dyn.); 'and afterwards, when he succeeded to the throne which Shun resigned in his favour, he took the dynastic designation of Hea.' I have not, indeed, found the appointment of Yu to Hea in the 'Historical Records;' but the tradition of it was current during the Chow dynasty. In the 國語, 周語下, under the year B.C. 549, after a long rambling account of Yu's labours, it is said that 'Great Heaven was pleased with him, and gave him the empire, while there was conferred on him' (we must understand by Yaou) 'the surname of Sze (賜姓曰姒), and the clan-name of Holder of Hea (氏曰有夏).' This part of the Shoo King never consisted of more than the four Books, which compose it at present—a fact difficult to be accounted for; and the first of them, much more extensive than all the others together, is descriptive of what took place during the vice-gerency of Shun, before the death of Yaou. Ying-tă says that originally it was among the Books of Yu, but that the historiographers of Hea placed it among those of their dynasty, or perhaps Confucius was the first to assign to it its present place. Whensoever it was first placed among the Books of Hea, there can be no doubt that Ts'ae Ch'in gives the true reason for that arrangement, when he says that the merit here described was the ground of Yu's advancement to the imperial seat.



THE
NINE PROVINCES OF YU,
From the Work of Hoo Wei.
Each square 700 *le*.

Name of the Book.—禹貢, 'The Tribute of Yu.' Tribute, however, is not here to be understood in the sense of a contribution *paid by one nation to another* in acknowledgment of subjection and testimony of fealty, but as the contribution paid by subjects to their proper rulers. The barbarous tribes round about the 'Middle Kingdom' bring here, indeed, their 貢, and the attempt by the rulers of the present Manchow dynasty to give the same name to the presents sent to them from Great Britain and other countries was an assumption which needed to be repressed and rebuked; but such offerings occupy a very inferior place, as compared with the 賦 or contribution of revenue, levied from each province. We might rather expect that the Book should be called 禹賦. 貢, however, has the general signification of 'an offering made by inferiors'(下之所供謂之貢), and may embrace the 賦, while that term is more restricted and could not be employed to comprehend the 貢 properly so called. This is the account given by Ying-tă of the name of the Book, and I think correctly. Ts'ae Ch'in endorses a view somewhat different:—'In the Book we have both 貢 and 賦, and yet it is called only by the former. Mencius observes that the sovereign of the Hea dynasty enacted the 50 *mow* allotment, and the payment of a proportion of the produce (夏后氏五十而貢, Bk. III. Pt I. iii. 6). This proportion was determined by taking the average of several years, so that, accord. to this acct., 貢 was the general name for the revenue levied under the Hea dynasty from the land.'

Contents. The name,—'The Tribute of Yu,' gives a very insufficient account of the contents. The determination of the revenue, and of the various articles of tribute was, indeed, very important, but the Book describes generally the labours of Yu in remedying the disasters occasioned by the overflowing waters. Having accomplished that, he went on to define more accurately the boundaries of the different provinces, and to divide the empire into five tenures. It may be regarded as a domesday book of China in the 23d century before Christ: but when we consider that it is contained in the compass of a few pages, we cannot expect very much information from it. Choo He says in several places, that much of what is said about the geography of the country—the mountains and rivers—cannot be understood, in consequence of the changes of names, and the actual changes in nature which have taken place. This is doubtless the case; but when we shall have an accurate and scientific survey of China, and it is known to us in the length and breadth of its provinces as any of the countries of Europe is, this ancient document will be invested with a new interest, and have a light thrown upon it, for want of which we can at present in many places only grope our way. The division of the Book into two parts, which is found in Yung Ching's Shoo, and I have here followed, is convenient, but of modern device. It is still unobserved in many editions, of which I need only mention the 'Daily Explanation.' The first part is conveniently arranged in ten chapters, the first containing only one paragraph; and each of the others containing the account of one province in a good many paragraphs. On the title of 'The Counsels of the Great Yu' it was observed that the Books of the Shoo have obtained a sixfold classification accord. to their subject-matter. This Book has been referred with reason to the class of the Canons. Chang Kew-ching (張九成, Sung dyn.) has the following observations on the authorship of it:—'Are we to suppose that it was composed by the historiographers? But they could not have known all the minutiæ which we find in it about the regulation of the waters. I venture to give my opinion in this way:—There are the first and last paragraphs, about Yu's dividing the land, &c., and returning his mace;—these are from the historiographers. But all between, from 冀州 down to 訖于四海, is the narrative by Yu himself of his various labours, —his narrative as presented to the emperor, and kept in the bureau of history, whence it was edited by the proper officers with some modifications of the style.'

Ch. I. A summary of Yu's scheme of operations upon the inundated empire. It is the general opinion that this par. lays down the plan on which Yu proceeded to his task; and though there is nothing in the language to determine absolutely in fav. of this interpret., I think it is the most likely. First, he divided the land into nine provinces, and arranged in what order they should be taken in hand. Next, he travelled along the hills, and possessed himself with a general idea of what was to be done to afford a vent for the waters, and conduct them by their natural channels, Lastly, the waters being carried off, he defined the boundaries of the provinces more accurately than had been done before, by reference to the principal mountains and streams. 禹敷土,—敷土, comp. 'Counsels of Yu,' p. 1. Ch'ing defines 敷 by 布, 'to spread out,' 'to arrange,' adding 布治九州之水土, 'he arranged and reduced to order the water and land of the nine provinces.' Ma Yung says that 敷=分; and in Gan-kwŏ we find all these terms together: —洪水汎溢,禹分布治九州之土, 'amid the overflowing of the inundating waters, Yu divided, arranged, and reduced to order the land of the nine provinces.' It may be questioned whether the division of China into nine provinces originated with Yu. The first territorial arrangement of the country is referred to Hwang-te, who, it is said, 'mapped out the country, and divided it into provinces, making in all 10,000 States of 100 *le* each (畫野分州,得百里之國萬區; see the 歷代疆域表, under Hwang-te).

二節冀州。○三節既載壺口。○四節治梁及岐。○五節既修太原、至于岳陽。○六節覃懷底績、至于衡漳。

2 II. With respect to K'E-CHOW,—he did his work at Hoo-k'ow and
5 took effective measures at Lëang and K'e. Having repaired *the works on* T'ae-yuen, he proceeded on to the south of *mount* Yŏ. He
6 was successful with his labours on Tan-hwae, and went on to the cross-flowing stream of Chang.

In the accounts of Chuen-heuh, the grandson of Hwang-te, we read that he 'established nine provinces,' the names of which are the same as those of Yu. The 'Historical Records' give 傅 instead of 敷, and introduces this par. thus:—'Yu, along with Yih and Tseih, received the emperor's commands, and ordered the princes and people to call forth labourers to divide and arrange the land.' I introduce this passage because it helps us to understand how Yu accomplished his great work. We are too apt to think of him alone in connection with it. He had the merit of suggesting, directing, and superintending; but all the talent and strength of the empire were helping. Yih and Tseih are mentioned by himself as his coadjutors. Passages from the Shoo itself, the 'Historical Records,' &c., indicate that he was also in correspondence with Kaou-yaou, the Sze-yŏ, Pih-e, and the pastors of the provinces, and so had all the resources of the empire at his disposal. This has suggested to Hoo Wei (胡渭) another ingenious view of the meaning of 禹敷土. Taking 敷=傅=賦, 'to give,' 'to assign,' he says:—'What is expressed by 敷 took place before Yu went over his door. K'e-chow was to be assigned to so and so; Yen-chow to so and so; and so on. This was simply the choice and employment of men for the several portions of the work.' 隨山刊木,—see 'Counsels of Yu,' p. 1. Sze-ma Ts'een gives 行山表木, and Keang Shing inclines to interpret 刊 by 表; but we cannot admit this. The woods were hewn down to open up paths for men, and channels for the waters. Mencius tells us that Yih employed fire to destroy the forests and rank vegetation. We may suppose that fire was had recourse to, when peculiar difficulties opposed the use of the axe. 奠高山大川,—奠=定, 'to fix.' He fixed the great rivers and mountains;—but for what purpose? Ts'ae Ch'in answers:—'To distinguish accurately the boundaries of the different provinces.' Yĕh Mung-tih (葉夢得; early in the Sung dyn.) answers:—'As guiding marks to determine the application of the forces necessary to accomplish the work in hand.' Gan-kwŏ and Ma Yung answered:—'To determine their order and degree, with reference to the sacrifices that should be offered to them.' This last view has found a vigorous advocate in Maou K'e-ling, who argues that 奠 denotes the preliminary sacrifices at the commencement of the work, and 旅, those offered at the conclusion of it, so that the 奠高山 here is in correlation with the 九山刊旅 in Part ii., p. 14. But with what is the 奠大川 in correlation? If it be said—with the 九川滌源, there is no notion of sacrifice there. We might accept either the view of Ch'in or that of Mung-tih, but not that advocated by Maou.

CH. II. THE ACCOUNT OF K'E-CHOW. *Pp.* 2—6. *Engineering labours on the rivers and country.* P. 2. 冀州. The old interpreters all read on 冀州既載, and placed a comma at 載, making the meaning to be='A description of the work to be done in K'e-chow was first prepared.' No doubt it seemed to them that 既, being generally equivalent to our sign of the perfect tense, presupposed a subject already mentioned. But in p. 5, 既修大原, it introduces a clause in an absolute manner. It is much more in consonance with the analogy of the commencing parr. of the other chapters on the other provinces to put a stop at 州. The only difference is that those others are all defined by certain boundaries, whereas no boundaries are assigned to this. The reason may be, as Ts'ae says, that all the others being defined, the boundaries of this might thence be known; or, as it said by others, it is left undefined, a mark of distinction, as containing the imperial seat, the capital of the empire. Hwang-te is said to have had his capital in Choh-luh (涿鹿); Chuen-heuh, his in Te-k'ew (帝邱); Kaou-sin, his in Poh (亳);

Yaou, his in P'ing-yang; and Shun, his in P'oo-fan (蒲坂);—all of which places were within K'e-chow. As to the actual boundaries of the province, it had the Ho—what is called the Yellow River—on three sides of it, the west south, and east. On the west, between it and Yung-chow, was all that portion of the Ho, which forms the present dividing line of Shen-se and Shan-se, in a course of about 500 miles, according to Williams (The Middle Kingdom, vol. I., p. 15). At the south-western corner of Shan-se, the Ho turns to the east, and first dividing that province from Ho-nan, flows through Ho-nan on to the south-west point of Shan-tung, and afterwards traverses Keang-soo, with a southerly incline, finally disemboguеing itself in about lat. 34°. At any rate, one would have so described its course a few years ago; it is said now to pursue a north-easterly course from somewhere in the border between Shan-tung and Ho-nan. It did this in the time of Yu. It turned north at about the place where Chih-le, Shan-tung, and Ho-nan all touch, and its waters flowed north and east into the present gulph of Pih-chih-le. The southern boundary of K'e-chow, therefore was the Ho in its south-eastern flow, which divided it from Yu-chow; and its eastern boundary was the Ho in its north-eastern flow, which divided it from Yen-chow. [This north-eastern portion is often called the Ho of Yu;—the first change in its direction to a more southerly course took place in the 5th year of the emp. Ting (王定) of the Chow dyn. B.C. 601.] The northern boundary of K'e-chow must be left altogether indefinite.

From this account of the province, it will be seen that Medhurst is in error when he speaks of it as corresponding to the present Shan-se.(Shoo King, p. 83). It was of much larger extent. As stated in 'The Boundaries of the empire in Successive Dynasties,' K'e-chow embraced the present provinces of Chih-le and Shan-se, with the three departments of Chang-tih (彰德), Wei-hwuy (衞輝), and Hwae-k'ing (懷慶) in Ho-nan, and the western portion of Shing-king or Leaou-tung.

Pp. 3, 4. 旣載壺口,治梁及岐,—If 旣載 be joined, as by the old scholars, with 冀州, it is not possible to construe 壺口. They have said nothing, however, which would indicate that they saw the difficulty.

載 is best taken as = 事, 'to perform service.' Ts'ae and others would combine the meanings of 始 'first,' and 事. He says:—經始治之謂載; but this is not necessary.

壺口 is the name of a hill which we might translate 'Pot's-mouth.' It is 70 *le* to the south-east of the small dep., city of Keih (吉), in Shan-se. Medhurst gives its position as in lat. 36°15', N., long, 6°5', W. of Peking. The Ho passes it in its southward flow, 'seething like a boiling pot' (see a note in the 集傳), and I suppose that in the time of Yu some spur of the mountain encroached upon the stream. South of Hoo-k'ow was the Lung-mun (龍門) or 'Dragon Gate,' an important point of the Ho, so called from a hill of that name; and north of it was the 孟門, or Great Gate,' also an important point. Before Yu's labours, the waters of the Ho not finding free course from Măng-mun downwards, there overflowed, and inundated both K'e-chow and Yung-chow. By what he did on Hoo-k'ow, and his immediately subsequent operations on mount Leang, he achieved one of the most notable of his 'labours,' and 'opened the Dragon-gate.' Leang and K'e are the names of two hills,—belonging, say the scholars of the Sung dyn. to K'e-chow; belonging, said the older interpreters, to Yung-chow. Acc. to Ts'ae, Leang was the Leu-leang (呂梁) hill, corresponding to the present 'Spine hill' (骨脊山), in the north-east of the small dep. of Yung-ning (永寧), belong. to the larger one of Fun-chow (汾州); and K'e was the Hoo-k'e, or 'Fox-peaks,' hill in the same dep. of Fan-chow, in the west of Heaou-e district (孝義縣). Ts'ae says that the waters of the Ho passed at the base of both these hills. But it is objected by Hoo Wei that 'Spine hill' is fully 150 *le* from the Ho, and 'Fox-peaks' more than 330. I must conclude that while it was natural for the Sung scholars to look for Leang and K'e in K'e-chow, they have not been successful in finding them there. Turning to the old interpreters, who refer the hills to Yung-chow, Leang is the pres. mountain of that name, 90 *le* to the north-west of the dis. city of Han-shing (韓城), dep. Se-ngan, in Shen-se; and K'e, called also 'Heaven's pillar' (天柱) is 90 *le* north-east from K'e-san (岐山) dis. city, dep. of Fung-Ts'ëang (鳳翔). The former was not far from the western bank of the Ho, and near to Lung-mun. We can easily see how some operations on it should have been necessary to complete the accomplishment of the object contemplated in beginning at Hoo-k'ow. But why should he have gone westward to mount K'e? Hoo Wei answers:—'By dealing with mount Lëang, a free passage was made for the Ho, and the calamity of inundation was removed from the country on the right and left of this western portion of it. But that country still remained unfit for the purposes of agriculture, covered with pools, undrained, and it was for Yu, acc. to his own words, 'to deepen the channels and canals, and conduct them to the rivers, that Tseih might proceed to his business. But why should he defer proceeding at once to his work on T'ae-yuen and Yŏ-yang, which were near the imperial seat? If he had now gone at once eastward, not a few years must have elapsed before he could come back to this point; and we may conclude also that it was of great importance to the capital itself that this part of the country should be regulated without de-

lay.' These observations seem to give a sufficient explanation of Yu's turning aside a little from K'e-chow to the adjoining prov. on the west. There remains still another point to be touched on, before we proceed to the next par.—We get the impression that Yu's labours commenced at Hoo-k'ow and mount Lëang. But Choo He has questioned this. Referring again to Hoo Wei, he observes:—'Choo in his 語錄 says that he cannot fully credit the common view as to the commencement of Yu's labours, for that if he had opened the passage of the 'Dragon Gate' without previously clearing the channels below, the out-rush of the Ho would only have been more disastrous than before. It was Yu's plan to commence at the lowest point, and therefore in K'e-chow he must have begun at Këĕ-shih, and the nine Ho. These views have been followed, especially by Foo T'ung-shuh (傅同叔); and it is generally concluded that Yu began to deal with the waters in Yen-chow. But let us attend to the aspect of the inundation, as it presented itself to Yaou. He said:—"Destructive is the overflow of the waters. In their vast extent, they embrace the mountains and overtop the hills, threatening the heavens." Mencius' account is:—"In the time of Yaou, the waters flowing out of their channels, inundated the Middle kingdom. Snakes and dragons abounded, and the people had no place where they could settle themselves. In the low grounds they made nests for themselves, and in the high grounds they made caves." This was the aspect of the inundation as it appeared to Yaou, and frightened him; it is described by him accordingly. It was occasioned chiefly by the outburst of the Ho above Mang-mun, and no other place so urgently required that measures should be taken with it. If Yu could manage the Ho at Lung-mun and mount Leang, he would find no insurmountable difficulties elsewhere; if he could not do this, the capital must have become the home of fishes. But without reference to the capital, here was the spot where it was necessary to take the first measures to remedy the terrible evil.' K'ung Ying-tă reasons in a similar way, and insists that the waters of K'e-chow did not flow through Yen-chow.

P. 5. 既修太原,至于岳陽,— 既修, 'having repaired.' This is understood to have reference to the labours of K'wăn, Yu's father, which had not been altogether ineffectual. Choo Hoh-ling (朱鶴齡; of the pres. dyn.) has said:—'On the north of the Ho there are many of K'wăn's dykes. The capital being within the space here indicated, K'wăn had wrought with peculiar energy to defend it from the waters. Yu entered into his labours, availed himself of them and completed them. But there was this difference between the father and the son. Yu went first to the source of the evil, and made a free course for the Ho; whereas K'wăn had confined himself to a branch of it, to the course of the Fun in those parts.' 太原,—lit., 'the great plain;' but the name still exists as that of the principal prefecture of Shan-se, and also of a district of the same. The city of T'ae-yuen is in lat. 37°45′, N., lon. 3°55′, W. of Peking. 岳陽,—'the south of Yŏ.' Yŏ, called also T'ae-yŏ, was the principal mountain in K'e-chow. It is now the Hoh-t'ae (霍太) hill, 30 *le* to the east of Hoh-chow city, belong. to the dep. of P'ing-yang. It is said to be 200 *le* in circumference, and its southern skirts touch on the two districts of Yoh-yang (岳陽), and Chaou-shing (趙城). Hereabouts Yaou, it is said, had his principal city when marquis of T'ang; but this is doubtful. The 修......至, indicate continuousness of operation, and indeed this paragraph is descriptive of Yu's regulation of the river Fun (汾), which rose in T'ae-yuen, pursued a devious course to Yoh-yang, and afterwards joined the Ho.

P. 6. 覃懷底績,至于衡漳,—Yu is now operating on the borders of the Ho in its eastward course from the south-western corner of the pres. Shan-se. The name of Tan-hwae still partly remains in that of the dep. of Hwae-k'ing (懷慶), in Ho-nan, whose prin. city is in lat. 35°6′, N., 3°28′, W. of Peking. The territory was low and level, easily inundated therefore, and requiring more toil to be spent on it. The toil and the eventual success are indicated in the phrase 底績;—comp. Can. of Shun, p. 3, and Coun. of Kaou-yaou, p. 8. Having done all that was necessary for the present on the southern portion of the Ho, Yu went on to the junction of the Chang with the Ho; or, as Lin Che-ke says, we may suppose that he crossed over the country, across the mountain ranges of 大行, to the sources of the Chang, and regulated its course, and the country which it drained, all the way to the Ho. 衡 is taken as = 横, and 衡漳 is 'the cross-flowing Chang,' so called with reference to its course from east to west, or the contrary; a course from north to south or from south to north being described as natural (從);—see the 集說. Ma Yung and Wang Suh were of opinion that 衡 was the name of one river, and 漳 that of another, but there is no evidence to support their view. It appears, however, that the 衡漳 was formed by the union of a 'clear' (淸漳) and a 'muddy (濁漳) Chang.' The foll. account of them is taken from the 地理今釋, or 'Modern Geography:'—'The Clear Chang rises 30 *le* to the south-west of the district city of Lŏ-p'ing, (lat. 37°35′, N; lon. 2°40′, W.). dep. T'ae-yuen. Flowing south-east to the dis. of Shê-heen (涉縣), dep. Chang-tih (彰德), Ho-nan, it is there joined by the muddy Chang, at "the Meeting of the Chang." Thence it flows north-east to Chih-le, and in the dis. of Kwang-

七節 厥土惟白壤。○八節 厥賦惟上上、錯、厥田惟中中。○

8 The soil of this province was whitish and mellow. Its contribution of revenue was the first of the highest class, with some proportion of the second. Its fields were the average of the middle class.

p'ing (廣平), in the dep. of the same name, it throws off a branch which joins the Wei, (衞河), while the main stream, skirting the borders of Shan-tung, in the dis. of K'ew-heen (邱縣; dep. Ts'ing-chow) again divides, and sends off a branch northwards to the marsh of Ta-luh (大陸澤), passing on itself through the dep. of Ho-këen (河間) in Chih-le, into dep. of T'een-tsin, where, in the dis. of Ts'ing-hëen (靑縣), it unites with the Wei. Thence flowing northwards as far as Se-koo of T'een-tsin, it receives various streams, and holds an eastward course to the sea. At this quarter it is called the Old Chang, to distinguish it from the branch of itself which went off to Ta-luh, and rejoins it at Se-koo, under the name of the New Chang.' (Se-koo, 'the western Koo' [西沽], to distinguish it from Ta-koo (大沽), a name become sufficiently familiar of late years). 'The muddy Chang has its rise in the dis. of Ch'ang-tsze (長子), dep. of Loo-ngan (潞安), Shan-se, and also follows a south-eastern course to the "Meeting of the Chang."' Of course, in Yu's time, the Chang, being absorbed in the Ho, had no subsequent course of its own to the sea. Its junction with the Ho took place in the pres. dep. of Ho-këen, dis. of Fow-shing (阜城; lat. 37°55'. N., lon. about 15', W.).

Pp. 7, 8. *Soil and Revenue.* 7. 土 here denotes the soil or ground, with general reference to the whole province; and it is described by regard both to its colour and nature. Its colour was 'white,' = whitish, and its nature was 壤. This term may be interchanged with 土 in the general sense of soil or ground;—see the 'Rites of Chow,' 地官, 司徒, 第二之二, esp. pp. 23,24. Here, however, where it denotes a particular kind of soil, the word *mellow*, signifying, in this application, 'soft, easily pulverized,' very well represents its meaning. Gan-kwŏ defines it by 無塊, 'without lumps,' and the 說文 by 軟土, 'soft earth.' In the portion of the 'Rites of Chow' just referred to, we have much said about the practical uses to which a knowledge of the different soils should be turned, but the simple statement of the text does not require that I should enter on that subject. 8. Both the revenue and the fields—that is, the cultivable ground—were arranged in three classes (see Part ii., p. 15), and under each class were three divisions. Thus the value of the ground ranged from the 1st to the 9th degree; and the amount of revenue did the same, the general rule, I apprehend, in regard to it being that it should be a tenth of the produce. The amount of revenue would be very much regulated by the character of the ground, but not entirely so. A poor tract of country well cultivated would produce more than a rich one, left to go to waste. The actual produce depended on many other circumstances in addition to the character of the soil, such as the density or sparseness of the population, the system of irrigation, manuring, &c. Here in K'e-chow, the revenue was the highest of the highest class, (厥賦惟上上), with an admixture of the second degree of the same. Such is said to be the force of 錯. Gan-kwŏ and K'ang-shing both define that term in this connection by 雜. Gan-kwŏ says:—雜出第二之賦, 'it mixedly produced the revenue of the second degree.' Ma Yung took a different view (地有上下錯通率第一); but allowing their meaning, we are still unable to say when and where the reduction from the highest amount of revenue was admitted. In the account of the other provinces, the description of the fields always precedes that of the revenue, as is proper, the revenue chiefly depending on the ground; but here the order is reversed. The revenue is mentioned first, and the quality of the fields follows. The most likely explanation, perhaps, of this is that suggested by Lin Che-k'e, that K'e-chow being the imperial domain, its income would be derived not only from the fields, but from a groundrent, and imposts on gardens, orchards, &c., as well. In the other provinces, again, mention is made of 貢, 'articles of tribute,' in addition to the 'revenue.' Those were expressions of their fealty presented by the princes. There was no occasion for them in the imperial domain.

九節 恆衞既從、大陸既作。十節 島夷皮服。十一節 夾右碣石、入于河。○

9 The *waters of the* Hăng and Wei were brought to their proper
channels; and Ta-luh was made capable of cultivation.
10 The wild people of the islands brought dresses of skins. Keeping
11 close on the right to the rocks of Këĕ, they entered the Ho.

P. 9. *Other engineering labours.* It is difficult to say why this par. does not immediately follow the 6th. We may reasonably suppose that the country was all rescued from the inundation before measures were taken to fix the revenue. 從＝從其故道, 'to follow their old channels.' 從 has a *hophal* signification. The Hăng river takes its rise from a valley of the hill of the same name, in the pres. dis. of Keuh-yang (曲陽; lat. 38°39′, N.; long. 1°40′, W.), dep. Chin-ting (眞定, called also 定州). Near its source it is called the 'Long Streamlet' (長溪); it pursues an eastern course, to the borders of K'e Chow (祁州), dep. Paou-ting (保定), receiving difft. names in its progress. At this point it unites with the Tsze (滋河), and by-and-by flows into the T'ang water (唐水), called also the Kow (滱). The Wei, under the name of Luy-kow (雷溝), rises in the district of Ling-show (靈壽; lat. 38°18′, N., long. 1°57′, W.), and flowing to the south, enters the Hoo-t'o (滹沱). Hoo Wei contends that by the Hăng of the text we are to understand the Kow, and by the Wei the Hoo-t'o. The Kow and the Hoo-t'o now unite their streams, and travelling eastwards pass the city of T'een-tsin, and on to the sea. The Hăng and the Wei in Yu's time poured their united waters into the Ho.

大陸既作,—K'ang-shing says that 大陸 is 'the name of a marsh or lake, on the north of Keu-luh' (鉅鹿; lat., 37°17′, N., lon., 1°17′, W.). Modern writers incline to consider it the name of a large tract of flat ground, 'embracing,' says the Daily Explanation, 'the district of Hing-t'ae (邢臺), and the smaller depp. of Chaou (趙州), and Shin (深).' I apprehend the modern view is correct, 陸 having the signification, given in the 爾雅, of 'what is high and level.' As to the lake of Ta-luh, called also Kwang-o (廣阿), it is still very considerable. It touches the dis. of Shuh-luh (束鹿), dep. of Paou-ting (保定); that of Keu-luh, dep. of Shun-tih (順德); those of Lung-p'ing (隆平), and Ning-tsin (寧晉) in Chaou-chow; and Shin-chow:—see a note in the 集傳, and the description of the lake in the 'Statistical Account of the Empire of Ta-ts'ing,' under Shun-tih foo.). The Hăng and the Wei were to the north of Ta-luh, and I suppose that their waters overflowing and running south into the lake made the country difficult of cultivation. Still the repetition of the 既—既從, 既作—implies that a good deal of independent labour had to be expended on Ta-luh,—the country, I suppose, all round the lake, before it was possible to cultivate it, which is the meaning of 作.

Pp. 10, 11. *Tribute brought by barbarous tribes, and their route to the capital.* 10 島夷皮服,—The 'Historical Records' read 鳥夷; as did Ch'ing, Ma, Wang, and others of the Han dynasty. Gan-kwŏ determined that 島 was the proper reading, which was subsequently introduced into the text. He defines the character by 海曲, 'bends of the sea,' *i.e.*, bays, with islands in them that could be inhabited. But the proper definition of 島 is 'an island' (海中可居者曰島). If 鳥 be the proper reading, then 鳥夷, or 'Bird barbarians,' would be the name of a tribe of wild people, for whom we are to look in the islands or mainland, north and east from K'e-chow. Assuming that Gan-kwŏ was right in thinking we should read 島, we are restricted from the mainland. Hoo Wei thinks that only the Japanese and the people of San-han (三韓 (see a long, but extravagant description of this tribe or tribes in the Books of the 'After Han,' 卷七十五) can be intended. But I cannot suppose that, if Japan was then occupied, its people had any intercourse with China, far less acknowledged its sovereignty. The 'skin dresses,' no doubt = furs, rather lead our thoughts to the mainland, to the regions north-east from K'e-chow. 11 夾右碣

十二節 濟河惟兗州。○十三節 九河既道。○十四節 雷夏既澤。○十五節 灉沮會同。○十六節 桑土既蠶。是降丘宅土。○十七節 厥土黑墳。厥草惟繇。厥木惟條。○十八節 厥田惟中下。厥賦貞。作十有三載。乃同。○十九節 厥貢漆絲。厥篚織文。○廿節 浮于濟漯。達于河。○

2 III. *Between* the Tse and the Ho was Yen-chow.

3 The nine branches of the Ho were conducted by their proper
5 channels. Luy-hea was formed into a marsh; *in which the waters of*
6 the Yung and the Tseu were united. The mulberry grounds were made fit for silkworms, and then *the people* came down from the heights, and occupied the ground *below.*

7 The soil of this province was blackish and rich; the grass in it
8 became luxuriant, and the trees grew high. Its fields were the lowest of the middle class. Its revenues just reached what could be deemed the correct amount; but they were not required from it as from the other provinces, till after it had been cultivated for
9 thirteen years. Its articles of tribute were varnish and silk; the baskets from it were filled with woven ornamental *fabrics.*

0 They floated along the Tse and T'ă, and so reached the Ho.

石,—we might translate almost literally—'they *hugged* on the right the rocks of Këě.' Evidently these were somewhere on the northern shore of the gulph of Pih-chih-le;—though some have supposed that 碣石 might be the name of a hill, some distance inland, which served as a land-mark to boats—for we can hardly use another term for the craft of those times—entering the Ho. But this view affords no explanation of the expressive phrase 夾右.

In the time of the founder of the Ts'in dynasty, the rock or rocks of Këě were well known. He visited them, and had an inscription engraved—we may suppose on the most conspicuous. Subsequently, the emp. Woo (武) visited the place in the year B.C. 109. It is generally referred now to the coast of the dis. of Foo-ning (撫寧; lat. 39°56′, lon. 2°52′, E.) in the dep. of Yung-p'ing (永平). No traces of such a rock or rocks are now to be found there; but this may be accounted for by encroachments of the sea. See again on Part ii. p. 1. The Ho in Yu's time must have entered the sea in not much less than 40° N. lat.

入于河,—this is evidently descriptive of the route of the wild people with their tribute of furs. The Ho is mentioned as the grand channel by which communication was held with the capital in connection with the tribute of every province. There can be no other meaning here; and when Gan-kwŏ says that it was Yu who returned by the Ho to the capital, to report his labours, and Ch'ing K'ang-shing also interprets the words of Yu, though somewhat differently, we feel that the old interpreters may be very unsafe guides to the understanding of the text.

Ch. III. The Account of Yen-chow.

P. 1. *The boundaries.* Those were the river Tse on the south and east, and the Ho on the north and west. The former separated it from Yu-chow and Ts'ing-chow; the latter, from K'e-chow. The 濟, anciently called also the 泲 had its origin, under the name of the 沇,

in 'King's-house' hill (王屋山), in the pres. Tse-heen (濟縣), dep of Hwae-k'ing, Ho-nan;—see Part ii. p. 10. This would give its rise in about lat. 35°5', N., lon. 4°46', W. Flowing eastwards it now enters the sea, as the 小清, at about lat. 37°15' N., lon., 1°55', E. Its name appears in its course in that of Tse-nan (濟南), the principal dep. of Shantung. Yen-chow did not commence at or near its source. We must place the boundary point between Yen and Yu in the pres. Ts'aou-chow (曹州);—see Hoo Wei, *in loc.* The same critic says on the Ho as the boundary-line of Yen on the west and north:—'At the pres. dis. of Tsoo-shing (lat. 35°20', N.; lon. 2°6', W.), dep. Wei-hwuy of Ho-nan, the Ho proceeded north-east towards the dep. of Ta-ming in Chih-le, and at the hill of Ta-p'ei (大伾), in the dis. of Seun-heen (濬縣; lat. 35°45', N.; lon. 1°38', W.), it made a bend to the west, and flowed northwards past the dep. of Changtih in Ho-nan. Then turning eastwards again, it flowed through various depp. of Chih-le—Kwang-p'ing, Shun-tih, Chin-ting, and Ho-kien, on to the sea. This was the old course of the Ho of Yu, the same as the course of the Chang described in the Han dynasty.' According to this account, the Ho of Yu must have disembogued where the Pe-ho (北河, 'the northern Ho') now does. With these boundaries, Yen-chow (兖 is sometimes called 沇) may be said to have contained—of the pres. Shan-tung, the dep. of Tung-ch'ang (東昌), the northern portion of Tse-nan, and western of Yen-chow; and of Chih-le, the dep, of Taming, with portions of those of Ho-keen and T'een-tsin:—see the 歴代疆域表. It was not a large province.

Pp. 13—16. *Engineering labours.* 13. 九河既道,—既道 seems properly explained by Ts'ae—既順其道, 'were made to follow their courses.' The whole sentence gives the idea that the nine streams or branches were already existing, and that Yu's work was to clear and direct them. K'ang-shing seems rather to have thought that the nine channels were opened by Yu, to diminish the force of the mighty stream (河水自上至此,流盛而地平無岸,故能分爲九,以衰其勢); but such a view cannot be thought of. The truth seems to be that the Ho discharged itself into the sea by many branches, in addition to the main stream described in the last note. These all occupied the northern part of Yen-chow, which formed the delta of the Ho, and Yu, selecting eight or nine of the streams, cleared their course, and by means of them drained the country. It has always been, and still is, a curious inquiry among Chinese scholars, to determine, if possible, the nine Ho. The 爾雅, as if they had all been existing in the Chow dyn., gives their names as T'oo-hae (徒駭); T'ae-she (太史); Ma-këë (馬頰); Fuh-foo (覆鬴); Hoo-soo (胡蘇) Këen-këë (簡潔); Kow-p'wan (鉤盤); Kih-tsin (鬲津). These are only eight names; and some therefore divide the sixth name into two, making the Këen one stream, and the Këë another, while others, more probably, make out the nine by adding to those eight the 'Ho of Yu,' or the main stream, already described. As early as the Han dynasty, it was the opinion of many that it was of no use trying to identify these various streams, the face of the country being so much altered from the time of Yu. Some, indeed, were of opinion even then, that the whole of the delta of the Ho of those early days had been swept away into the sea. Others, however, thought that the Këen-këë, the Kow-p'wan, and the Kih-tsin were then determinable; and the researches of the scholars of the T'ang dynasty are said to have determined other three;—but these matters are very doubtful. It is sufficient for us to know that the northern part of Yen-chow, the delta of the Ho, was rescued from the inundating waters by Yu. 14. In the south-east of the small dep. of Puh (濮), sub. to Ts'aou-chow (曹州), is the marsh of Luy, still retaining part of the ancient name. It was in the waters of Luy-hea that Shun fished, according to the 'Historical Records,' and hereabouts also Yaou is said to have rambled (堯作游成陽; 成陽 has been the name of Puh-chow under various dynasties). 'Luy-hea was marshed;'—we are not to suppose that Yu now for the first time formed a marsh at this point, but that by draining and embanking he reduced and confined the waters to their proper limits.

Ts'ae quotes a story from the 山海經 about a spirit of thunder with a dragon's body and a man's head, which dwells in the lake and makes a noise like thunder by thumping on its belly. 'Thus,' concludes Ts'ae, 'the lake, originally called the Hea, got its name of Luy-hea, the Thunder-hea.' One Le Che-tsaou (李之藻), of the Ming dyn. ridiculing this story, says that at certain seasons the waters seem to be sucked through some passage at the bottom with a loud noise. 15. I do not think that the Yung and the Tseu have been distinctly identified. They were streams in the neighbourhood of the Luy-hea, and it seems proper to join this par. with the prec., and to read that the two streams were united in the marsh. Yet it may not have been so. Both Gan-kwŏ and K'ang-shing thought so. The latter, indeed, as if he were describing what he had seen, says that the streams first met each other from opposite directions, and then entered the lake in one stream (雍 [so he reads for 灉] 水沮水相觸而合入此澤中). On the other hand, we read in the 'Daily

Explanation:'—'The Yung issuing from the Ho, and the Tseu issuing from the Tse, when the Tse was regulated, the Yung flowed into the Tseu, and they were conducted in one stream to the Ho.'

16 桑土既蠶,—'when the mulberry country was *silkworm-ed;*'—Medhurst translates —'supplied with silkworms;' but the meaning must be rather as I have given. The silkworm dislikes moisture;—as the country was drained, and the waters confined to their proper places, the people could attend to it with success. What particular tract of the country was intended by 桑土 we do not know. The whole of Yen-chow was distinguished for its mulberry trees and silkworms, but especially the region about Puh. K'ang-shing quotes, in illustration, from the 樂記 Bk. I. 6, 桑間濮上之音. 是(=於是)降 (*i.e.*, 民降) 丘宅土,—丘 or 邱 is defined by 小陵, 'a small mound' (see the 廣雅); by 土性自然, 'the natural formation of the ground' (孫炎). In Yen-chow the hills were few, but the mounds or rising grounds were many. While the inundation prevailed, the people were driven to these, but now they could descend from the heights, and dwell on the level ground. 宅土=宅平土.

Pp. 17—19. *Soil, revenue, and tribute.* 17. The colour of the soil was the opposite of that of K'e-chow, being 'black,' or blackish. I find it difficult to determine exactly the meaning of 墳 (2d tone). Ma Yung defines it by 膏肥, 'rich and fat;' Gan-kwŏ, by 墳起, as if it meant rising up in mounds or ridges. It is better to abide by Ma's meaning. 厥草惟繇,—繇=茂, 'luxuriant.' The 說文 quotes the passage under 䌛, with the expl. of 草盛皃. 條=長, 'tall.' Lin Che-k'e observes that the provinces on the north and west were very hilly, and naturally rich in grass and forests, so that there was no occasion to speak of these things in connection with them. The provinces in the south and east, however, were low and wet; they suffered especially from the inundation; all vegetation in them was stunted or unnaturally rank; and therefore the grass and trees of Yen, Seu, and Yang are all made mention of. Hoo Wei observes that this account of the grass and trees of Yen-chow, growing luxuriantly and tall after Yu's labours, would seem to be inconsistent with Mencius' observation that the inundation made all vegetation more luxuriant (Bk. III., Pt. I., iv. 7); and replies that Mencius' idea is that the overflowing waters caused everywhere a rank jungly growth, whereas here the description is of the country under the hand of man, drained of the excessive floods, and responding readily to the toil put forth on it.

18. The fields of this province were ranked in the 6th degree,—the lowest of the middle class. Its revenue was 貞. This char. is defined, both by the ancient and modern interpreters as = 正, 'correct,' 'exact,' and further they all agree in saying that the revenue of this province was the lowest of all. Ts'ae brings this meaning out of 正 thus:—'The revenue of Yen was the lightest of all; and the sovereigns of the empire consider that the lightest revenue is the correct thing' (以薄賦爲正). The rest of the par.,—作十有三載乃同, he considers an additional circumstance. Not only was the revenue fixed at the lowest degree, but even that amount was not levied till after 13 years of cultivation, so much more had Yen suffered from the overflow of the waters than the other provinces. This interpretation is upon the whole the best that has been proposed. To take 作 as descriptive of the cultivation of the land is in harmony with its meaning everywhere else in this Book. The old interpreters,—Gan-kwŏ, Ch'ing, and Ma Yung,—all took 作十有三載 as descriptive of the length of time that it took to deliver Yen from the inundating waters, so that it was the very last of the provinces on which the work could be reported as completed. Gan-kwŏ gets a meaning for 貞=正 out of this circumstance:—'Yen was the ninth rescued from the flood, and so its revenue was fixed the ninth or last in degree.' Ch'ing read on 貞=正 with the next characters, with an adverbial meaning, = 'just,' This may be done, but then there is nothing in the sentence to indicate that the revenue was fixed at the lowest rate. 18, 厥貢,—Choo He says:—'貢 denotes the offerings presented by the princes to the emperor; therefore in all the eight provinces, beyond the imperial domain, we have mention of them.' Under the Chow dyn., those offerings were of nine kinds:—'Offerings available for sacrifice' (祀貢), victims, &c.; 'offerings for the ladies of the harem' (嬪貢), as silk and hemp; 'offerings available for vessels,' (器貢), metal, sounding stones, varnish, &c.; 'offerings available for presents (幣貢), gems, silks, horses, &c.; 'building materials' (材貢); 'offerings of commodities' (貨貢): 'dresses, and materials for dresses' (服貢); 'feathers and hair' (斿貢); 'sundries' (物貢), as fish, fruits, &c.; (see the 'Rites of Chow,' 天官,冢宰第一之二.) The articles from Yen-chow consisted of varnish, the province producing largely the trees which yield it, and silk.

海廿一節岱惟青州。○嵎廿二節夷既畧。○濰廿三節淄其道。○厥廿四節土白墳、海濱廣斥。○厥廿五節田惟上下、厥賦中上。○厥廿六節貢鹽絺、海物惟錯、岱畎絲枲、鉛松怪石、萊夷作牧、厥篚檿絲。○浮廿七節于汶、達于濟。○

21 IV. The sea and the Tae *mountain* were *the boundaries of* Ts'ING-
CHOW.
23 *The territory of* Yu-e was defined; and the Wei and Tsze were
conducted by their proper channels.
24 The soil of this province was whitish and rich; near the sea were
25 wide tracts of salt land. Its fields were the lowest of the first class,
and its contribution of revenue the highest of the second.
26 Its articles of tribute were salt, fine grass-cloth, and the productions of the sea, of various kinds; with silk, hemp, lead, pine-trees, and strange stones, from the valleys of the Tae. The wild tribes of Lae were taught tillage and pasturage, and brought in their baskets the silk from the mountain mulberry.
27 They floated along the Wăn, and reached the Tse.

厥篚織文,—the 篚 were round bamboo baskets, in which manufactured fabrics were sent to the capital. The 織文 would be various kinds of silks, flowered or ornamented;—but not, some say, woven with various colours.

P. 20. *Course to the Ho, en route for the capital.* To pass from one river into another, without having to take the land and cross the country, is what is denoted by 達. Some think they passed from the Tse into the T'ă, and then into the Ho. It might be so in some cases, but not always. The T'a (in the 說文 we find 濕, and not 漯) had its rise in the pres. dis. of Chaou-shing (朝城; lat. 36° 8′, N., lon. 43′, W.), dep. Ts'aou-chow, and entered the sea near the pres. dis. city of Lŏ-ngan (樂安; lat. 37° 5′, N., lon. 2°10′, E.) dep of Ts'ing-chow. Yu is said to have made a junction between one of the branches of the Ho, which he led away from Ta-p'ei, and the T'ă. By this the tribute bearers could reach the Ho; and thence their course to the capital was well defined.

CH. IV. THE ACCOUNT OF TS'ING-CHOW. P. 21. *Its boundaries.* These are given very indefinitely,—the sea and Tae. Tae is the same as Tae-tsung, Can. of Shun, p. 8, the well known T'ae-shan (泰山). In the note on that pass., the district of T'ae-ngan, where the mountain is, is said to belong to the dep. of Tse-nan. So it formerly did; but T'ae-ngan is now constituted itself an independent department. The position of T'ae-ngan city is given from Medhurst in the same place as 36°30′, N. lat., 1° E. Lon. According to Biot, the lat. is 36°14′, N., and the lon. 45′, E. Tae must be understood in the text as defining the boundary of Ts'ing on the west and south. A line drawn in the same lat. would soon reach the Ts'e on the west, and the sea on the east, dividing Ts'ing from Seu-chow. In the time of the Chow dynasty, we find references to a wall (長城) built by princes of Ts'e, to mark this division, and protect themselves from encroachment on the south. See the 禹貢錐指, *in loc.* The sea, again, formed the boundary on the north and east; it would do so on the north so far, to the point where it received the Tse, which would then become the dividing line between Ts'ing and Yen-chow. As to the boundary on the east, the text would never give the idea that it passed beyond the sea which washes the north and east of the

pres. Shan-tung, so that the territory of Ts'ing-chow extended indefinitely into Leaou-tung, and Chaou-seen or Corea. So it would appear, however, to have done. When Shun extended Yu's nine provinces to twelve (Can. of Shun, p, 10), he divided Ts'ing-chow into Ts'ing and Ying (營);—he cut off, that is, from Ts'ing all the indefinitely extended portion lying north and east across the sea, from the present Shan-tung; and constituted it into a new province. In confirmation of this, the 爾雅 may be referred to, where, in the enumeration of the nine provinces, we do not have the name of Ts'ing-chow, but read instead—齊曰營州, 'Ts'e was called Ying-chow.' Now Ts'e embraced nearly all of Ts'ing-chow west of the sea. The calling it 營 proves how Ts'ing and Ying were connected, and is a sufficient answer to the view of some who contend that the Ying-chow of Shun was a section of K'e-chow, and not of Ts'ing-chow. The 'Boundaries of the Empire in successive Dynasties' says:—'Ts'ing-chow embraced the three departments of Ts'ing, Tăng, and Lae, with the western portion of Tse-nan, extending also to all the parts of Leaou-tung and Ting-leaou.'

Pp. 22, 23. *Engineering labours.* 22. 嵎夷既略,—Gan-kwŏ defines 略 by 用功小, 'to expend a little labour upon;' but the term—used only here in the description of Yu's operations—has probably a more definite signification. In the first meaning given to 略 in the dict., it is coupled with 經,—經略, meaning 'to define'—or, perhaps to survey —'the boundaries.' Ts'ae adopts this meaning, and adds 爲之封畛, 'to raise dykes and boundaries about it.' Yu-e is the same as the Yu-e, to which Yaou sent the second brother He, to observe the rising sun (Can. of Yaou, p. 4). The name 嵎夷 is writen also 堣夷, 禺銕; 嵎鐵 (evid. a mistake for 銕), and perhaps in other ways. Those who confine Ts'ing-chow within the pres. Shan-tung refer this place to the small dep. of Ning-hae (寧海州; lat. 39°35', N., lon 4°18', E.) in Tăng-chow. But as Yaou would send He to the remotest point eastwards, which was within the limits of the empire, and we have seen that Ts'ing-chow extended to the pres. Corea, it is more natural to conclude that Yu-e was some tract in that region. 23. 濰淄其道,—*lit.*, 'the Wei and the Tsze, their channels,' *i.e.*, were conducted by their proper channels. 其道=既道, p. 8. Ts'ae says, indeed, that 其道 indicates that Yu led the rivers here to their proper channels, while 既道 shows that they were new channels which he made to divide the force of the Ho; but we saw reason to question this view of that portion of Yu's labours. The river Wei rises in the north-east of Keu-chow (lat., 35°35', N.; lon. 2°52', W.), dep. of E-chow (沂州), and flowing east passes by Choo-shing (諸城) in Ts'ing-chow. Thence proceeding north, it enters the sea, 50 *le* to the north-east of Ch'ang-yih (昌邑縣; lat., 36°52', N.; lon., 2°15', E.). The Tsze (淄 is not found in the 說文. Keang-shing edits 甾, with which 菑 was interchanged) rises in the northern slope of Yuen hill (原山), 25 *le* to the West of Poh-san dis. city (博山); thence it flows north-eastwards past the districts of Yih too (益都), Lin-tsze (臨淄), Loh-ngan (樂安), and Show-kwang (壽光),—all in Ts'ing-chow. Not far from this last city (lat. 36°55', N.; lon., 2°32', E.), it enters the sea by the embouchure of the Ts'ing water (清水泊). With the Wei and Tsze, Yu's labours in Ts'ing-chow terminated; —he had less to do here than in other provinces.

Pp. 24—26. *Soil, revenue, and tribute.* 24. 厥土白墳,—see pp. 7 and 17. 海濵廣斥,—斥謂地鹹鹵 '斥 is descriptive of a country which is salt.' Accord. to the 說文, 斥 and 鹵 are synonyms, salt tracts in the east being described as 斥, and similar tracts in the west as 鹵. The country intended in the text was doubtless the coast of the two departments of Tăng and Lae, where there is an active preparation of salt at the present day. The ancient kingdom of Ts'e was noted for its advantages of salt and fish. 25. The fields of this province were only second in the empire to those of Yung and Seu. 26. 絺,—this char. denotes a fine fabric made of the fibres of the 葛, or *dolichos tuberosus.* A coarser fabric of the same kind was called 綌. Hoo Wei observes that in subsequent ages these fabrics were required only from the southern regions, with the single exception of 15 pieces of 絺葛, which continued to be required from Lin-tsze (臨淄),—a relic of Yu's arrangements. 海物惟錯,—海物, 'things of the sea,' *i.e.*, fishes. crabs, oysters, &c. Gan-kwŏ here defines 錯, as in p. 8, by 雜非一種, 'mixed, not of one kind only.' In opp. to this, Lin Che-k'e says that 海物 sufficiently declares the variety of the articles, without the addition of 惟錯 to convey the same idea. Comparing the sentence with 齒革羽毛惟木, p. 44, he argues that 錯 must be something different

○州。徐惟淮及岱海 廿八節

28 V. The sea, the Tae *mountain*, and the Hwae were the *boundaries of* Ts'EU-CHOW.

from 海物, and = 'grinding stones.' Woo Ch'ing adopts the same view, and argues that 惟 in the middle of a clause is a conjunctive particle, meaning 'and.' The interpretation itself is not unlikely, but the meaning given to 惟 cannot be sustained;—as, *e.g.*, in p. 21. 岱畎, 絲, 枲, 鉛, 松, 怪石,—畎 here = 谷, 'valleys,' difft. from its use in the 'Yih and Tseih,' p. 1. The 'strange stones' are very perplexing to commentators. Ts'ae gets over the difficulty by supposing they were articles indispensable in the making of certain vessels, and not curiosities, merely to be looked at. 萊夷作牧,—the note of Gan-kwŏ on this is:—萊夷地名, 可以放牧, 'Lae-e is the name of a country, adapted for the pasturing of flocks.' This must be a mistake. 萊夷 can only be 'the wild people of Lae.' Yen Sze-koo (顏師古) said they were 'the wild people of mount Lae;' and this mountain is referred to the dis. of Hwang-heen (黃縣) in Tăng-chow. No doubt their name remains in that of the dep. of Lae-chow. We may suppose they were spread over the country embraced now in the two depp. of Tang-chow and Lae-chow. They continued, notwithstanding Yu's discipline and teaching of them, wild and intractable down into the Chow dyn. They figured at the famous interview between the princes of Loo and Ts'e at Keă-kuh, where Confucius distinguished himself (vol. I. proleg. pp. 73, 74). Gan-kwŏ, and Ts'ae after him, make 作牧 one thing, and so did Sze-ma Ts'een who reads 萊夷爲牧. The view in the transl. is more in acc. with the usage of 作 in this Book. Woo Ch'ing and Hoo Wei both approve it. 檿 is the name of a mountain mulberry tree. Silkworms fed on its leaves produced a very tough silk, which made good strings for lutes. We can hardly read the text otherwise than that the baskets of this silk were brought by the wild people of Lae. I make this note because some would extend the 厥 to the whole province, like the 厥貢 at the beginning of the par.

P. 27. *Route of conveyance to the capital.* Arriving at the Tse, the tribute-bearers would go on to the Ho; and thence to the capital. This we readily infer from the former notices of the routes of conveyance. The subject of the Wăn river is a good deal perplexed. There were five streams so called, finally, it would appear, all uniting their waters. The course of the main stream may be thus described. It took its rise in the dis. of Lae-woo (萊蕪; lat., 36°16′, N., lon., 1°25′, E.), dep. of T'ae-ngan. Flowing past the districts of T'ae-ngan, Fei-shing (肥城), and Ning-yang (寧陽), on to the subordinate dep., of Tung-p'ing (東平; lat., 36°07′, N., lon., 03, E.), it entered the Tse. This ancient course of the Wăn cannot now be traced. It was diverted, during the Yuen and Ming dynasties, to feed the Grand Canal.

CH. V. THE ACCOUNT OF SEU-CHOW.

P. 28. *Boundaries.* Three boundaries of this province are mentioned, while of the other provinces only two are specified. There was the sea on the east; the Tae mountain on the north; and the river Hwae on the south. For the Hwae see on Part ii., p. 11. It is sufficient here to state that it takes its rise in the dis. of T'ung-pih (桐柏, lat. 32°20′, N., lon. 3°10′, W.), dep. Nan-yang, of Ho-nan. Flowing east, the main stream of it joins the Yellow river in the dis. of Ts'ing-ho (清河; lat. 33°35′, N., lon. 2°34′, E.), dep. Hwae-ngan (淮安), in Këang-soo. In Yu's time it held its own way to the sea, and was the dividing line between Seu-chow and Yang-chow. The Tae mountain is as indefinite a boundary for the north of Seu, as we saw it was for the south of Ts'ing-chow. The north-east dividing-line of the two was where the two depp. of E-chow and Ts'ing-chow now touch. No western boundary is mentioned. In the time of Chow, according to the 爾雅, 'westward from the Tse to the sea was Seu-chow' (濟東曰徐州). We may conclude, therefore, that the Tse was, to some distance at least, the boundary between Seu-chow and Yu-chow. According to the 'Boundaries of Successive Dynasties,' Seu-chow embraced the territory of the pres. dep. of Yen-chow in Shan-tung and all the country south to Seu-chow in Keang-soo; and from the small dep. of Suh-chow (宿州) in Fung-yang, and Sze-chow 泗州, (both in Ngan-hwuy), eastward through Keang-soo, by Seu-chow and the north of Hwae-ngan dep., on to the dep. of Hae-chow (海州). A more detailed account given in a note in the 集傳, from the 'Geography Modernized,' (地理今釋), is to the effect that the present Seu-chow (in Keang-soo); the four districts of Hwae-yuen (懷遠), Woo-ho (五河), Hung-heen (虹

廿九節淮沂其乂。○
卅節蒙羽其藝。○
卅一節大野既豬。○
卅二節東原厎平。○
卅三節厥土赤埴墳、
卅四節草木漸包。○
厥田惟上中、
厥賦惟中中。○
卅五節厥貢惟土五色、羽畎夏

30 The Hwae and the E *rivers* were regulated. The *hills of* Mung
31 and Yu were brought under cultivation. The *lake of* Ta-yay was
32 confined within its proper limits. The *country of* Tung-yuen was
successfully brought under management.
33 The soil of this province was red, clayey, and rich. The trees and
34 grass became more and more bushy. Its fields were the second of
the highest class; its contribution of revenue was the average of
the second.
35 Its articles of tribute were earth of five different colours; with
the variegated feathers of pheasants from the valleys of the Yu;

縣), and Ling-peih (靈璧), in the dep. of Fung-yang, with the small depp. of Sze and Suh (all in Ngan-hwuy); the six districts of T'aou-yuen (桃源), Ts'ing-ho (清河), Ngan-tung (安東), Suh-ts'ëen (宿遷), Suy-ning (睢寧), and Kan-yu (贛榆), in the dep. of Hwae-ngan, with the small depp. of P'ei-chow (邳州) and Hae-chow (all in Keang-soo); and the whole of Yen-chow, the south of P'ing-yin (平陰) district, and Tung P'ing (東平州), in T'ae-ngan, the dep. of E-chow, and portions of Tse-nam and Ts'ing-chow (all in Shan-tung):—all these were comprehended in the Seu-chow of Yu.

Pp. 29—32. *Engineering labours.* 29. 其乂,—comp. 共道, p. 23. 乂=治, 'to bring to order,' 'to regulate.' On the Hwae, see the prec. note and below, Part ii., p. 11. Ts'ae quotes from Tsăng Yen-ho (曾彥和; like Ts'ae, of the Sung dyn., but earlier) a remark that the Hwae came out of Yu-chow, and when it reached the borders of Seu and Yang, its stream was large, and the injury it did was specially great in Seu, so that the regulation of it is only mentioned in conn. with that prov. It is observed on this, in the 禹貢錐指, that the country of Yang was lower than Seu; the overflow of the Hwae could not be less injurious in the more southern province; and that Yu, no doubt, employed a portion of his assistants at the same time upon the Yang side, and delivered both provinces at once from the evil. Compare what was said on 治梁及岐, p. 4. The E rises in the dis. of E-shwuy (沂水, lat. 35°46′, N., lon. 2°32′, E.; dif't. hills 艾山, 沂山, &c., are assigned as its source. Probably dif't. streamlets from the same mountain range coalesced in one) of E-chow, and passing through that of T'an-shing (郯城), it enters Këang-soo. There in the sub. dep. of P'ei (邳) in Seu-chow, it unites with the Sze (泗), and proceed. south-east to the dis. of Ts'ing-ho, it enters the Hwae. [There were other rivers called E in Seu-chow. That mentioned Ana., XI. xxv. 7 (浴乎沂) was one of them.] 30. The hill of Mung is 40 *le* to the south of the district city of Mung-yin (蒙陰; lat. 35°50′, N., lon. 1°42′, E.), extending to the borders of the dis. of Pe (費). It is the same with that called by Confucius the eastern Mung (Ana. XVI. i. 4). It is mentioned in the Statistical Account of the present dynasty, that K'ëen-lung, who several times passed the mountain in his visits to Këang-soo and Chĕ-këang, wrote some pieces of poetry on the sight of its snow-covered summits. Mount Yu is 0 *le* to the north of the dis. city of T'an-shing, lat. 34°45′, N., lon. 2°17′, E. This is said to have been the hill where Shun kept K'wăn a prisoner (Can. of Shun, p. 12). The 'Statistical Account' says there can be no doubt on the point, for on the top of the hill there are two springs which unite

and form a deep pool (羽潭), and we are told in the 左傳, that the spirit of K'wăn was changed into a yellow bear, which sprang into the gulf of Yu (羽淵)! Hoo Wei, however, and not without apparent reason, would refer the place of K'wăn's banishment to a mount Yu, farther to the east, in the dis. of Fung-lae (蓬萊) in Tăng-chow. 其藝, 'were planted.' Hoo Wei observes: 方耕曰作;既種曰藝, 'Just ploughed is called 作; already planted is called 藝.' When the E was regulated, the country on the west of it to Mung, and on the east of it to Yu, would be so far drained that Yu could proceed to whatever other labours were necessary upon it. 31. 大野既豬,—Sze-ma Ts'een reads:—大野既都. He avoids, as is common with him, the unusual and difficult character. Gan-kwŏ defines:—水所停曰豬, 'where water rests is called 豬.' To the same effect is Wang Suh's definition:—水所停止深者曰豬. The waters overflowed the borders of the lake; by reducing them and by embankments, Yu succeeded in confining them within their proper limits. We can only speak, it will be seen, of the Ta-yay lake or marsh in the past tense. It was in what is now the district of Keu-yay, lat. 35°27', N., lon. 12', W., of the dep. of Ts'aou-chow. In subsequent times it was often called the lake of Keu-yay, 大 and 鉅 having the same signification of 'great.' It had a connection on the south with the Choo (洙) and the Sze, and on the north with the Ts'ing and the Tse, so that it must have been liable to risings of its waters. The country all about it has been liable to inundations of the Ho. A great one happened A.D. 131, which it took more than 20 years to remedy. Repeated inundations from the time of the Han dyn. obliterated all traces of the labours of Yu. In A.D. 1344, the Ho spread over all the districts of Keu-yay, Kea-ts'ëang (嘉祥), Wăn-shang (汶上), and Jin-shing (任城); and when it retired south again, this lake was left quite dry, a tract of level ground;—see the 禹貢錐指, *in loc.* [These notices are interesting They show that the state of the country which called forth Yu's services was not peculiar to his time.] 32. Tung-yuen, 'the eastern plain,' is now the sub. dep. of Tung-p'ing, and some adjacent territory, in the dep. of T'ae-ngan. It was in the north of Seu-chow, but is spoken of as eastern, with reference to its position east of the Tse. 底平,—the 底, as has been observed before, implies the putting forth of effort. The two characters='could be levelled;' but we must understand 平 as Gan-kwŏ did. He says:—言可耕, 'the meaning is that it could be cultivated.' Wang Yen (王炎) observes:—'The confining the waters of Ta-yay, and then bringing Tung-yuen under management, were things of which the one was the sequel of the other' (集說).

Pp. 33—35. *Soil, revenue, and tribute.* 33. 土黏曰埴, 'earth adhesive is called clay.' There can be no doubt of the meaning. Ch'ing instead of 埴 read 戠. 草木漸包—the 說文 quotes this sentence as 草木蔪苞. 包 or 苞 has the signification, as applied to trees or shrubs, of 'bushy.' Wang Suh explains:—包相包裹也, '包 means embracing one another,'—showing that he read 包, and an intelligible description of a bushy shrub. 漸='gradually,' 'advancing by degrees.' 34. The cultivable ground of Seu ranked in the second grade, and its revenue was only in the fifth. 35. 土五色,—the soil of Seu-chow was red. Such was its general character, but in different parts earth of different colours must have been found; especially was the country about the pres. districts of Choo-shing (諸城), and T'ung-shan (銅山) in Seu-chow, famed for its coloured earths. The meaning of this tribute is thus expanded by Ying-tă from Gan-kwŏ:—'The emperors raised a mound of earth of the five colours, as an altar to the spirits of the land. On the investiture of any prince, a quantity of earth, of the colour characteristic of the region where his principality lay, was cut away and given to him, which he took home to build an altar with. All the altars thus built, however, were covered with yellow earth. The earth was given to each prince, in bundles covered with white rushes, emblematic of purity.' Ying-tă quotes also from Han Ying's preface to the She King, to the effect that the emperor's altar was five cubits square, green on the east, red on the south, white on the west, black on the north, and all covered with yellow earth. [Comp. Naaman's request to Elisha. 2 Kings, v. 17.] 羽畎夏翟,—羽畎 comp. 岱畎, p. 26. The dict., with reference to this passage, defines 夏 by 五色, 'having the

翟、嶧陽孤桐、泗濱浮磬、淮夷蠙珠暨魚、厥篚玄纖縞。○ 卅六節 浮于淮泗、達于河。○

the solitary dryandra from the south of *mount* Yih; and the sounding stones that *seemed to* float near the banks of the Sze. The wild tribes about the Hwae brought oyster-pearls and fish; and their baskets full of deep azure silks, and other silken fabrics, chequered and pure white.

36 They floated along the Hwae and Sze, and so reached the Ho.

five colours,' variegated, and we may accept this meaning, though some would make 夏翟 together the name of a pheasant found about the Yu. 翟 *(teih)* alone means a long-tailed pheasant. The ancient Chinese made great use of feathers on their flags and banners, and for ornament generally. 嶧陽孤桐,— 嶧陽, 'the south of Yih.' There were two mountains of this name, one north in the pres. dis. of Tsow (鄒縣) in Yen-chow, and the other south, called 葛嶧, in the sub. dis. of P'ei (邳) in Seu-chow. It is the latter which is intended in the text. The wood of the dryandra is always considered good for making lutes. The older and loftier the tree, the better for the purpose. One that stood solitary on the hill-side or top, having outlived all its compeers, would possess a special value. This is, I suppose, the force of the 孤, or 'solitary.' 泗濱浮磬,—the Sze, which rises in the dis. of Sze-shwuy (泗水; lat. 35°48', N., lon. 1°2', E. The dis. takes its name from the stream, and that again, named from the fact that it is formed by *four* streamlets, each with its separate spring, in Yen-chow, is now one of the feeders of the Grand canal. In Yu's time it flowed into the Hwae in the country of the present Seu-chow. It was after its entrance into the pres. Keangsoo, in the pres. district of T'ung-shan (銅山), that the sounding stones of the text were found. The reason why they are spoken of as 'floating' seems to be that suggested in the translation by the addition of 'seemed to.' At any rate, that is the explanation of the older interpreters. Other views may be seen in the 禹貢錐指, *in loc.* 淮夷蠙珠暨魚,— 淮夷 can only mean 'the wild people about the Hwae.' They continued rebellious and intractable long after Yu's time;—see Confucius' Preface, parr. 40, 55. Gan-kwŏ blunders here, as we saw he did upon 萊夷, p. 26. He says that 淮 and 夷 are the names of two rivers. Wang-Suh and Ma Yung agreed with him; but Ch'ing explained as in the translation. 蠙 is another name for 蚌, the common term for the pearl oyster. 厥篚玄纖縞,—here these baskets of silks would seem to have been brought also by the wild tribes of the Hwae, and so the Daily Explanation expressly says (三者亦淮夷所出,命其盛諸篚而貢焉);—comp. on p. 26. Still, 厥篚 may refer to the whole province, like 厥貢 above. 玄, 纖, and 縞, are descriptive of three kinds of silken fabrics:—the first expressing the colour as being 赤黑, 'red and black,' a deep azure; the second indicating a chequered silk, with a black warp and white woof (黑經白緯); and the third, a fabric white and unornamented. Other accounts of these characters may be found in Hoo Wei.

P. 36. *Route of conveyance to the Ho.* 達于河,—Keang Shing edits 達于菏, after the 說文; but the analogy of the corresponding par. in the account of the other provinces is sufficient to justify the reading of the text. We have 河, moreover, in the 'Historical Records.' As to the route itself, it will suffice to give the paraphrase of the 'Daily Explanation:'—'The tribute was conveyed northwards from Seu. First, they floated in boats along the Hwae, and from the Hwae entered the Sze. Proceeding then still north, they went on to the Ho from the Sze, either by the Yung (灉) or by the Tse.'

卅七節 淮海惟揚州。○卅八節 彭蠡既豬。○卅九節 陽鳥攸居。○四十節 三江既入。

37 VI. The Hwae and the sea formed *the boundaries of* YANG-CHOW.
38 *The lake of* P'ang-le was confined to its proper limits; and the sun
40 birds had places to settle on. The three Këang were led to enter
the sea; and it became possible to still the marsh of Chin.

CH. VI. THE ACCOUNT OF YANG-CHOW.

P. 37. *Boundaries.* The Hwae was the boundary on the north, and it is natural to suppose that the other boundary mentioned, the sea, should be referred to the south of the province. This was the view of Gan-kwo (北據淮南距海). If it were really so, Yang-chow must have extended along the coast as far as Cochin-china, and not a few Chinese scholars are ready at the present day to argue that it did so. Others restrict it to more likely dimensions. Hoo Wei contends that the sea which has been specified as a boundary of the provinces of Ts'ing and Seu was that along their east coast, and similarly ought we to think of the sea as a boundary of Yang. K'ang-shing had said, rather indefinitely, that 'the boundaries of Yang-chow were from the Hwae southwards to the sea along the east (揚州界自淮而南至海以東). If I have caught the exact meaning of his words,—至海以東,—I think the amount of his interpretation is all that we can conclude from the text. Yang-chow extended from the Hwae southwards along the coast, but how far is not said. No other province was beyond it in the south, but that it did not extend to the southern shores of the pres. Kwang-tung we may be sure;—where it really did terminate we cannot tell. The articles of tribute and revenue in Yu's time, and the hills and waters mentioned in the account of the empire under the Chow dynasty, lead us to conclude that the imperial dominions did not then extend beyond what is called the 'southern mountain-range,' and the 'five mountains' (南嶺 and 五嶺). Williams in his 'Middle Kingdom,' p. 127, says of this:—'The Nan Ling runs along the north of Kwang-tung, between it and Keang-se and Hoo-nan. The chain takes forty or fifty names in its course from Kwang-se to Fuh-këen, but no part of it is so well-known as the road, twenty four miles in length, which crosses the Mei ling, between Nan-ngan and Nan-heung' [The names of the 'Five ling,' in Hoo Wei's charts, are 越城 on the west, 萌渚,騎田,大庾, and 揭陽 on the east.] Of course the territory of China proper gradually extended south and west; but it was the ambition of the founder of the Ts'in dynasty, which first formally incorporated the southern regions with it. Among the forty tracts (郡) into which he divided his empire, we have those of Nan-hae (南海), Kwei-lin (桂林), and Sëang (象), embracing Kwang-tung and Kwang-se on to An-nam or Cochin-china. Hoo Wei, tracing the eastern border of Yang-chow along the coast of Keang-soo, Chĕ-keang, and Fuh-keen, extends it to Ch'aou-yang (潮陽; lat. 23°22', N., lon, 13', E.) dis., of Ch'aou-chow dep., in Can. province. This is certainly bringing it far enough south.

The western boundary of Yang-chow is left quite undefined. Along the greater part of its course it was conterminous with Kiug-chow, and in the north-west with Yü-chow.

The 'Boundaries of Successive Dynasties' speaks within bounds, when it assigns to Yang-chow the present Chĕ-keang, Keang-se, and Fuh-këen (今南直浙江,江西,福建,皆是). To those three provinces the 'Daily Explanation' adds Kwang-tung, of which only a small portion, if any, can be assigned to it. And neither of these accounts carries the province so far west as it went, nor do they give the more northern portion of it. A note in the 集傳, from 'Geography Modernized,' gives the area more in detail. Modernizing its statements a second time, we may say that Yang-chow contained—of Keang-soo, the departments Keang-ning (江寧), Soo chow (蘇州), Sung-keang (松江), Chang-chow (常州), Chin-keang (鎮江), and Yang-chow (揚州), with the districts of Shan-yang (山陽), and Yen-shing (鹽城), in the dep. of Hwae-ngan (淮安); of Ngan-hwuy, the departments Ngan-k'ing (安慶), Hwuy-chow (徽州), Ning-kwŏ (寧國), Ch'e-chow (池州), T'ae-p'ing (太平), Leu-chow (廬州), with the smaller depp. of Ho Chow (和), Seu Chow (滁), and Kwang-tih (廣德), together with the small dep. of Show Chow (壽), and the districts of Fung-yang (鳳陽), Ting-yuen (定遠),

and Ling-peih (靈壁), in Fung-yang dep., the districts of Hoh-k'ew (霍邱) and T'ae-ho (太和), in dep. of Ying-chow (潁州), and those of Yu-ch'e (盱眙), and T'een-ch'ang (天長), in Sze Chow (泗州); of Ho-nan, the districts of Kwang-shan (光山), and Koo-ch'e (固始) in the small dep. of Kwang (光州); and of Hoo-pih, the small dep. of Ke (蘄州) and the districts of Lo-t'een (羅田), Ke-shwuy (蘄水), Kwang-tse (廣濟), and Hwang-mei (黃梅), in the dep. of Hwang-chow (黃州). The above may be considered the northern portion of the province. Southwards, according to the same detail, were Chĕ-kĕang, Keang-se, Fuh-kĕen, and the dep. of Ch'aou-chow in Kwang-tung.

Pp. 38—41. *Engineering labours.* 38. 旣豬,—see p. 31. The P'ang-le is the famous lake well known as the Po-yang, so called from the name of an island in it (鄱陽山). It is in the northern part of Kĕang-se, and is stated to be 450 *le* in circumference, its waters lapping the coast of 4 difft. depp.,—Nan-ch'ang (南昌; lat. 28°37', N. lon. 38', W.), whose chief city is dis. from it to the south-west 150 *le*; Jaou-chow on the east (饒州; lat. 28°59', N., lon. 14', E.) distant from it 40 *le*; Nan-k'ang in the north-west (南康; lat. 29° 31', N., lon. 27', W.) distant 5 *le*; and Kew-kĕang, also on the northwest (九江; lat. 29°54', N., lon. 24', W.), dis. 90 *le*. The P'ang-le marsh or lake received many streams. (Lew Hin, of the Han. dyn., enumerated nine). The services of Yu were required to regulate its banks, and keep the waters within their proper limits. 39. 陽鳥攸居,—one scholar, Lin Che-k'e, supposes that 陽鳥 may be the name of a place. This view might come substantially to the same as the common traditional interpretation, which there is the less reason, therefore, to call in question. 陽=日, 'the sun,' as the great source of energy and brightness. 陽鳥, 'sun birds,' are wild geese, who follow the course of the sun. 'In the winter months they live upon the islets of this lake, in flocks which may be counted by hundreds and thousands. The sun in summer travels south, and in winter north. The geese come south in the 9th month, and in the first month go north again. Thus they avoid the cold and repair to the regions of heat, and are therefore called sun birds' (Woo Ch'ing). The overflowing and disarrangement generally of the lake had driven these birds from their former haunts, to which they could now return after Yu's operations. It does seem a trivial circumstance to mention in such a condensed account of Yu's labours; and it was not unnatural for Lin Che-k'e to cast about for another explanation.

Pp. 40, 41. 三江旣入,—the disputes about the three Keang are endless; and I do not think it is possible to settle them so as to place the meaning of the text beyond dispute. It seems proper to join the par. with the next,—震澤底定; and there is an agreement in the opinion that the 'Shaking Marsh' was what is now called the 'Great Lake,' (太湖), in the south-west of the dep. of Soo-chow, and in the borders between Keang-soo and Chĕ-kĕang. It would seem that it was owing to the operations on the three Kĕang that it became possible (底) 'to settle' the disturbed waters of the lake. This would take us away from the great Kĕang, the Yang-tsze, which flows through Kĕang-soo to the sea considerably north of Soo-chow. Accordingly, Ts'ae Ch'in follows the authority of Yu Chung-ch'oo (庾仲初; Tsin dynasty. Died about the middle of the 4th century), who made the three Keang to be the Sung-keang (松江), with the two branches into which it separates 70 *le* after issuing from the lake, the L'ow Keang (婁 [in this sense read *low*] 江), flowing north-east into the sea, and the Tung Keang (東江), flowing south-east. The place where the Sung divided, was called the 'Mouth of the three Keang,' (三江口); and we have still the same name, in the north of the dis. of Woo-keang (吳江). This view would seem to satisfy the requirements of the text, but it is objected to it that the existence of the Tung Keang has never been proved;—see Maou K'e-ling, *in loc.* The Sung and the Low might be accepted as one of the three Keang, but cannot be the whole three. When we turn, moreover, to the 國語, we find in the 越語 mention made more than once of the 'three Keang.' It is said paticularly in one place that 'the three Keang surrounded' (= traversed in various directions) 'the States of Woo and Yuĕ' (三江環之,民無所移). The three Keang of Chung-ch'oo by no means answer to this description.

The oldest view of the passage—and it is that followed by Soo Tung-po, which Ts'ae mentions, but only to argue against it—considered the 'three Keang' to be only another name for the 'Great Keang,'—the Yang-tsze. It was founded on the expressions 南入于江, 東爲北江, p. 8, Part. ii., and 東爲中江, p. 9. Ch'ing K'ang-shing said:—'On the left uniting with the Han, it became the northern Keang, and after meeting with the P'ang-le it became the southern Keang; between these was the Min Keang, which was the middle Keang;—so at least it was called after issuing

四十一 震澤底定。○ 四十二 篠簜既敷、厥草惟夭、厥木惟喬、厥土惟塗泥。○ 四十三 厥田惟下下、厥賦下上、土錯。○ 四十四 厥貢惟金三

42 The bamboos, small and large, then spread about; the grass grew long and thin, and the trees rose high; the soil was all miry.

43 The fields of this province were the lowest of the lowest class; its contribution of revenue was the highest of the lowest class, with a proportion of the class above.

44 Its articles of tribute were gold, silver, and copper; yaou and

from the P'ang-le. The three Keang separating at the P'ang-le into three openings (or orifices) entered eastwards into the sea';—see the 後案. This account is not very intelligible. One part of it would seem to make the one stream of the Yang-tsze, called by three names in three parts of its course, to be the 'three Keang,' and again this stream would seem to have separated into three at the P'ang-le. As, however, the one or the three entered into the sea, without approaching the 'Shaking Lake,' we do not see how the settlement of that should be connected with the 'three Keang.' Gan-kwŏ thought 'that the three Keang' were the 'Great Keang,' and said, with Ch'ing, that it divided into three after leaving the P'ang-le, but those three branches he conducted all to the 'Shaking Lake,' from which again they proceeded by three courses to the sea. This cannot be the true view. It would oblige us to suppose an alteration from the ancient channel of the grand stream to that which it now pursues of which we have no evidence. As I said, at the beginning of the note, we do not know what rivers the three Keang were. Ch'in Sze-k'ae, in his notes upon Ts'ae's commentary, says at this place:—'If we would interpret the text without reference to views which have been urged, and would look over Yang-chow for the rivers of most advantage or capable of being most injurious to it, we shall find none equal to the Great river,—the Yang-tsze, the Sung Këang, and the Chĕ Keang. Maou K'e-ling, again, makes them out to be the Sung Keang, the Chĕ Keang, and the P'oo-yang (浦陽). The Yang-tsze is too far removed from the others, and too vast in itself. to allow us to couple it with them. The Chĕ Keang, from which Che-keang province takes its name, and the Sung Keang were perhaps two of the three Keang; but I cannot hazard a conjecture about the third.

Pp. 42—44. *Vegetation; soil, revenue, and tribute.* 42. Acc. to the analogy of parr. 17 and 33, we should expect the account of the vegetation to follow, and not to precede, the description of the soil. I have not found a satisfactory explanation of the different order observed here. 篠簜既敷,—篠 is the name of a small-stemmed bamboo. Gan-kwŏ explains it by 竹箭; but we are not to interpret 箭 by 'arrow.' It is merely here a synonym of the term in the text. 簜 is the name of a large species of bamboo, 'the joints of whose stem are a fathom apart';—so said Le Seun (李巡; Han dynasty). 敷=布. Gan-kwŏ expands:—水去已布生, 'when the water was removed, they spread about and grew.' 夭,—comp. the quotation from the She in the Great Learning, comm. ix. 6,—桃之夭夭. Gan-kwŏ explains it here by 少長, the meaning of which I have endeavoured to give in the translation. 喬=高, 'tall.' 厥土惟塗泥,—the 說文 defines 泥 by 黑土在水中者, 'black earth in the midst of water.' We can hardly accept this as a description of the soil of a province so large as we have seen Yang-chow described to be. It shows, however, how greatly the country, where Yu had been, had suffered from the overflow of the rivers.

43. The fields were of the lowest or ninth grade; the revenue was of the seventh, with a proportion of the sixth. 土錯,—see on par. 8. This 上 is in the second tone, meaning 'going up' into the class above. 44. 金三品,—'the three grades of metal.' Those were gold, silver, and copper. In the 'Historical Records,' 卷三十,平準書, we read:—古者金有三等,黃金爲上,白金爲中,赤金爲下, 'Among

品．瑤琨、篠簜、齒革羽毛惟木、島夷卉服、厥篚織貝、厥

keun stones; bamboos small and large; elephants' teeth, hides, feathers, hair, and timber. The wild people of the islands brought garments of grass. The baskets were filled with woven ornamented

the ancients there were three degrees of metal:—the yellow metal, the highest in value; the white metal, the next; and the red metal, the lowest.' I don't know how or where K'ang-shing got his idea that the text meant 'the three colours' (=qualities) 'of copper' (銅三色). Hoo Wei has collected a mass of evidence to show that gold was found in Jaou-chow dep.; that silver also was found there, and in the dep. of Lin-keang (臨江), and that there were copper mines in various parts of Keang-soo. [It is to the western provinces of Yun-nan and Sze-ch'uen that we are now commonly referred for the precious metals.] 瑤琨 are said by Gan-kwŏ to be 'beautiful gems' (美玉). Wang Suh, however, describes them as 'fine stones inferior to gems.' He is supported by the 說文 expressly in his account of the second, and probably also in that of the first;—see the 後案. The 篠 were used for arrow-shafts. One statement says they were solid, which I do not know that any bamboo can be. The 簜 were used,—the larger of them for small packing and other cases, the smaller for flutes and similar instruments. 齒革羽毛惟木,—惟 is here a connective particle, =暨, 'and.' See note on par. 26, upon 惟錯. Lin Che-k'e says that 'by teeth, hides, feathers and hair we are to understand whatever about animals was available for articles of use or for ornament.' More specially, Gan-kwŏ understood by 'teeth' the teeth of elephants, and by 'hides' (革 supposes the hair to be taken off) the hides of the rhinoceros. This view is generally acquiesced in. Are we to suppose then that the rhinoceros and elephant were found in Yang-chow in Yu's time? They may very well have been so. Hoo Wei observes that from the mention or supposed mention of these animals some argue for the extension of the limits of the province beyond the southern mountain-range to Kwang-tung, Kwang-se, and An-nam, and replies that the princes might be required to send articles of value and use purchased from their neighbours, as well as what they could procure in their own territories. 島夷卉服,—Keang Shing here reads 鳥夷, as in p. 10. The Historical Records read as in the text. The occurrence of the name again confirms the ordinary reading. One tribe of wild people, north or south, might have been called the 'Bird barbarians;' but when the name is applied equally to the two extremities of the empire along the sea-board, we must take the phrase as having nothing special in its signification. Hoo Wei would carry us chiefly to Japan for the people here intended; but that is too remote. Possibly the name may include the inhabitants of Formosa, and the Chusan archipelago, as well as of the islands generally along the east coast.

卉草之總名, 卉 is a general name for grasses.' Ts'ae would extend it to 'cotton,' the production of a plant, so that 卉服 should include dresses of cotton; but the cultivation of cotton was first introduced into China during the Sung dynasty. The 卉服 were garments, I apprehend, made of grass or straw, manipulated indeed, but not having undergone any operations of machinery, however rude. 織貝,—Gan-kwŏ takes these for two things,—'fine woven fabrics,' and 'fine shells.' Those shells, it has been supposed, were to serve as pieces of money, for purposes of exchange. But such a use of shells cannot be proved to have existed in the time of Yu. 織貝 would rather seem to be the name of some kind of silken manufacture. So this phrase is generally taken. Ch'ing, on the authority of a passage in the She King, defines 貝 by 錦名, 'the name of variegated silks.' Woo Ch'ing says:—'When the silk was dyed of various colours, and then woven into patterns, the fabric was called 織貝; where the patterns were made with silk not so dyed of various colours, the fabric was called 織文.' The 橘 is a small orange, the *citrus mandarinus*. It grows farther north than the common orange. The 柚 or pummelo seems to grow best in Fuh-këen. 錫命,—Gan-kwŏ says:—錫命乃貢, 言不常也, 'when the order was given, they were sent; this was not a regular tribute.' Wang Suh gives the same explanation, and adds that these fruits were only required from Yang-chow as a supplement to those of King-chow. K'ang-shing took a difft. view, but what he understood exactly by 錫 can hardly be known. He says:—'When there was 錫, it

包橘柚錫貢。○四十五沿于江海、達于淮泗。○四十六荊及衡陽惟

silks. The bundles contained small oranges and pummeloes:—rendered when specially required.

45 They followed the course of the Këang and the sea, and so reached the Hwae and the Sze.

46 VII. The King *mountain* and the South of *the mountain* Hwang were *the boundaries of* KING-CHOW.

was sent; when there was none, it was not sent as tribute. It is with 錫 that we soften metal' (有錫則貢之，或時乏則不貢，錫所以柔金也). 錫 certainly has the meaning of tin; but any mineral article of tribute would not be mentioned here in connection with the fruits. We must adhere to the view of K'ung and Wang.

P. 45. *Route of conveyance to the capital.* 沿 seems to have the meaning of going with the current and keeping along the shore. The tribute-bearers so passed down the Këang to the sea, and then turning north proceeded along the coast to the mouth of the Hwae, which stream they ascended to the place where it received the Sze. By the Sze they would go on to the Ho. This par. would seem to show that there is an error in Mencius' account of Yu's labours, Book III., Part I., iv. 7. He there says that 'Yu opened a vent for the Joo and Han, and regulated the course of the Hwae and Sze, so that they all flowed into the Keang' (決汝漢，排淮泗，而注之江). Now, we know it was not till the Chow dynasty, that a channel or canal was cut across the country to connect the Hwae and the Keang;—see the 左傳哀九年. Mencius does appear to have made a mistake.

CH. VII. THE ACCOUNT OF KING-CHOW. This province was bounded on the north by the mountain King,—the southern King as it is termed (南條之荆山), to distinguish it from the mount King of Yung-chow (p. 76). It is mentioned again, Part ii., par. 3. It is in Hoo-pih, 80 *le* east and north from the dis. city of Nan-chang (南漳; lat. 31°47', N., lon. 4°46', W.), dep. of Sëang-yang (襄陽). East and west from it were other hills, and barrier-passes (關 among them, which separated King from Yu-chow. On the south the prov. was bounded by the south of mount Hăng, which is a very indefinite expression. Hăng (or Hwăng)-shan itself is 30 *le* to the west of the dis. city of Hăng-shan (so called from the mount.; lat. 27°14', N., lon. 3°51', W., Biot), dep. Hăng-chow, Hoo-nan. It is the southern mountain of the Canon of Shun, par. 8. But what is meant by 'the south of Hăng?' Ying-tă replies:—'South of Hăng there was no other famous mountain or large river which could be named as bounding the province. The specification of "the south" shows us that the province extended beyond, southwards from the mountain.' I think it likely that King-chow extended towards the southern range, mentioned in speaking of the boundaries of last province. On the east King-chow and Yang-chow were conterminous, and on the west there was Lëang-chow.

The 'Boundaries of Successive Dynasties' says:—'The present Hoo-kwang' (*i.e.*, Hoo-pih and Hoo-nan); the dep. of Tsun-e (遵義; now belongs to Kwei-chow) in Sze-ch'uen, with the south of Chung-k'ing (重慶) dep; the depp. of Sze-nan (思南), T'ung-jin (銅仁), Yin-chow (恩州) and Shih-ts'ëen (石阡), in Kwei-chow; the whole of Kwang-se; and Leen-chow 連州) dep. in Canton:—all these territories were comprehended in King-chow.' As this authority gave the extent of Yang-chow too limitedly, it thus extends King-chow too much. The 地理今釋 gives the following detail:—'King-chow embraced—of the pres. Hoo-kwang the eleven depp. of Woo-ch'ang (武昌), Han-yang (漢陽), Ngan-luh (安陸), King-chow (荆州), Yŏ-chow (岳州), Ch'ang-sha (長沙), Hăng-chow (衡州), Chang-tih (常德), Shin-chow (辰州), Paou-k'ing (寶慶), and Yung-chow (永州), also the two small depp. of Ch'in (郴) and Tsing (靖), and the wards of Sze-chow (施州衛), together with the dis. of Nan-chang, dep. Seang-yang, the five districts of Ngan-luh (安陸), Yun-mung (雲夢), Heaou-kan (孝感), Ying-shing (應城), and Ying-shan (應山), and the south of the sub. dep. of Suy (隨),—all in dep. of Tih-ngan (德安), the four districts of Hwang-kang

荊州。○[四十七]江漢朝宗于海。○[四十八]九江孔殷。○[四十九]沱潛既道。

47 The Këang and the Han pursued their common course to the sea,
48 as if they were hastening to court. The nine Këang were brought
49 to complete order. The T'o and Ts'een were conducted by their

(黃岡), Ma-shing (麻城), Hwang-pe (黃陂), and Hwang-ngan (黃安) of the dep. of Hwang-chow; of Sze-ch'uen, the dis. of Këen-ch'e (建始) in K'wei-chow (夔州) dep.; and of Kwang-se, dep. Kwei-lin, the dis. of that name, and the north of Hing-ngan (興安) district.'

Pp. 47-50. *Engineering labours.* 47. The Këang, and the Han,—see on Part ii., parr. 8 and 9. The Këang entered King-chow in the pres. dis. of Pa-tung (巴東; lat. 31°2', N., lon. 6°11', W.), dep. of E-ch'ang (宜昌), and pursuing an eastern course to the dep. city of Han-yang, receives the waters of the Han (lat. 30°34', N., lon. 2°18', W.). The Han flows from Shen-se into Hoo-pih in the dep. of Yun-yang (鄖陽; dep. city, lat. 32°49', N., lon., 5°37', W.), and then holds a south-eastern course to its junction with the Këang. We may suppose that Yu expended no small amount of labour on the two rivers, from their entrance into King-chow on to the point of their junction. Particularly is he said to have operated on a narrow pass in the dis. of Pa-tung (called 巴東峽 and 三峽); but all such achievement is passed over in the text. Wang Ts'ëaou (王樵; Ming dyn.) says:—'The six characters of the par. bring the mighty stream of the united rivers rushing to the sea before our eyes. I have looked at it from Woo-ch'ang, and the vast flood dashing on brought to my mind the idea of a man hurrying with all his speed on some special mission without a thought of anything else.' 朝宗于海,=, acc. to Gan-kwŏ and K'ang-shing, 'with the reverence for the sea that is seen in court for the sovereign.' Ts'ae gives the view of them which is seen in the translation. The appearance of the princes at court in the spring, he says, was called 朝; their appearance in summer was called 宗. There is little to choose between the interpretations. The phrase itself, with a similar application, is found in the She King, Part II., Book III., Ode ix. 48. 九江孔殷,—whatever opinion be come to about the 'nine Keang,' I do not see that 孔殷 can with any propriety have a difft. meaning assigned to them from that in the translation, which is after Ts'ae Ch'in, who says that 孔=甚, and 殷=正, adding:—九江水道,甚得其正, 'The channels of the nine Keang were made to be greatly correct.' K'ang-shing took 殷=多 and thought that the par.,—'the nine Këang were very many,' showed simply the difficulty which Yu had in regulating them. Gan-kwŏ, again, took 殷=中, and understood the par. to say that 'the nine Keang occupied all the middle of the land.' On the subject of the nine Keang, a hundred pages would not contain the discussions on one side and another. I will confine myself here to the summary given of them by Maou K'e-ling (尙書廣聽錄,二):—

'There are two accounts of the nine Keang. The first is that the Great Keang, on arriving at King-chow, separated into nine streams;—and this is the nine Keang of the "Tribute of Yu,"' (that is, this is the view which Maou himself prefers.) 'The second is that the nine Keang is another name for the P'ang-le lake;—and this is the nine Keang of the Han and Tsin dynasties. As to the view of the Sung scholars, that the lake of T'ung-t'ing is the nine Keang, it is a mere speculation.

'On the first view it may be remarked that the par.—九江孔殷, standing where it does, proves clearly that the nine Keang were within the boundaries of King-chow. Now the comment of Gan-kwŏ is:—"In this province the Great Keang separated into nine channels," which Ying-tă expanded into—"The Great Keang divided and became nine, just as the Great Ho separated itself into the nine Ho." In accordance with this is the statement of Shwang Yin in his work on "The Waters" (桑欽水經;—Shwang Yin belonged to the closing times of the Han dynasty. He is a great authority in geographical matters. His work is always published with the commentary of Le Taou-yuen [酈道元], of the 'After Wei' [後魏] dyn.), that the nine Keang were in the north-west of Hea-sun in Ch'ang-sha" (在長沙下雋西北). Their position must thus have been somewhere to the west of the present King-chow (荊州之西) and the north of Yŏ-chow (岳州之北). To the same effect is the account of Chang Ching (張湞), that they began in Yŏ-ling (鄂陵), and

ended at Keang-k'ow (江口), meeting in Shwang-loh (桑落). All these names would not take us far from the pres. dep. of King-chow. And yet, since the time of Yu, these nine branches of the Great Keang have disappeared, leaving only their names. They cannot be traced any more than "the nine Ho." All the earlier scholars agree in this account. The names of the streams, moreover, are given, and though no two enumerations agree in all the nine, about seven will be found the same in all of them.

'As to the second view, that the nine Keang is another name for the P'ang-le lake, it took its origin from an expression of Sze-ma Ts'een in his Historical Records—"I ascended the hill of Leu, and saw where Yu separated the nine Keang" (余登廬山,觀禹疏九江). After him Lew Hin said that the nine streams entered into the P'ang-le; and at last, in Pan Koo's Geography of the Han dynasty, under the district of Sin-yang (尋陽) in Leu-keang dep. (廬江郡), we have the note:—"The nine Keang of the Tribute of Yu were in the south of this. They all united eastwards of this, and became the Great Keang." But this view is easily disposed of. According to the classic, the nine Keang were in King-chow, and the P'ang-le was in Yang-chow;—the two had nothing to do with each other. Moreover, the classic says that the Keang, after passing the nine Keang, went on to Tung-ling, and then flowing gently eastwards united in the north with the P'ang-le (Part. ii., p. 9), so that not only were the nine Keang and the P'ang-le not identical, but Tung-ling and a tract of country lay between them. It is quite clear that Sze-ma Ts'een and all who followed him were in error.

'The divisions of the country got their names very much from those of the waters in them, and mistakes, like that which has been pointed out, came to be stereotyped on the face of the land, giving rise to endless discussions about the original site of places. The tract of Kew-keang (九江郡), as originally established by the Ts'in dynasty, was in King-chow between Se-ling and Ke-chun (在荆州西陵蘄春之間). At the commencement of the Han dynasty, it was taken away and afterwards reappointed, but was placed near to Show-ch'un (壽春), made to approach, that is, to Yang-chow. During the usurpation of Wang-mang (王莽), the Kew-këang of Show-ch'un was changed into the tract of Yen-p'ing (延平郡), and the tract of Yu-chang (豫章) in Keang-nan was changed into Kew-këang; and thus it was that the Kew-keang of King-chow passed into the P'ang-le of Yang-chow.'

Maou goes on to relate other changes in the geographical position assigned to Kew-këang, but that last narrated finally asserted itself; and we have still the dep. of Kew-këang in Keang-se, near the Po-yang lake, the old P'ang-le, as was noticed in the note on par. 38. The demonstration is complete that in the time of Yu the nine Keang and the P'ang-le had no relation together, but were in different provinces, a long way removed from one another.

On the opinion now generally followed, that we are to think of the T'ung-t'ing lake when we read here of the nine Këang, Maou observes that it commenced with Hoo-tan (胡旦, early in the Sung dynasty) He was followed by Chaou Shwŏ-che, (晁說之), Tsăng Yen-ho, and others, especially Choo He, whose advocacy of the view has secured for it its present general acceptance. There are differences of opinion, in the details of it, as to the nine streams having their common receptacle in the T'ung-t'ing. It is difficult also to reconcile it with Part ii. par. 9. I have less difficulty, however, in supposing that the lake is what now corresponds to the nine Keang of Yu than in believing the view of Gan-kwŏ which Maou endorses. If the Great Keang had ever separated its main stream, and become nine streams, history would not be silent as it is as to their disappearance, and traces of their former existence would still be discoverable on a geological survey of the country. Such a survey may yet throw some new light on the meaning of the text.

49. 沱潛既道,—the same words occur again, p. 64, in connection with Leang-chow. There must have been streams with these names in both the provinces. The 爾雅 says:—'Streams issuing from the Keang are called 沱; those issuing from the Han are called 潛.' Gan-kwŏ, says that 'T'o is another name for the Këang.' The likeliest view seems to be that at an island in the middle of the great stream, in the present dis. of Che-këang (枝江, 'the branching of the Këang;' lat. 30°24', N., lon. 5°6', W.), dep. of King-chow, its waters separated, and flowed for a time in two channels, one north and one south, meeting again near the T'ung-t'ing lake. The northern of these channels was called the T'o. Hoo Wei insists also on another stream called the 'E, water' (夷水), which took its rise in the present dis. of Woo-San (巫山) of K'wei-chow dep. in Sze-ch'uen, and after entering King-chow, joined the Keang in the pres. dis. of E-too (宜都), as also to be accounted one of the 沱, which engaged the labours of Yu. For the Ts'een we are referred to the dep. of Ngan-luh in Hoo-pih, where the name is preserved in that of the dis. of Ts'een-keang (潛江; lat. 30°28', N., lon. 3°40', W.) As the character 潛 also signifies 'to abscond,' 'to lie hidden,' Hoo Wei supposes that the Ts'een of the Han flowed from it under ground in the first place, and then coming to the surface found their way back to the parent stream. Among the branches of the Han now there is one called Leu-fuh (蘆洑), in which name we have a reference to an under-

五十節 雲土夢作乂。○五十一 厥土惟塗泥、厥田惟下中、厥賦上下。○五十二 厥貢羽毛齒革、惟金三品、杶榦栝柏、礪砥砮丹、惟箘簵楛、三邦底貢厥名、包

50 proper channels. The land in *the marsh of* Yun *became visible*, and that of Mung was brought under cultivation.

51 The soil of this province was miry; its fields were the average of the lowest class; its contribution of revenue was the lowest of the highest class.

52 Its articles of tribute were feathers, hair, ivory, and hides; gold, silver, and copper; the ch'un tree, wood for bows, cedars and cypresses; grindstones, whetstones, arrow-head stones, and cinnabar. *There were also* the k'wăn and loo bamboos, and the wood of the hoo tree, of which the three regions were able to contribute the best specimens. The three-ribbed rush was put in cases, which *again* were wrapped up.

ground current (宜取伏流之意). This, he supposes, may be the Ts'een of the text. The 'Statistical Account' of the present dyn. confirms this view. 50. The reading of this par. is not certain. In the Han dyn. the prevailing reading was 雲夢土作乂. The founder of the T'ang dynasty issued a proclamation settling the reading to be that now published. The reading depends to my mind on the question of whether there were two marshes, the Yun and the Mung, or only one,—the Yun-mung. Each side of this is very plausibly maintained. On the whole I am inclined to agree with the authors of the 'Daily Explanation,' that the marshes were two, 'the Yun on the north of the Keang, spreading over the country of the present depp. of Ngan-luh and Tih-ngan, and all about the sub. dep. of Meen-yang (沔陽); and the Mung, on the south of the Keang, spreading over the districts of Keang-hea (江夏) and Hwa-yung (華容). We can understand how these might be spoken of sometimes as one lake without reference to the Keang between them, and how it might be called sometimes the Yun, and sometimes the Mung. If, indeed, it was only one, then I can make no meaning of the text. The necessity of the case would make us read 雲夢土. If the two portions were spoken of separately,—about which there is to me no doubt,—then we may interpret as in the translation. The large tract of country covered by the marshes was very much drained by the other labours which have been detailed; north of the Keang the water sank till the ground appeared in places; and south of the Këang, portions of the country were left dry, and could be cultivated.

Pp. 51, 52. *Soil, revenue, and tribute.* 51. The soil of this province was of the same character as that of the last,—'all miry'; which we can well believe of the portion of it, not far removed from the courses of the Keang and Han. Its fields were one degree higher in quality than those of Yang-chow; and its revenue was much higher, owing, we may suppose, to its being more thickly peopled. 52. 羽毛齒革,惟金三品,—comp. p. 44. It is supposed that the articles from the two provinces are mentioned in the order of the quality which distinguished them. Thus, Yang-chow was most noted for its precious metals, and they are therefore mentioned first in p. 44. 杶榦栝柏,—in Yang-chow we have only 惟木. Here various kinds of wood are enumerated. There are four trees, as Gan-kwŏ and Ch'ing unite in saying, and not three only, as we find in the 集傳. Ts'ae joins the two first characters together, and says—'The wood of the Ch'un tree was fit for making bows.' But I have no evidence that it had such a quality. The wood preferred for bows was that of the 柘, by which Gan-kwŏ here defines 榦. Was it the yew tree? I cannot say exactly what tree the *Ch'un* was. It has got the various names of 杶,櫄,楯, and 椿, and was good for making musical instruments, and the thills of carriages, and

匭菁茅、厥篚玄纁璣組、九江納錫大龜。○五十三浮于江沱潛漢、逾于洛、至于南河。○

The baskets were filled with deep azure and purple silken fabrics, and with strings of pearls that were not quite round. From the *country of* the nine Këang the great tortoise was presented.

53 They floated along the Keang, the T'o, the Ts'ëen, and the Han; crossed over to the Lŏ, and proceeded to the most southern part of the Ho.

for pillars. Was it the dammar? 柏 is probably the cypress; but I do not know that I am right in calling the 栝 the cedar. It is described as having the leaf of the 柏, and the stem of the 松, or common pine, growing very large, enduring cold, and good for making coffins and boats. 礪砥砮丹,—the *le* and *che* were both stones abounding in the hills of King, adapted for purposes of grinding. The former were of a coarser substance; the latter closer and finer. The *noo* were stones, by their natural shape and quality fitted for being made into arrow-heads. The best are said to be found far north, on the banks of the Hih-lung, where they are called 'water flowers, hard and sharp, approaching to the character of iron (名水花石,堅利,入鐵). 丹＝丹砂, 'cinnabar.' 惟箘簵楛,—these were all good for making arrows. The *kwăn* and *loo* grew about the marsh of Yun-mung (Gan-kwŏ). The *hoo* was a tree. We know that it was famed for the arrows made from it, because Confucius, on one occasion, being asked about a bird which lighted on the palace of the prince of Ch'in and died, pierced with a *hoo* arrow, declared that it was transfixed with one of the famous arrows of Suh-sin;—see the references in the note to par. 56 of the Preface. 三邦底貢厥名,—I think it is most natural to connect this clause with the one immediately preceding, and to suppose that it has reference only to the three articles just specified. Many, however, extend it to all the articles of tribute enumerated. What the three countries were, we cannot tell. Tung-po would make the phrase out to mean all the States of King,—'large, small and middling.' Gan-kwŏ, understanding the par. to extend only to the *kwăn*, *loo*, and *hoo*, which he thinks grew about the Yun-mung, naturally takes the three countries to have been three States in the neighbourhood of that marsh. 厥名猶言尤美,'厥名＝'the best of them':—so, Chang Kew-shing (張九成). K'ang-shing very strangely puts a point at 貢, and reads 厥名 as part of the next clause. 包匭菁茅,—the rush here spoken of, described as having 三脊, *i.e.*, three-ribbed, was used for straining the wine at the imperial sacrifices. It was packed in small cases, which again were covered over,—showing the value of the article by the care which was taken of it. This seems to be the meaning of the characters. Gan-kwŏ and Wang Suh put a stop at 包, and understand by it 'bundles' of fruit, as in the case of Yang-chow. The former also takes 菁 and 矛 as being two different articles. K'ang-shang defines 匭 by 纏結, 'to tie or wrap round.' These explanations are all erroneous. I prefer also the meaning which I have given to 包匭 to another which is common, and which ＝'bundles in cases.' 厥篚玄纁璣組,—纁 is another name for 絳. The silk has received three dippings in the dye-fluid. 璣組 are to be taken together. The former character denotes 'pearls that were not round' (珠不圓者, acc. to the 說文); these were strung, and put into the baskets, as I read the text. Some say they were carried by themselves, and not in the baskets. 九江納錫大龜,—'the great tortoise' attained the size, acc. to the 'Historical Records,' (龜策傳) of two cubits and a half. Such a creature would be esteemed very valuable, where divination was much relied on. Gan-kwŏ explains the 錫 as having the same force with the 錫貢 in par. 44. He says;—龜不常用,錫命而納之, 'the tortoise was not a regular article of tribute, but was presented when required by express command.' But the phraseo-

五十四 荆河惟豫州。五十五 伊洛瀍澗既入于河。○五十六 滎波既豬。○五十七 導菏澤。被孟豬。○五十八 厥土惟壤。下土墳壚。○五十九 厥田惟中上。厥賦錯上中。

54 VIII. The King *mountain* and the Ho were *the boundaries of* Yu-chow.
55 The E, the Lŏ, the Ch'ëen, and the Këen, were conducted to the
56 Ho. The *marsh of* Yung-po was confined to its proper limits. *The*
57 *waters of the marsh of* Ko were led to that of Măng-choo.
58 The soil of this province was mellow; in the lower parts it was
59 *in some places* rich, *in others* dark and thin. Its fields were the
highest of the middle class; its contribution was the average of the highest class, with a proportion of the very highest.

logy is different, and the nature of the case was different also. The tortoise might not be found, even when specially called for. It is better to take 錫 as a synonym of 納,—a meaning which it often has. The people presented the tor. whenever they met with it. It was always a welcome contribution.

P. 53. *Route of conveyance to the capital.* They floated along the Keang, the T'o, and the Ts'een,—not necessarily from the one of these to the other, but rather, I suppose, according to the place where the various articles were being brought from. It was necessary, however, to reach the Han, which took them to the borders of Yu-chow, where they had to leave their boats, and cross over the country to the Lŏ, by which they might proceed to the southern portion of the Ho, the boundary between Yu-chow and K'e-chow.

Ch. VIII. The account of Yu-chow.

P. 54. *Boundaries.* On the south was mount King, which has been spoken of as the northern boundary of King-chow. On the north was the Ho, that is, the southern portion of it which flowed with nearly a direct course from west to east. On the north-west, this prov. touched on the northern slopes of mount Hwa, which is sometimes described as belonging to it. On the east it was conterminous with the provinces of Yen, Seu, and Yang. Yu-chow, indeed, was the central one of Yu's nine divisions of the empire, and was conterminous, for a greater or less distance, with all of them except Ts'ing-chow, which lay off in the east by itself.

The 'Boundaries of Successive Dynasties' says:—'Yu-chow comprehended the present Ho-nan with the department of Yun-yang in Hoo-pih.' The more detailed and exact account of the 'Geography Modernized' is:—'Yu-chow embraced—of the present Ho-nan, the five departments of Ho-nan, K'ae-fung (開封), Kwei-tih (歸德), Nan-yang (南陽), and Joo-ning (汝寧), with the small dep. of Joo (汝州); of Chih-le, the two districts of Tung-ming (東明) and Ch'ang-hwan (長垣), dep. of Ta-ming (大名); of Shan-tung, the four districts of Ting-t'aou (定陶), Shing-woo (城武), Ts'aou (曹), and Tan (單), dep. of Ts'aou-chow (曹州); of Ngan-hwuy, the four districts of Fow-yang (阜陽), Ying-shang (潁上), T'ae-ho (太和), and Mung-shing (蒙城), with the sub. dep. of Pŏ (亳), in the dep. of Ying-chow (潁州); and of Hoo-pih, the five districts of Seang-yang (襄陽), Kwang-hwa (光化), E-shing (宜城), Tsaou-yang (棗陽), and Kuh-shing (穀城); with the sub. dep. of Keun (均州), in the dep. of Seang-yang, the district of Yun (鄖) in the dep. of Yun-yang, and the northern part of the sub. dep. of Suy (隨) in the dep. of Tih-ngan (德安).

Pp. 55—57. *Engineering labours.* 55. Comp. Part ii., par. 13, from which it appears that the four streams or rivers here mentioned, did not separately enter the Ho. The Lŏ received the waters first of the Këen and the

Ch'ëen, and last those of the E. and then proceeded, with them all to the Yellow river. In the text we are told, I suppose, the order in which Yu operated upon them. First, he took in hand the E, and having cleared its course to the Lŏ, continued his labours on that stream on to the Ho, after which he turned to do what was necessary for the Ch'ëen and Këen.

The E-water (伊水) has its source in Bear's-ear hill (熊耳山), in the dis of Looshe (盧氏) lat. 34°01′, N. lon. 5°32′, W.), in the small dep. of Shen-chow (陝州), Ho-nan. Passing into the dep. of Ho-nan, it flows east, close by the dis. city of Ts'ung (嵩). Bending towards the north, it passes through the districts of E-yang (伊陽) and Lŏ-yang (洛陽), into that of Yen-sze (偃師; lat. 34°45′, N., lon. 3°45′, W.), 5 *le* to the south-west of whose dis. city it enters the Lŏ. The Lŏ rises in the Ts'in range (秦嶺), 50 *le* to the north of the dis. city of Lŏ-nan (洛 or 雒南; lat. 34°06′, N., lon. 6°22′, W.), in the small but independent dep. of Shang (商州), in Shen-se. It enters Ho-nan in the dis. of Looshe, and flows north and east through Shen-chow, on to Ho-nan dep. Proceeding north-east, through the south of the dis. of Yung-ning (永寧), and the north of E-yang (宜陽), it traverses the dis. of Lŏ-yang, where it receives the Ch'ëen and Këen. Going on eastwards through Yen-sze, where it receives the E, its course is through the north-west of Kung (鞏縣), into the dis. of Fan-shwuy (汜水), dep K'ae-fung, where it enters the Ho. The Ch'ëen and the Këen are both on the north of the Lŏ. The former rises in the west of the dis. of Măng-tsin (孟津); lat. 34°52′, N., lon. 3°50′. W.). and flowing south to that of Lŏ-yang, it runs south-east into the Lŏ.

The Këen rises in White-stone hill (白石山), in the north of Min-ch'e district (澠池; lat. 34°46′, N., lon. 4°47′, W., and flows east, south of Sin-ngan (新安) district city, to the west of Lo-yang dis., where it joins the Ho.

Another Yu has often been wanted since Yu's time to remedy the devastations done by these four streams. In B.C. 184, the E and Lŏ overflowed and carried away nearly 2000 families. In A.D. 223, the same streams occasioned immense loss of life and property. In A.D. 722, a rising of the E destroyed a portion of the city of Tung-too (東都); and another in 800 was equally calamitous. Injuries quite as great are recorded from risings of the Ch'ëen and Këen;—see the 禹貢錐指, *in loc.*

56. Ts'ae Ch'in says that the Yung and the Po were 'two waters,' the former connected with the Tso and the latter with the Lŏ. This view is followed in the 'Daily Explanation;' but it has been satisfactorily refuted by Hoo Wei and others. An older view now commands general acceptance, for it was Yen Sze-koo of the T'ang dynasty, who first advocated the opinion adopted by Ts'ae. Gan-kwŏ, K'ang-shing, and Ma Yung all hold that the two characters should go together (滎波 or 滎播), as the name of a marsh, that formed by the waters of the Tse, rising up remarkably out of the ground, as described Part ii., par. 10. The name partly remains in those of the districts Yung-tsih (滎澤) and Yung-yang (滎陽) in the dep. of K'ae-fung. The marsh itself in the days of K'ang-shing was dried up, and become so much level ground (今塞爲平地). 57. Following the course of the Tse, Yu proceeded on to the marsh of Ko, taking its name from the hill of Ko, near the pres. dep. city of Ts'aou-chow in Shan-tung, lat. 35°20′, N., lon. 52′, W. It was also formed by the waters of the Tse, and unable to bring it entirely under management by itself, Yu led off the excess of its waters to the marsh of Măng-choo. This name is variously written,—孟豬, 望諸 in the 'Rites of Chow,' 明都 by Sze-ma Ts'een. A memorial of it remains in the tower of Măng-choo (孟諸臺), 10 *le* to the north-east of the dis. city of Yu-ching (虞城; lat. 34°38′, N., lon. 19′, W.) dep. of Kwei-tih in Honan. The marsh itself cannot now be traced, and Hoo Wei observes that repeated overflowings of the Ho, which commenced A.D. 1266, and laid the country about Kwei-tih under water, have obliterated all traces of Yu's labours in that quarter. Whether there was a connection between the marsh of Ko and that of Măng-choo which he only cleared, before Yu's time, or whether he opened such a connection in order to carry off the excessive waters of the former, we cannot tell. 被=及, as in Can. of Yaou, par. 1. As the Ho might be considered one of the rivers of Yu-chow and beyond comparison the greatest of them, we may be surprised that nothing is said of any labours performed upon it. We must suppose that when Yu was operating on the northern bank of it, about mount Yoh, and Tan-hwae (pp. 5,6), he had sent detachments over to Yu-chow, and finished at once all that was necessary to be done for the great stream. This left him free to direct his attention first to the Lŏ and its tributary streams in the west of the province, and then to the Tse and the evils it gave rise to in the east.

Pp. 58—60. *Soil, revenue, and tribute.*

58. 壤,—see per. 7. K'e-chow and Yuchow agreed in the general character of their soil, but no colour is assigned to that of Yu-chow, because, we are to suppose, no uniformity characterized it in this respect. 墳壚,—墳, see par. 17, where I adopted Ma Yung's meaning of the term as = 'rich.' This places it in direct opposition to Ts'ae's definition of 壚 as = 疏, 'thin,' 'poor.;' such also was K'ang-shing's ac-

六十節 厥貢漆枲絺紵、厥篚纖纊。錫貢磬錯。○六十一 浮于洛、達于河。○六十二 華陽黑水惟梁州。○六十三 岷嶓旣藝。○六十四 沱潛旣道。○

60 Its articles of tribute were varnish, hemp, a finer hempen cloth, and coarser hempen cloth. The baskets were filled with fine silken fabrics, and fine floss-silk. Stones for polishing sounding-stones were rendered, when required.

61 They floated along the Lŏ, and reached the Ho.

62 IX. The south of *mount* Hwa and the Black-water were *the boundaries* of Leang-chow.

64 The *hills* Min and Po were brought under cultivation. The T'o

count of it. The 說文 defines the char. by 黑剛土, 'black, hard, earth.' I have done the best I could with the two terms. 59. If we look only at the revenue of the province, we should expect its fields to rank much higher than they do; the reason of the disproportion, according to Foo T'ung-shuh (傅同叔), was that the black hard tracts in the lower parts of it were unfit for the cultivation of grain. The student will observe how the place of the 錯 is different from what it occupies in parr. 8 and 43.

60. 漆, 枲, 絺, 紵,—漆, see par. 19; 枲 and 絺, see par. 26; 紵 is a coarse kind of hemp,—a perennial plant, acc. to Luk Ke (陸璣;—紵亦麻也, 宿根在地, 至春自生). A kind of cloth was made from it which was called by the same name. Ts'ae says he cannot tell whether we should understand here the raw material, or the manufactured article. We must suppose, I think, that, as the character follows 絺, we are to understand the cloth. 厥篚纖纊,—纖, see par. 35; 纊=綿絮之細者, as in the translation. 錫貢,—see par. 44. There the phrase *follows* the articles so contributed, they being sufficiently marked off from the other articles by the 厥包 which precede. Here it *precedes* the articles, because, if it followed them, its force might be extended to the others previously mentioned. The 錯 were stones used for polishing other stones and gems, differing from the grinding-stones and whetstones of King-chow, the use of which was to polish articles of metal.

P. 61. *Route of conveyance to the capital.* From the eastern parts of Yu-chow they could at once reach the Ho. From the western, they reached it by means of the Lŏ.

Ch. IX. The account of Leang-chow.

P. 62. *Boundaries.* There is no dispute about the former of the boundaries mentioned. Mount Hwa is 'the western mountain' (西岳) of the Canon of Shun, par. 8, standing 8 *le* on the south of the dis. city of Hwa-yin (華陰; lat. 34°35', N., lon. 6°31', W., Biot), in the dep. of T'ung-chow (同州), acc. to the latest arrangement of Shen-se province. In the small adjacent dep. of Shang (商) is the dep. of Shan-yang (山陽), which is said to be identical with the Hwa-yang of the text. Mount Hwa served as boundary mark to three of Yu's provinces—Leang, Yu, and Yung. On the other boundary,—the Black-water,—there is not the same unanimity of opinion. Gan-kwŏ said:—'On the east this province reached to the south of mount Hwa, and on the west to the Blackwater.' If, indeed, the Blackwater was the boundary of Lëang-chow on the west, we are led to identify it with the river of the same name, also the western boundary of Yung-chow, and described in Part ii., p. 6, as 'flowing into the southern sea.' This view leads to great difficulties, quite as great as those attending the extension of Yang-chow round the sea-coast to Cochin-China. The first distinctly to controvert it appears to have been Sëĕ Sze-lung (薛士龍; Sung dyn.), who took the boundaries mentioned in the text as the northern and southern, and not those on the east and west:—'The northern boundary of Leang-chow was the south of mount Hwa, and on the south it stretched along the Blackwater, the present Loo-water (南距黑水, 黑水今瀘水也).' The name of the Loo had taken the place of the Blackwater in the Han dynasty, and subsequently to the T'ang, the stream has

been called the 'river of the Golden Sands' (金沙江); but it is sufficiently proved that this stream, or at least that portion of it from its junction with the Shing-shwuy (繩水) and the Jŏ-shwuy (若水) to their merging in the Min Këang, was called the Blackwater.

Combining the statements of the 'Geography Modernized,' and the 'Statistical Account of the present dynasty,' we have the following description of the southern boundary of Lëang-chow:—'The present Golden Sands of Yun-nan is the Black water of Leang-chow. Its sources are very remote, farther off than those of the Yellow river, in 27°50′, west lon.' (this must surely be an error, as it would take us to about the long. of Calcutta), and between 35° and 36° north lat. Flowing south-east, it enters Yun-nan, near the pass of Tă-shing (塔城), in the border dep. of Le-keang (lat. 26°51′, N., lon. 16°01′, W.). Flowing through the northern part of this province, it enters Sze-ch'uen in the dep. of Ning-yuen (寧遠), and, bending more northwards, enters the Keang in the south of the dep. of Seu-chow' (叙州: lat. 28°38′, N., lon. 11°63′)'.

After the junction of the Loo and the Keang, the latter great stream would continue the southern boundary of Lëang on to King-chow. On the east it was conterminous with Yu-chow and King-chow. Its western boundary cannot, I think, be laid down with any certainty.

It is worthy of remark that neither of the two great dynasties which followed Yu,—neither the Yin nor the Chow, included the province of Leang. Portions of it were embraced in their provinces of Yu and Yung, but the greater part was considered as wild, savage territory, beyond the limits of the Middle Kingdom. We can hardly suppose that the territory of China ever diminished so greatly. It is more reasonable to think that Yu pushed his labours in this direction, not so much because the country was really included in Yaou's empire, as because it was necessary for him to operate upon it for the benefit of the more eastern parts.

The 'Daily Explanation' says:—'Leang-chow embraced the present provinces of Sze-ch'uen, Kwei-chow, and Yun-nan, with the dep. of Han-chung (漢中) in Shen-se, and the small dep. of Këae (階州) in Kan-suh.' This representation is beyond the truth; and that in the 'Boundaries of Successive Dynasties.'—that 'Leang-chow extended over the present Sze-ch'uen, and the dep. of Han-chung in Shen-se,' seems to be too narrow.

The following is the detail in the 'Geography Modernized:'—'Leang-chow embraced—of Shen-se, the dep. of Han-chung, and the small depp. of Hing-ngan (興安) and Shang (商州); of Kan-suh, the small dep. of Keae, and the two districts of Hwuy (徽) and Leang-tang (兩當), in dep. of Ts'in (秦州); of Hoo-pih, the three districts of Fang (房), Chuh-san (竹山) and Chuh-k'e (竹谿), and the west of Yun-se dis. (鄖西), dep. of Yun-yang (鄖陽); and the prov. of Sze-ch'uen.'

Pp. 63—66. *Engineering labours.* 既藝,—see on par. 30. 岷嶓,—see Part ii, parr. 3, 4, 8 and 9. In these mountains were the springs of branches of the great streams of the Keang and Han. Mount Min (the 'Historical Records' read 汶 instead of 岷) is in the most north-western part of Sze-ch'uen. called the T'ing of Sung-p'wan (松潘廳), given by Biot as in lat. 32°38′, N., lon. 12°52′, W. The 'Geography of the Shoo Modernized' says that 'from the small dep. of Min (岷州) in Kung-ch'ang (鞏昌) of Shen-se [now of Kan-suh], a range of lofty mountains with deep valleys stretches westwards to the western borders of the department of Ching-too (成都). The snowy ridges of Mow-chow (茂州) and other famous elevations are to be reckoned to this range. Where Yu began his operations was at the mountain of Lang-kea (浪架) on the very borders on the north-west of Sung-p'wan.

Mount Po, called Po-ch'ung in Part ii, p. 3, was not so far west. There were two mountains of the name:—one 90 *le* to the north of the present sub. dep. of Ning-keang (寧羌州; lat. 32°42′, N., lon. 10°, W.), in Han-chung dep. of Shen-se, whence the waters of the eastern Han issued. This was the Po-ch'ung of Part ii. The other was in the pres. small dep. of Ts'in (秦州; lat. 34°36′, N., lon. 10°42′, W.) of Kan-suh; and from it the waters of the western Han issued. The two were distant from each other, north and south, between three and four hundred *le*; but they are to be considered as belonging to the same range. Yu's work on these two mountains is described as 'the clearing the springs of the Keang and the Han' (江漢滌源之事). The text tells us that the country about the foot of the mountains themselves was brought under cultivation. 64. See on par. 46. Gan-kwŏ thought that the T'o and the Ts'een here were the same as those of King-chow, the upper portion of their courses being here referred to. But this view cannot be adopted. Woo Ch'ing says:—'These were the separately flowing branches of the Keang and Han that were in Leang-chow. In the east of the pres. district of Pe, (郫縣) lat. 30°47′, N. lon. 12°32′, W.) dep. of Ching-too was a T'o, which flowed westwards into the Keang. In the south-west of the dis. of Taou-keang (導江) in P'ang-chow' (彭州) [these are names of former territorial divisions; we have now the dis. of P'ang in Ching-too dep., and the dis. of Kwan (灌縣) in the same corresponds to Taou-keang] 'there was another T'o which flowed east into the Keang.

(六十五)蔡蒙旅平。〇(六十六)和夷底績。〇(六十七)厥土青黎。(六十八)厥田惟下上、厥賦下中三錯。〇(六十九)厥貢璆鐵銀鏤砮磬、熊羆狐貍織皮。

65 and the Ts'een were conducted by their proper channels. Sacrifices were offered to the hills Ts'ae and Mung, on the regulation of the country about them.

66 *The country of* the wild tribes about the Ho could *now* be successfully operated on.

67 The soil of this province was greenish and light.

68 Its fields were the highest of the lowest class; its contribution of revenue was the average of the lowest class, with proportions of the rates immediately above and below.

69 Its articles of tribute were musical gem-stones, iron, silver, steel, stones for arrowheads, and sounding-stones; with the skins of bears, great bears, foxes, and jackals, and articles woven with their hair.

Again, in the dis. of Chin-foo (眞符) in Yang Chow (洋州) [we have now the dis. of Yang in the dep. of Han-chung, in Shen-se], there was the water of Ts'een-kuh (灊谷), which was a Ts'een. But the branches flowing from the Keang and Han, whether large or small, long or short, all went by the names in the text, and are to be looked for in various places. When the mountains Min and Po were brought under cultivation, the upper parts of the two streams were regulated; and now their courses through all the province were cleared by the measures taken with the various T'o and Ts'een.' 65. The hills of Ts'ae and Mung are both referred to the present dep. of of Ya-chow (雅州; lat. 30°3', N., lon. 13°25', W). Mount Mung seems to be sufficiently well ascertained. The 'Statistical Account' of the pres. dynasty says that it stands on the borders of the three districts of Ya-ngan (雅安), Ming-san (名山), and Loo-san (蘆山), of the above department, and that the best tea of all Sze-ch'uen is grown upon it. Mount Ts'ae is not so well determined. The 'Geography of the Shoo Modernized' identifies it with the hill of Chow-kung (周公山), 5 *le* to the east of Ya-chow city, and the Statistical Account of the Ming dyn., adopting that view, adds that 5 *le* further off there is a place called Leu-p'ing (有地名旅平), where it is probable that Yu offered his sacrifices. But this Leu-p'ing was not heard of till modern times, and, indeed, Yeh Mung-tih (葉夢得), of the Sung dyn., was the first to say that the hill of Chow-kung was the Ts'ae of the Shoo. The Geography of the Han dyn. does not mention the Ts'ae at all. Hoo Wei inclines to the opinion that we are to look for it in one of the famous Ngo-mei hills (峨眉山) in the dis. of the same name (lat. 29°32', N., lon. 12°50', W.), dep of Kea-ting (嘉定). 旅平,—旅 is applied to designate sacrifices offered to mountains;—see Ana. III. vi. The 'Daily Explanation' expands the whole paragraph thus:—'The Mei-water had flowed between the hills of Ts'ae and Mung with a rapid and destructive course, but now all this was remedied, and Yu sacrificed to the mountains, and announced the completion of his work' (蔡蒙二山之閒，沫水所經，其勢漂疾爲害，今水土旣平，于是旅祭其山，而告成功焉) 66. Ts'ae gives two views of the meaning of this paragraph, neither of which he accepts as quite satisfactory, though he rather inclines himself to the former of them. It is that propounded by Gan-kwŏ, that the two characters were the name of a tract of country. The other is that Ho and E were the names of two streams. A more natural interpretation is that of K'ang-shing, that 和夷＝和上之夷, 'The wild people upon the Ho,' though, taking the two characters in connection with the rest of the par., we must understand them of the territory occupied by those people.

The 和水 is another name for the 涐水, which came through the pres. Mow Chow (茂州), and, after a long course of about 3,000 *le*, flowed into the Këang in the dep. of Kea-ting. But we can hardly think that the tribes mentioned dwelt along all the stream, even in that portion of it which was in Sze-ch'uen.

Pp. 67—69. *Soil, revenue, and tribute.*

67. In interpreting this par., Ts'ae follows Gan-kwŏ, who gives 黎 as = 黑, 'black,' a meaning which it often has, but which does not seem appropriate here. We should thus be told only the colour of the soil, and nothing about its nature. Gan-kwŏ adds, indeed, to 黑 the charr. 而沃壤 'and rich and mellow;' but this cannot be all indicated by 黎, and the next par. is inconsistent with such a view of the soil of Lëang. The 'Historical Records' read 驪 for 黎, which variation does not assist us at all in determining the meaning. In these circumstances we must look about for another meaning of 黎, and Ma Yung, followed by Wang Suh, has suggested that which I have adopted in the translation. He defined the character by 小疏, 'small and thin.' This suits the passage well enough. The difficulty with it is that we do not find such a meaning of the term elsewhere, and hence it is not given in the Dictionary.

68. Its fields were ranked in the second grade, and the revenue in the 8th, though this sometimes, or perhaps in some places, rose to the 7th, and again fell to the 9th. The 'Daily Explanation' says:—其賦爲下中·三錯,本第八等,或一年而進第七等,又或一年而降第九等,共三等. The revenue of this province was thus only not so low as that of Yen-chow. On this Tsăng Yen-ho has observed that Leang-chow was very mountainous, while the provv. of Yen and Yang had suffered and were still suffering more than others from the overflow of water, and in consequence of these circumstances their revenue was so small. These circumstances would have their influences on the revenue, but still more powerful would be the denseness or sparseness of the population. In the course of time, the States of Woo (吳) Yuĕ (越), Min (閩), and Shuh (蜀),—all belong. to Yang-chow and Lëang-chow, became the most famous for their fertility of all in the empire.

69. 璆鐵銀鏤砮磬,—Ts'ae adopts the meaning of 璆 as 玉磬, 'musical stones of gem,' taking the char. as a synonym of 球. Gan-kwŏ simply defines it by 玉名, 'the name of a gem.' Either of these meanings suits the passage well enough; but K'ang-shing read 鏐, which he defines—黄金之美者, 'the finest gold,' and this, could it be fully established, would suit the passage still better. The regions of Lëang-chow have always been famous for their gold, while the situations and excellence of their gems are unchronicled. By 鐵 we are to understand 'soft iron,' and by 鏤, 'hard iron,' or 'steel.' The latter character is often used for 'to cut and engrave,' with reference to the hardness of the tools necessary for such a purpose. In the time of the Han dynasty, 'Iron-masters' (鐵官) were appointed in several districts of the old Leang-chow to superintend the iron works. Ts'ae refers to two individuals mentioned in the 'Historical Records,' one of the surname Ch'ŏ (卓氏), and the other of the surname Ch'ing (程), both of this part of the empire, who became so wealthy by their smelting that they were deemed equal to princes. 銀 is the 'white metal,' or silver. 砮磬,—see on previous paragraphs. 熊,羆,狐·貍,織皮,—熊 is 'the bear;' the 羆 is described as 'like the bear, of a yellowish white' (爾雅); 'like the bear, with a long neck, and long legs, very fierce and strong, able to pull up trees' (郭璞); 'there are yellow *pe*, and red (赤) *pe*,—it is larger than the 熊, and the grease is coarser.' I do not think we can at present determine exactly the species of the *pe*. The 狐 is 'like a dog, but with a long tail;' the 貍 are 'a small sort of 狐.' Ts'ae, after Soo Tung-po, takes 織皮 as two different things, the former denoting a sort of felt (罽), made from the hair of the animals; the latter denoting furs (以罽者曰織,以裘者曰皮). Other commentators make the two characters to denote only one thing—a fabric woven from the skins tanned, and cut into very small and thin strings (Woo Ch'ing). The view adopted by Ts'ae is to be followed. Quite unnatural is the view of K'ang-shing, who puts a stop at 貍, as if they were the living animals which were sent as tribute, and then takes 織皮 as the name of a barbarous territory:—(西戎之國). There is more reason in the opinion of Woo Ch'ing, Hoo Wei, and others, who instead of stopping at 皮, carry the paragraph on to 來. The furs and hair-cloth are thus the tribute from the wild tribes lying west and north of the province, and the description of the route of conveyance commences in the same way as in the previous provinces.

七十 西傾、因桓是來、浮于潛、逾于沔、入于渭、亂于河。○ 七十一 黑水西河惟雍州。○ 七十二 弱水既西。七十三 涇屬渭汭。七十四 漆沮既從。七十五 灃

70 From Se-k'ing they came by the course of the Hwan; floated along the Ts'een; crossed the country to the Mëen; *then* entered the Wei; and ferried over the Ho.

71 X. The Blackwater and the Western Ho were the boundaries of Yung-chow

73 The Weak-water was conducted westwards. The King was led to
74 mingle its waters with those of the Wei. The Tseih and the Ts'eu

P. 70. *Route of conveyance to the capital.* 西傾因桓是來,—see the conclusion of last note. 西傾 is the name of a mountain, which belonged to Yung-chow; its southern slopes, however, passed into Lëang. It is often identified with the mountain of the same name in the district of Chang (漳縣; lat. 34°40', N., lon. 11°50', W.), dep. of Kung-ch'ang in Kan-suh;—see below, Part ii., p. 2. The river Hwan took its rise on the south of the mountain. It is also called the White-water (白水), and flowing into Sze-ch'uen, in the dis. of Ch'aou-hwa (昭化; lat. 32°16', N., lon. 10° 38', W.), dep. Paou-ning, it proceeds to join the western Han. This western Han was the Ts'een, and going up it they should have been able to pass into the Mëen, another branch of the Han, for it flows out of the pres. dis. of Lëŏ-yang (略陽), dep. of Han-chung, and running south-east into the dis. of Mëen, called after it, it there joins the great stream. Perhaps there were shallows in the course of the Ts'een, which rendered it necessary to leave their boats, or it may have been a saving of time and labour to leave the water at some point, and go across the country to the Mëen (see a note in the 集說, by Foo Yin [傅寅]). From the Mëen it was necessary to get to the north, into the Wei, which was in Yung-chow. From the text,—入于渭,—we should conclude that this was accomplished without taking the land again. But this was impossible, their being no water-communication between the Han and the Wei. In the dep. of Fung-ts'eang (鳳翔), however, of Shen-se, and dis. of Mei (郿縣; lat. 34°13', N., lon. 8°38', W.) is the mountain of Ya(衙嶺), from which the stream of Paou (褒水) flows south into the Mëen, while another stream on the north side, the Seäy (斜川), flows into the Wei. Probably, the tribute-bearers ascended the Paou as far as they could, and then went overland to the Seäy. For the Wei, see Part ii., p. 12. It enters the Ho, and of course brought the travellers to that stream, which they ferried across at some suitable point. 絕河而渡曰亂.

Ch. X. The Account of Yung-chow.

P. 71. *Boundaries.* The western boundary is here assigned and the eastern. The former—the Black-water—is dift. from the river of the same name, which formed the southern boundary of Lëang-chow;—see on par. 62. It is no doubt the same with the Black-water of Part ii., p. 6, which see. It will be sufficient here to quote from the 禹貢錐指:—'According to Shwang Yin's work on the Waters, with the comment. of Taou-yuen, "The Black-water issued from Fowl-hill in Chang-yih (出自張掖雞山; Chang-yih is now the principal dis. in the dep. of Kan-chow (甘州; lat. 39°, N., lon. 15°32', W.), and flowing south to T'unhwang (燉煌), the prin. dis., dep. of Ngan-se (安西), passed by the hill of San-wei (三危山), and flowed on to the southern sea." Acc. to the Compilation of Geography (括地志; a work of the T'ang dynasty), "The Black-water rose 120 *le* to the north of E-woo district in E-chow (伊州伊吾縣), and flowing south was lost about the hill of San-wei, in Sha-chow (沙州), 46 *le* to the south-east of the district city of T'unhwang." We cannot tell which of these accounts is correct. The T'ung-teen (通典; by 杜佑, of the Tsin dynasty) says:—"Accomplish-

ed scholars like K'ung and Ch'ing did not know where the Black-water was, because, perhaps, in the lapse of time, it had become dried up."' About the eastern boundary,—the western Ho,—there is no uncertainty. This was the Ho, where it runs from north to south, between the present Shan-se and Shen-se;—called the 'western,' as being the western boundary of K'e-chow, the imperial province. The length of its course from the point in Yu-lin dep. (榆林), where it enters Shen-se, to the district of Hwa-yin, amounts, it is said, to 1,700 *le*.

On the south, Yung-chow was conterminous with Lëang-chow, from mount Hwa westwards, on to Se-k'ing, and again westwards on to Tseih-shih, from which Yu traced the course of the Ho (Part ii., par. 7), and thence again to the Black-water. The northern boundary of the province is not at all intimated in the Shoo, but it must have extended from the position of the pres. city of Yu-lin, lat. 38°18', N., lon., 7°7'. W., westwards along the north of Shen-se and Kan-suh as far as the south boundary did. Hoo Wei says that of Yu's nine provinces this was the largest, and that next to it were K'e and Lëang. 'The extent of Yung, from east to west, was about 3,700 *le*, and from north to south, about 2,500 *le*, while in all this great space there was not much of unoccupied territory.'

Pp. 72—78. *Engineering labours.* 72. The Weak-water,—see Part ii., p. 5. In the 'Statistical Account of the present dynasty,' under the dep. of Kan-chow in Kan-suh, we find the following account of the Jŏ, or Weak-water:—'It rises in the south-west of San-tan district (山丹), and flows north, west of the city, into the district of Ch'ang-yih. Passing that district city on the north, it enters, going on still to the north-west, the borders of Kaou-t'ae (高臺) in Suh-chow (肅州; lat. 39° 45', N., lon. 17°21', W.) This is the Weak-water of the Tribute of Yu.' Some accounts say that it can be crossed in coracles of skin, while yet a piece of straw thrown upon its surface would sink to the bottom. To this feeble sluggishness of its stream its name is ascribed.

既西,—'was conducted westwards.' This was its natural course, and in this it is unique among the rivers mentioned in this Book, all the rest flowing east, with the exception of the Black-water of this province, whose course was south. In the general disorder, which had prevailed, however, we may suppose that it had taken a direction to the south-east, and mingled its waters with those of the Ho. 73. 涇屬渭汭,—屬 is read *chuh*, up. 4th tone, =相連, 'to be connected together.' Gan-kwŏ defined it by 逮=及; and Ma Yung by 入. These meanings are all connected, and it is strange that the dictionary should give Gan-kwo's explanation under the second sound of the character,—*shuh*, low. 4th tone. 渭汭 are to be taken together like 嬀汭 in the Can. of Yaou, par. 12. Ts'ae makes 汭 to be the name of a stream which entered the King, before it joined its waters with those of the Wei. If this had been intended, we may be sure that the text would have been different. 汭 is defined—水北, 'the north of a stream; 水之隈曲, 'the bending bank of a river;' 水中州, 'an island in a river;' and by the 說文, 水相入, 'the meeting of two rivers.' The second and last of these meanings may easily be harmonized. As regards the first meaning, there is no difficulty in the text where the King flows from the north to the Wei.

The King, according to the 'Statistical Account of the present dynasty,' makes its appearance in Shen-se in the west of Shun-hwa dis. (淳化; lat. 34°55', N., lon. 7°58', W.), in the small dep. of Pin (邠州); thence it flows past the small dep. of K'een (乾), enters the dep. of Se-ngan, and takes its way, through the districts of Le-ts'euen (醴泉), and King-yang (涇陽), on to that of Kaou-ling (高陵; lat. 34°30', N., lon. 7°24', W., in the south-west of which it joins the Wei. It is said to have its rise in Ke-t'ow hill (笄頭山), 'in the south-west of Ping-lëang dis. (平涼; lat. 35°34', N., lon. 9°48', W..), dep. of the same name in Kan-suh. The Wei.—see below, Part ii., p. 12. The stream of the King was muddy and that of the Wei clear; and the muddiness of the former became more evident after their junction. There are many poetic allusions to these circumstances;—see the She-king, Part I. Book III., Ode x. 74. 漆沮既從,—we have 恆衞既從 in par. 9, but the 既從 cannot here be taken in the same way. There the phrase indicated that the Hang and Wei were made to follow their natural channels; here it signifies that the Tseih and Ts'eu were made to join the Wei. Tung-po says:—'The following here is like that with which a youth follows his elder. The Wei was great and the Tseih and the Ts'eu were small; hence it is said that they were made to follow' (note in the 集說). Acc. to the 'Geography of the Shoo Modernized,' the Tseih takes its rise in the pres. dep. of Se-ngan, in the north of the dis. of T'ung-kwan (同官; lat. 35°6', N., lon. 7°25', W.), and flowing past that city on the east, is there joined by the T'ung-kwan river. Proceeding thence south-west to the sub. dep. of Yaou (耀州; lat. 34°56', N., lon. 7°35', W.), it unites with the Ts'eu. The Ts'eu rises in the dis. of Chung-poo (中部; lat 35°38', N., lon. 7°16', W.), in the small dep. of Luh (鄜州), and after flowing through the dis. of E-keun (宜君), passes into the dep. of Se-ngan, traverses the dis. of T'ung-kwan, on to the south of Yaou Chow, where it unites with the Tseih. Their united waters proceed

水攸同。○
七十六 荆岐既旅。終南惇物。至于鳥鼠。
七十七 原隰底績。至于豬野。○
七十八 三危既宅。三苗丕敍。○
七十九 厥土惟黃壤。○
八十節 厥田惟上上。厥賦中下。○

75 were led in a similar way *to the Wei;* and the waters of the Fung found the same receptacle.

76 The mountains King and K'e were sacrificed to, and those of Chung-nan and Shun-wŭh *were also regulated*, and all the way on to
77 that of Neaou-shoo. Successful measures could now be taken with
78 the plains and swamps, even to the marsh of Choo-yay. The *country about* San-wei was made habitable, and the *affairs of the people of* San-meaou were greatly arranged.

79 The soil of the province was yellow and mellow.

80 Its fields were the highest of the highest class; its contribution of revenue was the lowest of the second.

into the district of Foo-p'ing (富平), where they receive the name of Shih-ch'uen (石川河), and holding on in the same direction enter the Wei in the district of Lin-t'ung (臨潼; lat. 34°20', N., lon. 7°28', W.)

75. 灃水攸同,—攸=所. Gan-kwŏ says 灃水所同,同之于渭, 'The waters of the Fung found the same place, *i.e.*, they were conducted in the same way to the Wei.' The Fung has its rise in the hill of Chung-nan, in the south east of the dis. of Hoo (鄠縣東南終南山; the city of Hoo is in lat. 34°8', N., lon. 7°50', W.), of Se-ngan dep., and enters the Wei in the south-east of the district Heen-yang (咸陽). It was on the south of the Wei. Lin Che-k'e observes:—'The territory of Yung-chow bordered on the western Ho, so that before the regulation of that stream, it suffered as well as K'e-chow from the overflow of its waters. After the operations of Yu, however, on Hook'ow, and on the mountains K'e and Lëang, the great stream pursued its way to the east; and when he arrived at Yung-chow he had only to deal with the Weak-water, conducting it to the west, and to lead the waters of the King, the Tseih and the Ts'eu, and the Fung, to the Wei, in which they all went on to the Ho.'

76. 既旅,—see on par 65. The King mountain here is not that of King-chow. We are referred for it to a mountain 10 *le* to the south-west of Foo p'ing (富平; district city, lat. 34°42', N., lon. 7°41'. W.) Mount K'e is the same which I supposed to be meant in par. 4 Chung-nan is 50 *le* to the south of the dis. city of Ch'ang-ngan, the dep. city in fact of Se-ngan; lat. 34°16', N., lon. 7°31', W.) On the east it extends to the dis. of Lan-t'een (藍田; lat 34°5', N., lon. 7°8', W.) and on the west to the district of Mei (郿縣; lat. 34°13', N., lon. 8°38', W.), stretching along altogether an extent of 800 *le*. Shun-wŭh is supposed to be the same with what is now called T'ae-pih hill (太白山) in the south of the district of Mei, called also T'ae-yih (太一 and 太乙). Neaou-shoo, or Bird and Rat mountain, is farther west, and conducts us to the district of Wei-yuen (渭源; 35°8', N., lon. 12°12', W.), dep. of Lan-chow (蘭州) in Kan-suh.

Hoo Wei here makes the following note:—'Ch'in Ta-yew (陳大猷 Sung dyn.) says, "The ancients felt it right to sacrifice on occasion of any great undertaking, and it was specially right to do so in connection with such an undertaking as Yu's. But we have mention of his offering sacrifice only in the provinces of Yung and Leang, because these were the two last provinces where he operated, and his sacrificing in them shows that he had done so in the other provinces as well. Further, Yu's sacrificing is mentioned only in connection with the hills of Ts'ae and Mung in Leang, and those of

King and K'e in Yung, because Ts'ae and Mung were the last hills of Leang, and King and K'e were the first of Yung, so that we may understand he sacrificed to all the others; and thence it is said below that *the hills in all the nine provinces were cleared of their wood and sacrificed to.*" These observations are good, but do not give the proper reason for the use of the term 旅. At Hoo-k'ow the object was the clearing of the Ho: at Lëang and K'e it was the clearing of the Ho and of the country as well;—and hence we have the terms 載 and 治. At Mung, Yu, Min, and Po, the object was the cultivation of the country, and therefore we have the term 藝. At Ts'ae, Mung, King, K'e, Chung-nan, Shun-wŭh, and Neaou-shoo, the object was to clear the streams in the valleys, and had nothing to do with the fields or country, and hence we could not have 藝, but only 旅. At San-wei the object was both to clear the Black-water, and the valley-streams, so that the country might be inhabited, and hence we have the term 宅. The words used in every case have a peculiar appropriateness to the circumstances. They have all a reference to Yu's labours upon the disordered country. We are not to lay stress upon the idea of sacrificing in 旅.'

This is ingenious; but Wei has not told us the peculiar and appropriate meaning in the use of 旅.

77. 'Ground wide and level is called 原; low and wet is called 隰. What we read in the She,—"He measured the plains and marshes," has the same local application as the phrase in the text.' So, Ts'ae Ch'in, following Ch'ing K'ang-shing. The ode referred to is the 6th in the 2nd Book of the 大雅, celebrating the praises of duke Lew, who founded the fortunes of the House of Chow in the territory of Pin (豳). If we thus interpret the text, the region of these operations of Yu was the present Pin-chow (邠州) in Shen-se. Possibly, however, the phrase may have a more extensive reference. Even at present, in a multitude of the districts of Shense and Kan-suh there are one or more not able 原, many of which in Yu's time would be in a marshy condition. For the marsh of Choo-yay we have to go to Kan-suh, 80 *le* east of the district of Chin-fan (鎭番; lat. 38°35', N., lon. 13°20', W.), dep. of Leang-chow (凉州). In the geography of the Han dynasty it is called the marsh of Hew-ch'oo (休屠). To reach this Yu must have crossed the Ho. 78. 三危,—see Can. of Shun, par. 12. The hill identified with this San-wei is in the south-east of the district of T'un-hwang. Thither Shun had removed the most unprincipled and insubordinate of the people of San-mëaou. The banishment had not been without its effect in softening and subduing them, and now when Yu came to ameliorate the condition of their settlement, the moral effect of his kindness is said to have completed the work of their transformation. The Black-water, it was seen on par. 71, passed by the mountain of San-wei. We must suppose that it was by operating on its troubled stream, that Yu effected the change which is intimated in the character of the country around. 三苗丕敘.—Gan-kwŏ explains this:—三苗之族大有次敘, 'the tribe of the San-meaouites had great order and arrangement;' adding—'This is said to set forth the merit of Yu.' I cannot see my way clear to adopt the common modern view that the phrase 丕敘 celebrates the merit of the Meaouites. Ch'ing Heaou, for instance (鄭曉; Ming dyn.), says on 敘:—是遷善改過, 革其凶頑, 'it expresses how they became good, reforming their faults and putting away their malignant stolidity.'

I find two interesting notes on this par. The first is by Leu Tsoo-heen (呂祖謙; of the Sung dynasty), who says:—'The people of San-meaou were driven to San-wei for their evil conduct, and according to the views of after ages they might have been left as banished criminals to themselves, to destroy themselves or to keep themselves alive, without being cared for or pitied. But such was not the mind of those early sages. When they were criminals, it was necessary to banish them; but after that punishment was inflicted, it was thought right to show kindness to them, and to extend to them the influence of good government. Thus it was that Yu having regulated the waters as far as to San-wei, there laid out for the Meaouites the plan of their settlements.'

The other note is by Tsae Ts'in:—'When Shun drove out the people of San-meaou, it was only the worst among them whom he removed to San-wei, while he left the rest in their settlements. But here we find the banished portion displaying great merit, while the others still continued bad and insubordinate. The old settlements of the San-meaouites were amid the strengths of hills and streams, the influence of which fostered such a spirit. Even now-a-days we find the people about the T'ung-t'ing lake ever and anon breaking out and displaying such a spirit; and when they are captured and questioned, most of them are found to have the surname of Meaou.—Are they the descendants of the ancient tribe?'

Ps 79—81. *Soil, revenue, and tribute.* 79. Yellow is considered the proper colour of soil. The soil of Yung-chow was thus the best of all the provinces. 80. The disproportion here between the character of the fields, which were in the first grade, and the amount of the revenue which was only of the sixth grade is very great. It is generally explained by saying that the population was very thin; and I do not see how it can otherwise be accounted for. Hoo Wei having argued for the wide extent of the province, and said

八十一 厥貢惟球琳琅玕。○ 八十二 浮于積石、至于龍門西河、會于渭汭。○ 八十三 織皮、崑崙、析支、渠搜、西戎卽敘。○

81 Its articles of tribute were the k'ew and lin *gem-stones*, and the lang-kan *precious stones*.

82 From as far as Tseih-shih they floated on to Lung-mun on the western Ho; they then met, on the north of the Wei, *with the tribute-bearers from other quarters*.

83 Hair-cloth and skins *were brought from* Kwăn-lun, Seih-che, and K'eu-sow;—the wild tribes of the West all coming to submit to *Yu's* arrangements.

there were few empty, uninhabited districts in it, feels the pinch of the difficulty, and tries to get over it by arguing that Yu only levied revenue from the fertile country on either side of the Wei, in which moreover there were many high hills and long valleys. But his reasoning is not satisfactory;—it is tantamount, in fact, to the giving up many of his former statements. 81. Ch'ing defines 球 by 美玉, 'an admirable gem.' The 說文 calls it 玉磬, 'a sounding-stone of gem,' which would agree with the use of the term in Part II., Bk. IV., p. 9. We may conclude that the 球 was a jade suitable for the manufacture of such instruments. The 琳 is called by Ch'ing 美石, 'a beautiful stone.' But in this he stands alone. The 說文 and other authorities agree in referring it also to the class of 玉, or gems. The two characters 琅 and 玕 go together. Gan-kwŏ describes the substance denoted by them as 'a stone, but like a pearl.' Some speak of it as a kind of coral, but we cannot look for coral in the hilly and inland districts of Yung-chow. Possibly it was lazulite, or the *lapis lazuli*.

82. *Route of conveyance to the capital.* Two routes are here indicated. The one—and we may suppose it the principal one—was by the Wei, which would be available for the more southern portion of the province. The other was by the Ho, which was available from the mountain of Tseih-shih (see Part ii., p. 7: it is in the sub. dis. of Ho (河州), lat. 35°44', N., lon. 13°28', W.). Parties living more to the east could of course take the Ho at the most convenient part of its course towards its highest northern latitude when it turned south, and then descend with it as far as the mountain of Lung-mun, on its western bank, in the north-east of Han-shing dis. (韓城; lat. 35°32', N., lon. 5°3', W.). Not far from this, a little south of it, they met with the boats which had come to the Wei, and tracked up from the junction of that stream with the Ho. Here I suppose they all took the shore, and travelled through K'e chow to the capital.

83. *Other articles of tribute. The par. should form part of par. 81.* In this view of the concluding portion of the Part, I agree with Soo Tung-po, to whom Ts'ae Ts'in also inclines. The analogy of 織皮 in par. 69 seems to necessitate it. As the account of all the other provinces, moreover, concludes with the route of conveyance to the capital, we cannot understand why this should not do the same. On par. 69, K'ang-shing took 織皮 as the name of a country; here, with strange inconsistency, he takes them as descriptive of the tribes from K'wăn-lun, Seih-che and K'eu-sow, all 'skin-wearing.' K'wăn-lun, Seih-che, and K'eu-sow are understood to be the names of mountains, giving name to the regions and tribes about them. We have only to conceive of them as representing three tribes of what were called the western barbarians, and those three the greatest of them all, so it is added that all the tribes came and submitted to Yu's arrangements. So says Hoo Wei:—三國皆西戎,而西戎不止於三國,三國乃西戎之大者,皆來入貢,則其餘無不賓服,故曰西戎卽敘. 卽=就, 'to come to.' Gan-kwŏ explains 卽敘 by 皆就次敘, which is equivalent to the 丕敘 in par. 78.

THE BOOKS OF HEA.

BOOK II. THE TRIBUTE OF YU. PART ii.

禹貢下

導岍及岐、至于荊山、逾于河、壺口、雷首、至于太岳、厎柱、析城、至于王屋、太行、恆山、至

1 I. *Yu* surveyed and described the hills, beginning with K'ëen and K'e, and proceeding to mount King; then, crossing the Ho, Hoo-k'ow and Luy-show, going on to T'ae-yŏ. After these came Te-ch'oo and Seih-ching, from which he went to Wang-uh; then there were Ta-hang, and mount Hăng, from which he proceeded to Këĕ-shih, where he reached the sea.

CONTENTS. It has been stated, on page 93, that the division of the Book into two parts is a modern arrangement, and by no means universally followed. It is convenient, however. The first part gives a view of Yu's labours in each particular province. This gives a general view of the mountain ranges of the empire, and of the principal streams, and relates some other labours of Yu, not alluded to before,—his conferring lands and surnames, and dividing the whole territory into five domains. The contents may be divided into five chapters:—the first, parr. 1—4, describing the mountains; the second, parr. 5—13, describing the rivers; the third, parr. 14, 15, containing a summary of all the labours of Yu, hitherto mentioned; the fourth, parr. 16—22, relating his other labours, how he gave lands and surnames, and divided the empire into five domains; and the fifth, par. 23, celebrating Yu's fame, and the completion of his work.

CH. I. THE RANGES OF MOUNTAINS ALONG WHICH YU OPERATED. It is difficult to know how we ought to translate 導 here. We can see how the term, signifying 'to lead,' 'to guide,' may be applied to streams; but there could be no *leading* of the great mountains. Ying-tă says:—'What was done on the hills was for the sake of the waters, and therefore it got the name of 導山.' In the dictionary, 導 is defined by 治, 'to regulate,' with reference to this passage, and on the ground, probably, assigned by Ying-tă. We should understand then, on this view, that Yu went along the mountains indicated, clearing the channels of innumerable small streams, which he conducted to the larger rivers whose names are given. But the question arises—when did he do this? Was it immediately after he divided the land, as mentioned Part i., p. 1? or was it while he was carrying out his operations in each province? It was not while he was operating in each province, for he then proceeded from east to west, and not, as here described, from west to

east; and we have no reason to believe that any practical steps were taken till the work was begun at Hoo-k'ow, Part i., p. 3. Following the account of the regulation of the nine provinces, the paragraph here should describe what was done by Yu subsequent to that regulation; and in the first two chapters we seem to have a view of the position of the principal mountains, and the courses of the principal streams, as if Yu had paused to look back upon his work, and take a bird's-eye view of the country. We cannot suppose that he travelled again along the hills or the rivers, for in that case his toil would have been endless, and he must have gone again and again over the same ground. He surveyed mentally the mountains and rivers, and made delineations of them,—their ranges and courses. This is the meaning which I venture to attach to 導,=' to survey and describe.'

Sze-ma Ts'een between 導 and 汧 inserts 九山,—'He surveyed the mountains of the nine provinces.' So we must interpret 九山. Twenty-seven mountains are immediately specified; it is impossible that the mention of them should be preceded by a statement that Yu only dealt with 'nine mountains.' With regard to the order in which the mountains are enumerated, it has given occasion to divide them into different ranges. Ma Yung and Wang Suh considered that there were three;—the northern range (北條), embracing from mount K'ëen to Këë-shih; the middle range (中條), embracing from Se-k'ing to Pei-wei; and the southern range (南條), embracing the rest. Ch'ing K'ang-shing made four ranges of them (四列);—the northern (陰列), from K'ëen to Këë-shih; the next-northern (次陰), from Se-k'ing to Pei-wei; the next-southern (次陽), from Po-ch'ung to Ta-pëë; and the southern (正陽), from mount Min to Foo-tseën. His object, we can see, was to make these ranges correspond to the courses of the principal streams,—the Ho, the Hwae, the Han, and the Keang. Since the publication of Ts'ae's commentary, it is customary to speak only of two ranges, a northern and southern. This is only a simplification of K'ang-shing's arrangement.

P. 1. The mountains K'ëen, K'e, and King were all in Yung-chow,—all in the pres. Shen-se. The 'Statistical Account of the present dynasty' gives mount K'een (Keang Shing edits 汧 and not 岍) as in the west of the sub. dep. of Lung (隴州; lat. 34°48', N. 9°31', W.), dep. Fung-ts'ëang. Others have identified it with a mount Woo (吳山), in the south of the same Lung Chow. The authors of the Statistical Account say the two hills were anciently considered as one. K'e and King,—see Part i., p. 76. The former, like K'ëen, belongs to the dep. of Fung-ts'ëang. The latter, we saw, was in that of T'ung-chow. Hoo Wei observes that there were anciently three mountains called King:—that in the text, where Yu is said to have cast his nine famous vases (大禹鑄鼎處); that on the borders of the provv. Yu and King, where Pëen Ho found his famous gems. (卞和得玉處; see in the Biographical Dictionary [氏姓譜], surname 卞); the third, not mentioned in the Shoo, in the prov. of Yu, at a place referred to the pres. dep. of Shen (陝州), in Ho-nan, where Hwang-te is said to have cast some vases. 逾于河,—the point at which the Ho was crossed, or supposed to be crossed, is said to have been 35 *le* to the east of the district city of Chaou-yih (朝邑: lat. 34°48', N., lon. 6°26', W.), dep. of T'ung-chow. The phrase certainly reads as if an actual progress of Yu were described; but I must understand it as meaning simply that, had such a progress been made, the Ho must have been crossed here. 壺口,雷首,至于太岳,—壺口, see Part i., p. 4. 雷首 is in the south of the district of Yung-tse (永濟; lat. 34°54', N., lon. 6°13', W.), dep. of P'oo-chow (蒲州). The mountain received in course of time many names. Among them were those of mount Show (首), and Show-yang (首陽), at the foot of which Pih-e and Shuh-ts'e died of hunger (Ana. XVI. xii). 太岳,—see on 岳陽, Part i., p. 5. Yu had come south from Hoo-k'ow to Luy-show, and now again he turns north, in consequence of the urgency with which relief was called for from the capital. The T'ae-yoh is 30 *le* to the east of Hŏh-chow (霍州; lat. 36°34', N., lon. 4°45', W.). 厎柱,析城,至于王屋,—厎 (Sze-ma Ts'een has 砥) 柱; Gan-kwŏ says on this, at par. 7, below, that it was the name of a mountain, where the waters of the Ho separated, and passed by, embracing the hill, so that it appeared in the waters like a pillar (山名,河水分流,包山而過,山見水中,若柱然). The place is now referred to the small dep. of Shen in Ho-nan, 40 *le* north-east from the dep. city, lat. 34°45', N., lon. 5°23', W., and is also called by the name of the 'Hill of the three Gates,' or Passages (三門山). The 'Book of the Waters' (水經注) says:—'When Yu was regulating the evils of the inundation, when he found a stream impeded by a mountain, he chiselled through it. So he cut through this hill of Te-ch'oo, perforating it in three places called the "Three Passages."' Chaou

于碣石、入于海。○西（二節）傾、朱圉、鳥鼠、至于太華、熊耳、外方、桐柏、至于陪尾。○導（三節）嶓冢、至于荊山、內方、至于大別。○岷（四節）山之陽、至于衡山、過九江、至于敷淺原。○

2 *South from the Ho, he surveyed* Se-k'ing, Choo-yu, and Neaou-shoo, going on to T'ae-hwa; then Heung-urh, Wae-fang. T'ung-pih, from which he proceeded to Pei-wei.

3 He surveyed and described Po-ch'ung, going on to *the other* mount King; and Nuy-fang, from which he went to Ta-pëĕ.

4 He *did the same with* the south of mount Min, and then went on to mount Hăng. From this he crossed *the lake of* Kew-këang, and went on to the plain of Foo-tsëen.

Tung-he (趙冬曦), a writer of the T'ang dynasty, describes the hill of Te-ch'oo as consisting of six peaks, all rising up in the midst of the stream. On the most northern of them were two pillars, over against each other, standing up near the bank, and forming the passage of the 'Three Gates.' We cannot say what labours Yu performed at this point, nor what was the appearance presented in his time by the hill. Notwithstanding what he did, the Ho has here occasioned incalculable evil to the people, and incalculable trouble to the government. Hoo Wei has made a precis of attempts to overcome the natural difficulties of the passage, from the Han to the Sung dynasty, the result of which appears to have been to aggravate the evil rather than remove it.

The hill of Seih-shing is found in the dep. of Tsih-chow (澤州), in the south-west of the district of Yang-shing (陽城; lat. 35°26′, N., lon. 3°52′, W.). Wang-uh is in the dep. of Hwae-k'ing, in Ho-nan, 80 *le* to the west of the dis. city of Tse-yuen (濟源; lat. 35°7′, N., lon. 3°49′, W.). It extends to the borders of Yang-shing district, just mentioned, and presents an appearance as if it consisted of three storeys, like a house. 太行,恆山,至于碣石,入于海,—T'ae-hang is in the south of Fung-t'ae dis. (鳳臺) in Tsih-chow (lat. 35°30′, N., 3°39′, W.). South of it lies the district of Ho-nuy (河內), dep. of Hwae-k'ing, while, stretching along to the north-east, it touches in its range on the district of Ling-ch'uen (陵川), on the districts of Hoo-kwan (壺關), Loo-shing (潞城), and Le-shing (黎城), dep. of Loo-ngan (潞安), on the dis. of Woo-heang (武鄉) in Pe Chow (泌州), on the dis. of Ho-shun (和順) in Leaou Chow (遼州), and on that of Lŏ-p'ing (樂平) in P'ing-ting dep. It is called by a hundred different names in different parts of its range, but it is really the same mountain of T'ae-hang. 恆山,—see on Can. of Shun, par. 8. It is the northern mountain, the limit of Shun's excursions to the north, and according to the determination of the pres. dyn., is in about lat. 39°41′, N., lon. 2°43′, W. I don't know where Dr. Medhurst got the latitude which I have assigned to it from him on page 35. According to the geography of the Han dyn., we should look for mount Hăng in Keuh-yang dis. (曲陽; lat. 38°39′, N., lon. 1°40′, W.), dep. of Chin-ting, in Pih-chih-le. This opinion prevailed through many dynasties. In the Sung dynasty a more northern position began to be claimed for the northern hill, and the Ming dyn. decreed that the proper Hăng was in Shan-se. It did not, however, remove the sacrifices from Keuh-yang. This was done in the 17th year of Shun-che of the present dynasty. We must conclude that the decision of the Ming and the present dynasties is incorrect. The Hăng hill of Shan-se would take us away from the Ho, along which this range of hills is evidently laid down from K'ëen to Këe-shih.

碣石,—see on Part i., p 11. I must believe that Këe-shih was something like Te-ch'oo, only not far from the mouth of the river.

Some would claim for the name the dignity of a mountain like T'ae-hang or Hăng, but this is no more necessary than that Te-ch'oo should have been equal to Seih-shing or Wang-uh. The rocks of Këĕ-shih were existing, it was seen, at the beginning of our era, but they have long disappeared before the encroachments of the sea. It is vain to attempt to lay down their place with nice precision. 入于海,—Ying-tă makes this phrase refer to the range of mountains, which here terminated in the sea. Hoo Wei contends on the other hand that we must understand it of Yu,—that it takes up 逾河, and tells us that Yu here took a boat, and went out some distance to take a survey of the rocks of Këĕ. The view which I have taken of 導 renders it unnecessary to suppose any personal action of Yu; but on the application of the phrase, I choose to agree with Ying-tă rather than with the modern scholar.

P. 2. 西傾,朱圉,鳥鼠,至于太華,—this par. contains the 'second row' of northern hills, according to K'ang-shing's phraseology. Tsăng Yen-ho observes that as no 導 precedes 西傾, we must bring the verb on from the commencement of the prec. par. We must do so, but we can hardly read the two paragraphs together. We have travelled from west to east; and now we return to the west again. 西傾,—see on Part i., p. 70. I have said there that it is often identified with mount Se-k'ing in the dis. of Chang, dep. of Kung-ch'ang. So it is in the Statistical Account of the Ming dyn., but that of the pres. dynasty says this is a mistake. The compilers of that find it rather beyond the extreme west of that dep., within the boundaries of Koko-nor, about 350 *le* to the south-east of the T'ing of T'aou-chow (洮州廳; lat. 34°35', N., lon. 12°57', W.). With them agree Hoo Wei and other scholars. This view is probably the correct one. The mountain has also the names of K'eang-t'ae (强臺), and Se-keang (西彊). 朱圉,—this mountain is 30 *le* to the south-west of the district of Fuh-keang (伏羌; lat 34°38', N., lon. 11°4', W.), in the depart. of Kung-ch'ang. Yen Jŏ-keu says that he visited the mountain, and found it of no very great size, having a reddish appearance; on a rock were the four words engraved—'Choo-yu fixed by Yu' (禹奠朱圉). 鳥鼠,—see on Part i., p. 76, and below, p. 12. The Wei had here its source. Hoo Wei observes at this point:—'Yu in his survey of the hills did not always go forward in a straight course, but went sometimes round about or retraced his steps. Thus instead of going east from Luy-show he went north to T'ae-yŏ, the urgent need of the capital requiring him to do so. As Neaou-shoo was on the east of the T'aou-water (洮水), Yu's most direct and convenient route would have been from Se-k'ing along that stream to Neaou-shoo, instead of which he first went to Choo-yu, and then retraced his way westwards to the other mountain. This is strange, and may lead us to suppose that the names of Choo-yu and Neaou-shoo have somehow changed places in the text.' 太華 is the 'western mountain' of the Canon of Shun, and the mount Hwa of Part i., p. 62. Between Neaou-shoo and T'ae-hwa were the hills of Shun-wuh and Chung-nan (Part i., p. 76), which are not mentioned here. 熊耳,外方,桐柏,至于陪尾,—熊耳 hill is in the south of Loo-she district (盧氏; lat. 34°1', N., lon. 5°32', W.), of Shen-chow, in Ho-nan. There are two peaks, it is said, which rise up covered with verdure, and look like a bear's ears, from which it takes its name. Yu commenced his work on the Lŏ here;—see p. 13. 外方,—this mountain is identified with mount Ts'ung (嵩 or 崇山) in the district of Tăng-fung (登封; lat. 34°30', N., lon. 3°27', W.), dep. Ho-nan in Ho-nan prov. It has received also the names of Ts'ung-kaou (崇高) and T'ae-shih (太室). It came in subsequent times to be considered as the 'Central Mountain' (中嶽), and emperors still make progresses to it. 桐柏,—this mountain has given its name to the district of T'ung-pih (lat. 32°20', N., lon. 3°10', W.) in the dep. of Nan-yang (南陽) of Ho-nan. The Hwae has its source near to it;—see par. 11. Hoo Wei considers that two other hills,—Ta-fuh (大復) 30 *le* east of the dis. city, and T'ae-tsan (胎簪), 30 *le* to the north-west of it, are branches of T'ung-pih, and to be included in the name in the text. 陪尾,—Gan-kwŏ, referring Wae-fang, T'ung-pih, and Pei-wei, all to Yu-chow, sought for the last of them in the hill of Hwang-wei (横尾), 30 *le* to the north of the dis. city of Ngan-luh (安陸), dep. of Tih-ngan (德安), Hoo-pih, which he says the river Hwae passed by. But this was a mistake. Pei-wei is in Shan-tung, dep. of Yen-chow, and the district of Sze-shwuy (lat. 35°48', N., lon. 1°2', E.). The Sze-water (泗水) had here its sources. The 至于 before 陪尾 indicates that there was a considerable distance between it and the last named mountain of T'ung-pih.

P. 3. We return now to the west again, and have to do with the mountains of the southern range. 導嶓冢至于荆山,—嶓冢 see Part i,, p 63, and below, p. 8. Ts'ae says that the appearance of the mountain was like a 冢, 'the tumulus of a grave,' and hence it was called Po-ch'ung. Gan-kwŏ on 岷嶓

五節導弱水、至于合黎、餘波入于流沙。○六節導黑水、至于三危、入于南海。○七節導河積石、

5 II. He surveyed the Weak-water as far as Hŏ-le, from which its superfluous waters went away among the Moving sands.

6 He surveyed the Black-water as far as San-wei, from which it went away to enter the southern sea.

既藝 does not define the situation of mount Po, and Ying-tă, quoting from the Geography of Han, refers it to the tract of Lung-se (隴西郡). This was a mistake, and has occasioned much perplexity in subsequent works on the subject of this mountain, which is in the dep. of Han-chung, in Shen-se. 荆山,—see Part i, p 46. 內方至于大別,—Nuy-fang is identified with mount Chang (章山), in the south-west of the district of Chung-ts'eang,(鍾祥; lat. 31°12′, N., lon. 3°57′, W.), dep. of Ngan-luh in Hoo-pih. It was in King-chow. The Han passes near it. It is generally laid down in modern maps by the name of Ma-lang hill (馬良山). 大別 was also in King-chow. It is close by the dep. city of Han-yang (漢陽; lat. 30°34′, N., lon. 2°18′, W.), by the junction of the Han and the Këang;—see par. 8. There was also a 小別, 'the small Pĕĕ,' in the district of Han-ch'uen (漢川).

Par. 4. We turn back again, and farther east. 岷 (in the Books of Han, 峄) 山之陽至于衡山,—岷山,—see on Part i., p. 63. Hoo Wei observes that there are four different mountains which are said now to represent the mount Min of the Shoo. The first is in the ward of Sung-p'wan—that described in the note just referred to; the second is in Mow Chow, called often 汶山, which name appears in that of Min-ch'uen district (汶川); the third is in the dis. of Kwan (灌縣), dep of Shing-too; and the fourth is in Min Chow(岷州), dep., of Kung-ch'ang in Kan-suh. Woo Ch'ing's observation is correct, that all the mountains near the sources of the Keang went by the common name of Min. We must bear in mind, however, that what he and others call the sources of the Keang are only sources of branches of it within the limits of China, and flowing from the north to meet the Këang of the 'Golden Sands,' which must be traced westwards to find the true springs of the great river. 衡山,—see on Part i., p. 46. In going on to this, Yu left the Këang five or six hundred *le* to the north. Gan-kwŏ very strangely says that the Këang passed by mount Hăng. 過九江至于敷淺原,—we saw, on Part i., p. 48, how it is all but impossible to come to a definite conclusion about what the Shoo calls the 'Nine Keang.' Whether what is now the T'ung-t'ing lake was intended by the phrase or not, however, the region indicated by it was not far from the site of that. Passing by this region, Yu went on to the plain of Footseen, the place of which is about as difficult of determination. Gan-kwŏ says that this was also called the hill of Foo-yang (傅陽山), and this name conducts us to the district of Po-yang in Jaou-chow, Keang-se. How there should be mention of a plain, while the discourse is of hills, it is not easy to see. I suppose that, in travelling north-east from mount Hăng, whatever hills there were up to the termination of the progress at Foo-tseen, were of so little note that it was not thought worth while to mention their names. From the P'ang-le eastwards the hills were so few or small, that here the survey of them was concluded.

CH. II. THE ACCOUNT OF THE RIVERS. We must continue here the same meaning which we have attached to 導 in the preceding paragraphs. It is not so absurd in itself, indeed, to speak of leading the waters of the streams as it is to speak of leading the hills; and 導 is used in this sense, as in 導菏澤被孟豬, Part i., p. 57. But we cannot admit that meaning here. In clearing the channels and conducting on the rivers, it was necessary for Yu to begin at the lowest part of their course, and gradually proceed towards their sources; and this he did, as we have seen in the details of his operations in the several provinces. Here, however, he goes from the source to the mouth,—evidently surveying the work that had been accomplished. Hoo Wei says:—'By his personal agency, or by the deputed services of his assistants, Yu had finished his work in the nine provinces, and now he took a boat, and went from the sources of the streams to see whether the work was properly done.' It is not necessary to suppose even this travelling, ac-

cording to the view which I have taken. We have in the paragraphs simply a description of what would have been seen on such a survey.

P. 5. Sze-ma Ts'een, after 導 (with him, 道) has 九川, as we found the addition of 九山 in par. 1; and it so happens that only *nine rivers* are specified. Still the phrase 導九川 must be taken in analogy with 導九山, as speaking not of 'the nine rivers,' but of 'the rivers of the nine provinces.'

The Weak-water,—see on Part i., par. 73. Hŏ-le is the name of a hill rising in the north-west of the dis. of Chang-yih, and stretching along in a north-west direction from the dep. of Kan-chow into the adjoining one of Suh. The 'Statistical Account' gives it in both of the departments. The 'Geography Modernized' says:—'The Moving Sands lie beyond the pass of Kea-kuh' (嘉峪關) in Shen-se [this pass is in the north of Suh Chow, prov. of Kan-suh, at the termination of the great wall], from Soh-ko-ngoh-moo (索科鄂模) northwards, on the east as far as mount Ho-lan (賀蘭山), and on the west as far as the borders of the discontinued Sha-chow (西至廢沙州界; Sha-chow has again been replaced as the Ward of Sha-chow [沙州衞] by the pres. dynasty, in the extreme west of Ngan-se dep.). They extend from north to south more than 1,000 *le*, and from east to west several hundred *le*. The sand rises up and moves or flows along before the wind. Everywhere in the tract indicated this is to be seen.' In the rough map of China and its territories in the 'Universal Geography' (瀛環志略), published by Seu (徐繼畬), the governor of Fuh-këen in 1849, these moving sands are laid down very distinctly. On the east and north they are called Han-hae (瀚海), and on the west the deserts of Gobi (戈壁). The description of the Weak-water in the 'Statistical Account' does not enable us to understand the text, which Hoo Wei has conceived and described in the following way, from a study of all the references to it in older books:—Finding its waters near its source in a troubled condition and flowing eastwards, Yu conducted them from the hill of K'eung-shih (窮石), where they had their origin, north and west to the hill of Hŏ-le. There the main stream took a turn to the north-east, and proceeded to the marsh of Ken-yen (居延澤), which was among the moving sands,—what is called, in the preceding extract from the 'Geography Modernized' Soh-ko-ngoh-moo. But there were times when its waters were so swollen, that instead of all flowing east from the passage in the Hŏ-le hills, a portion overflowed and went westwards. These were the 'superfluous waters' of the text, and they were led away to the west, and lost in the sands of what is now the desert of Gobi. All this is ingeniously conceived and supported; but any distinct traces of this labour of Yu can hardly be expected to be discernible after the lapse of so long a time.

P. 6. The subject of the Blackwater is quite as difficult as that of the Weakwater;—see on Part i., p. 71. There it is given as the western boundary of Yung-chow, corresponding to the western Ho. But on the west of Kan-suh we find no stream answering at all to this description. Black-waters there are, besides that which is given as the boundary of Yung-chow, about ten in number, but not one of them satisfies the requisitions of the text. The last particular stated,—that the Black-water flowed to the southern sea, proves, indeed, that there could have been no such stream in the quarter assigned to the hill of San-wei. In his comments on the 'Book of the Waters,' Le Taou-yuen says:—'The Black-water took its rise in Fowl-hill of Chang-yih, and flowing south to T'un-hwang passed by San-wei, from which it went away still south to the southern sea; but Chang-yih and T'un-hwang were both on the north of the Ho. The way in which the Black-water was able to cross the Ho, and proceed to the southern sea, was that westward from Tseih-shih the course of the Ho is often under ground, so that another stream might flow over it towards the south.' This view is absurd enough. There are no recent observations to support it. After taking the Black-water in this way across the Ho, it would still be necessary to carry it over the main stream of the Këang.

Hoo Wei, seeing that this account could not be adopted, supposes that the stream turned west after passing the hill of San-wei, and after getting beyond the sources of the Ho and the Këang, flowed south again, and entered the southern sea. Of course in thus writing, he knows not what he writes about. Of the rivers flowing south into the sea to the west of China there are the May-këang, or River of Cambodia, the Mei-nam of Siam, the Salween, and the Irawaddy. Many have tried to identify the Black-water with the first of these, which rises in Tibet, and flows through Yun-nan as the Lan-ts'ang (瀾滄江). Here is a river certainly which flows into the southern sea, but the northern part of it can in no ways be made into a boundary of Yung-chow.

Yu's geographical knowledge certainly was at fault in the case of the Black-water. Referring back to Part i., p. 62, where we saw reason to believe that the river of this name there mentioned was the southern boundary of Lëang-chow, and correctly identified with the 'Golden Sands,' or a portion of it, the main stream of the Keang. Now the 'Golden Sands' was known as the Black-water only after it had received the Shing, the Jŏ and the Loo. The Loo, moreover, has itself the name of the Black-water. We can conceive that this was supposed to extend indefinitely to the north, and run along both Lëang-chow and Yung-chow. This would enable us to believe that Yu, or whoever compiled this Book from his memoranda and reports, had the idea, however erroneous, of only one stream in his mind, when speaking of the boundaries of the two provinces. But after this simplification there remains the point of the

至于龍門、南至于華陰、東至于厎柱、又東至于孟津、東過洛汭、至于大伾、北過洚水、至于大陸、又北播為九河、同為逆河、入于海。○

7 He surveyed the Ho from Tseih-shih as far as Lung-mun; and thence, southwards, to the north of mount Hwa; eastward then to Te-ch'oo; eastward again to the ford of Măng; eastwards still he passed the junction of the Lŏ, and went on to Ta-pei. From this the course was northwards, past the Keang-water, on to Ta-luh; north from which the stream was distributed and became the nine Ho, which united again and formed the meeting Ho, when they entered into the sea.

river's flowing to the southern sea. That cannot be got over. There is here a very serious error in the details of the Shoo.

P. 7. *The course of the Ho.* 導河積石至于龍門,—on Tseih-shih, see Part i., p. 82, where its position is given as on the north-west of Ho Chow in the dep. of Lan-chow (蘭州). The compilers of the Statistical Account of the present dynasty, however, place it much farther off, and give it within the boundaries of the territory of Ts'ing-hae (青海) or Koko-nor. The mountain of Ho Chow was indeed, they say, called Tseih-shih as well as the other, but was distinguished from it by the prefix of 'little' (小積石), while the more western one was called the 'great.' Hoo Wei agrees in this view; and if it be correct, then Yu must have proceeded, or at least penetrated by his assistants, a long way west beyond the boundaries of the present China proper. But if he got as far as the 'Snowy Mountain' (雪山),—which I find it difficult to believe, he was still distant from the sources of the Ho. Those are in the extreme west of the Koko-nor. The stream at first and, indeed, through most of its progress in the Koko-nor, is called the river of O-urh-tan (阿爾但河). It is not till it has pursued a tortuous course of more than 2,300 *le* to the fortified post of Kwei-tih (貴德堡), that it receives the name of the 'Yellow River' (黃河). A further progress of between 400 and 500 *le* brings it to the pass of Tseih-shih, flowing past which it enters the boundaries of Ho Chow.

[The Chinese Government cannot be said to have been indifferent to the discovery of the sources of the Ho. The Han, the T'ang, and the Yuen dynasties sent out special officers to trace the stream to its fountain-head. The emperor K'ang-he of the present did the same. We should read the reports of their expeditions with more interest, if it were not for the uncouth form which the names of the mountains and rivers of the Koko-nor assume when represented by Chinese characters. After all that the Chinese themselves have done, much distinction yet awaits the explorer from the west who shall visit the springs of this most fast-rushing and unmanageable of the great rivers of our globe.]

Lung-mun,—see on Part i., p. 82. The Ho, after entering Kan-suh in Ho Chow, flows east and north through the dep. of Lan-chow, and passes into that of Ning-hea (寧夏). This it traverses, now outside, now inside the great wall, going more north than east, and, at length, east of the district of P'ing-lo (平羅; lat. 38°52', N., lon. 4°22', W.), it goes again beyond the great wall into the country of the Ortous Mongols (鄂爾多斯界), which it quite embraces, only entering China proper again in Yu-lin (榆林), the north-eastern department of Shen-se. After this it flows south, sometimes inclining to the west, to the hill of Lung-mun, dep. of T'ung-chow. Hoo-k'ow, we saw, was somewhat to the north of Lung-mun, on the eastern or Shan-se side of the river; and hereabouts Yu commenced his labours. From Tseih-shih to Lung-mun, along the course of the Ho, is a distance of more than 3,000 *le*.

南至于華陰,—華陰 must be translated 'the north of mount Hwa;' see on Part i., p. 62. There is now the district city of Hwa-yin, but there could be no such place in

Yu's time. The north of mount Hwa is specified, as marking the point at which the Ho turned from its southern course to proceed east. Here also we must suppose that Yu had to put forth his skill and resources in its regulation.

東至于底柱,—see on par. 1. 又東至于孟津,—'the ford of Măng' still gives its name to the district of Măng (孟縣; lat. 34°55′, N., lon. 3°38′, W.), dep. of Hwae-k'ing in Ho-nan. The whole name, indeed, remains in a district of Ho-nan dep., which borders with the dis. of Măng on the north and east, the Ho being between them. The ford is about 20 *le* to the south of the dis. city of Măng. Lin Che-k'e supposes that it was not till he reached this point that Yu found it possible to ford the Ho; but there were during the Chow dynasty other fords between this and Te-ch'oo. Măng was most conveniently situated with reference to the capital. This is the reason why it is specified. 東過洛汭,—see on Part i., p. 55. Here, with reference to the stream of the Ho, we may very well read 洛汭 as in the translation. Elsewhere, as in Book III. par. 3, 'we must render differently. At the place of junction of the two streams, Yu must have performed some labour.

至于大伾,—the character 伾 is disputed. 岯, 坯, 陃, and 邳, all have their advocates. Connected with the form of the character are the opinions as to whether we should regard 大伾 as the name of a district or place, or of a hill. We may acquiesce in the conclusion of the Statistical Account of the present dynasty that we are to find it in the present Le hill (黎山), 20 *le* to the south-east of the dis. city of Seun (濬縣; lat. 35° 45′, N., lon. 1°38′, W.), in the dep. of Wei-hwuy of Ho-nan. [This is a recent arrangement; this dis. used to be reckoned in the dep. of Ta-ming, Chih-le.] From the ford of Măng to this point, the Ho had been gradually bending northwards. 北過洚水,至于大陸,—the Keang-water [洚 should probably be 降; in the Statistical Account we have 絳] rises in the south-west of the dis. of Chun-lew (屯留), dep. of Loo-ngan in Shan-se, and flowing into the dis. of Loo-shing (潞城), joins the 'Muddy Chang,' (濁漳), which, according to the Geography Modernized, is in consequence also called the Keang-water (降水). This river flowing east entered the Ho of Yu between Ta-pei and Ta-luh. The particular point was probably in the district of Fei-heang (肥鄉), dep. of Kwang-p'ing. Ta-luh,—see on Part i., par. 9. There, however, we have to take 大陸 as the name of a district; here we have to think of some definite place, to be found probably in the district of Ping-heang (平鄉; lat. 37°2′, N., lon. 1°23′, W.), 11 *le* to the north of which we have the site of the old city of Keu-luh. 又北播爲九河,—see on Yen-chow, Part i., par. 13. The successive changes in the course of the main stream of the Ho, and encroachments of the sea since the time of Yu, make it impossible for us now to ascertain those nine streams. The same things also render the rest of the paragraph difficult of elucidation. 同爲逆河,入于海,—it would seem from this that the nine Ho again united their waters, and formed one great river which seemed to contend with the advancing waves of the sea. The union of so many streams in one before entering the sea is difficult to suppose in the circumstances. Can we suppose that by the 逆河 is meant the coast water all along the space included between the Ho and its extreme southern branch, kept in a constant state of agitation by so many channels emptying themselves into it at no great distance from one another? This appears to be what in subsequent times was called the Pŏ-hae (渤海).

[It is clear from the above details that we cannot look for the Ho of Yu on the present face of the country. As it received the Chang river, however, before reaching Ta-luh, which still pursues its course to the sea, and enters it in the dep. of T'een-tsin, we may suppose that the north-eastern part of the Ho's course was not much diff't. from the present cour e of the Chang.
By the time of the famous duke Hwan of Ts'e in the Chow dyn., B.C. 684–642, of the nine Ho all but one had disappeared, and not long after, B.C. 601, in the 5th year of the emp. Ting (定王), 1675 years, acc. to the 'Annals of the various dynn.,' after Yu's labours, the first great change in the course of the stream took place. This, however, did not affect its northern portion. The main stream broke off, not far from Ta-pei, and after running for some time in the T'ă (漯川), broke off from it again, and proceeding east and north, rejoined the Chang, and went on as before to the sea. A second change, more extensive, took place more than 600 years later. In the third year of the usurper Mang (王莽), A.D. 11, the channel from the T'ă northwards disappeared, and the Ho, now in the channel of the Tă and now north of it, flowed east to the sea, which it entered in the pres. district of Le-tsin (利津; lat. 37°33′, N., lon. 1°52′, E.), dep. of Woo-ting (武定), Shan-tung. For more than 1000 years a struggle was maintained to prevent the stream from going further south, but in A.D. 1194. the main stream broke off in the dep. of Wei-hwuy in Ho-nan, about the district of Sin-heang (新鄉; lat. 35°22′, N., lon. 2°22′, W.), and flowing east and north as far mount Lëang (梁山),

八節 嶓冢導漾、東流爲漢、又東爲滄浪之水、過三澨、至于大別、南入于江、東匯澤爲彭蠡、東爲北江、入于海。○

8 From Po-ch'ung he surveyed the Yang, which, flowing eastwards, became the Han. Farther east, it became the water of Ts'ang-lang; and after passing the three great dykes, went on to Ta-pëe, southwards from which it entered the Keang. Eastward still, and whirling on, it formed the marsh of P'ang-le; and from that its eastern flow was the northern Këang, as which it entered the sea.

in the dis. of Show-chang (壽張), dep. of Yen-chow, it there divided into two branches, one flowing north and east, and entering the sea in the dis. of Le-tsin, the other going east and south till it joined the Hwae, and went on in its channel to the sea. After this, the northern branch gradually became less and less. During the Yuen and Ming dynasties, The Ho finally broke off in the district of Yung-tsih (滎澤), dep. of K'ae-fung, and proceeded east with a very gradual inclination to the south till it joined the Hwae. I have not met with an account of the changes which it has undergone since. Until within a few years it discharged itself into the sea by the old channel of the Hwae.]

P. 8. *The course of the Han.* 嶓冢導漾 (in Sze-ma Ts'een and others, 瀁), 東流爲漢,—see on Part i., p. 63. It is there stated that there were two mountains called Po-ch'ung, one in Kan-suh, in the small dep. of Ts'in (秦州), 60 *le* to the south-east of the dep. city, in which what is called the Western Han (西漢水) takes its rise. Flowing through Ts'in Chow and Keae Chow (階州) into Sze-ch'uen, it is lost in the Kea-ling, which proceeding south through the departments of Paou-ning (保寗), and Shun-k'ing (順慶), enters the Keang, near the dep. city of Chung-k'ing (重慶; lat. 29°42', N., lon. 9°48', W.). The Geography of the Han supposed that this western Han was the Yang of the text, and that we were to look for the Po-ch'ung mountain in the pres. Kan-suh. But there is no connection between the two Hans;—there is none now, nor is it likely that there ever was. The mistake made in the Han dynasty has led to much perplexity and debate on the sentence under notice. The Po-ch'ung of Yu was, no doubt, the mountain in the north of Ning-këang Chow (寗羌州), dep. of Han-chung. Here the Han rises, and for some time after issuing from its springs it was called the Yang. Flowing east along the south of the district of Mëen (沔縣), it passes the dep. city in the dis. of Nan-ch'ing (南鄭), whereabouts the name of Yang ceased, and was superseded by that of Han. From the dep. of Han-chung, the Han passes into that of Hing-ngan, out of which it proceeds from Shen-se into Hoo-pih in the dep. of Yun-yang (鄖陽) Entering from this that of Seang-yang in the sub. dep. of Keun (均州), it took the name of the Water of Ts'ang-lang:—又東爲滄浪之水. There was an island here according to Le Taou-yuen in the middle of the stream, called Ts'ang-lang (漢水中有洲,曰滄浪洲), which gave occasion to the name which was retained to the junction of its waters with the Keang. It is perhaps a more likely account of the name, that it was given to the stream here from the bluish tinge of its waters. 過三澨至于大別,南入于江,—this describes the course of the stream from Keun Chow till it mingles its waters with the Heang. On Ta-pëĕ, see on par. 3. The only difficulty is with 三澨, which Ts'ae says was the name of a stream, or streams. Such also was the view of the older commentators,—Gan-kwŏ, Ch'ing Heuen, Ma Yung, and Wang Suh. The 說文, however, defines 澨 as 'a large dyke on a river's bank where people could dwell' (埤增水邊,土人所止). This meaning is the better established of the two. Hoo Wei fixes on three points, all in the pres. district of Seang-yang, where he supposes three dykes to have been raised to sustain the impetus of the waters entering the Han, and considers them to be the positions indicated in the text. 東匯澤爲彭蠡,東爲北江,入于海,—these clauses present

九節岷山導江、東別爲沱、又東至于澧、過九江、至于東陵、東迆北會于匯、東爲中江、入于海。○十節導沇水、東流爲

9 From mount Min he surveyed the Këang, which branching off to the east formed the T'o; eastward again it reached the Le; after this it passed the nine Këang; and flowing eastward and winding to the north, it joined *the Han* in its eddying movements; from that its eastern flow was the middle Këang, as which it entered the sea.

10 He surveyed the Yen water, which flowing eastward became the Tse, and entered the Ho. *Thereafter* it flowed out, and became the

no small difficulties. First, the waters of the Han have now mingled with the Këang;—why should it still be spoken of as if it were a distinct stream? Second, the P'ang-le lake has its own sources and feeders, independent of the Këang, and is moreover a very considerable distance from the river;—it cannot with propriety be represented as being formed by the Han and Këang. Laborious efforts have been made to clear up these points,—with some, but by no means complete, satisfactoriness. I apprehend that the face of the country changed very considerably during the 2,000 years and more that elapsed between Yu and the Han dynasty; whether the changes can still be traced remains to be seen:—see what was said on the nine Keang, pp. 113, 114. The way in which Chinese scholars have dealt with the difficulties of the text will be seen from the two following quotations. First, on the second perplexity which I have indicated, Choo-foo-tsze says:—'The marshing of P'ang-le took place, indeed, to the south of the great Keang. But it did so in consequence of the nature of the ground, which high in the north and low in the south impeded the discharge of the waters from the P'ang-le. Unable to find a sufficient vent, they gathered themselves up, and spread abroad in the form of the lake which we have, several hundred *le* in extent.' Again, on the whole passage Woo Ch'ing has said:—'The Han flowing south enters into the Keang, and then along the northern bank of the Keang, flows eastward, the northern portion of the Keang, and so enters the sea (東行爲江之北,而入于海). But the Han having once entered the Keang, the two became one stream, and yet it is here said—"it flowed eastward as the northern Keang," as if there were still a separate stream;—how is this to be accounted for? Let us bear in mind that the sources of the Han were remote, and its stream great, barely second to the Keang, and all but its peer. Another way of speaking was necessary here than the style usual on the junction of a small stream with a large one; and hence in Part i., p. 47, the Keang and the Han are both mentioned as pursuing their common course to the sea. The Keang is not permitted to absorb both the waters and the name of the Han, but the Han shares in the name of the Këang, becomes in fact "the northern Keang." There are again "the four principal rivers" whose discharge from their basins into the sea is commemorated (記其入海者,著其爲瀆也). Three of them are just one stream, but the fourth is twice commemorated,—as the Keang, and also as the Han. Not that the Ho, for instance, did not carry with it to the sea the waters of many other rivers, but they are all small as compared with it, and might be supposed to be swallowed up in it; but not so with the Han and the Keang. The former must still retain an individuality to the last.'

P. 9. *The course of the Keang.* 岷山導江,東別爲沱,—see on Part i., pp. 49, 63, and 64; and on par. 3 of this Part. At whatever point in the range of hills going by the name of Min, this branch of the Keang takes its rise, it appears in the north-west of Sze-ch'uen, and flows south through the Ward of Sung-p'wan into the small dep. of Mow (茂州). Thence flowing more easterly, it enters the dept. of Ching-too, and in passing through the district of Kwan (灌縣; lat. 30°59', N., lon. 12°46', W.), it throws off the first T'o, often called the river of Pe (郫江), because it immediately passes on the east through the dis. of that name. It goes on south of the small dep. of Mei (眉州); thence through the dep. of Kea-ting (嘉定), to that of Seu-chow (敘州), not far from which (lat. 28°38', N., lon. 11°43', W.) it receives, we are told, the river of Ma-hoo (馬湖). It would be more correct to say that here it joins *the* Keang, the river of the 'Golden Sands' which received the waters of the Ma-hoo not long before. From this point the course of the stream is eastwards, and generally with a gradual inclination to the

north. First it traverses the small dep. of Loo (瀘州), on the south-east of the dep. city of which (lat. 28°56′, N., lon. 10°55′, W.) it again receives the T'o, which has collected various streams in its course. From this it proceeds east and north through the depp. of Chung-k'ing (重慶) and K'wei-chow (夔州), and in the Fung-tsëë (奉節) dis. of the latter, it threw off at one time a second T'o. This was the E-water (夷水), which left the Këang at this point, and flowing to the south-east was joined by a stream from the dep. of She-nan (施南) in Hoo-pih, with which it went away east-ward, and rejoined the Këang, which has passed from Sze-ch'uen into Hoo-pih,—rejoined it, after passing the districts of Pa-tung (巴東) and Ch'ang-yang (長陽), dep. of E-ch'ang (宜昌), close by the district city of E-too (宜都), dep. of King-chow. At this point the river from She-nan still flows into the Këang, but the branch which flowed off from the great stream in Fung-tsëë district has long been dried up. I have abridged the above details from the 禹貢錐指. They bring the present course of the Min-keang sufficiently well before us. From the text, however, one gets the impression that, if the main stream was not called by the name of the T'o, it was the branch or branches so styled which engaged the chief attention of Yu.

又東至于澧,過九江,至于東陵,—the former clause left as near the district city of E-too, lat. 30°28′, N., lon. 5°9′, W. This brings us to Pa-ling the chief city and district of the dep. of Yŏ-chow (岳州府巴陵縣), lat. 29°24′, N., lon. 3°33′, W. In Yu's time, 東陵, 'the eastern hill,' would simply be the name of the hill which now occupies the south-western part of the dep. city, called Pa-ling, Pa-k'ew (巴邱), and T'een-yŏ (天岳). Among the old interpreters there is a difference of view, whether 澧 (Sze-ma Ts'een and the Books of Han read 醴) is the name of a hill or of a stream; and Ch'ing lays down a canon, which must be considered arbitrary, to settle the point. He says that in this Book after 過 and 會 we have the names of rivers, but after 至 the names of hills or marshes. Whichever we understand by the term, the name remains in the small dep. of Le, the chief city of which is in lat. 29°37′, N., lon. 4°45′, W. We have also the Le-water, which rising in the dis. of Yung-ting (永定), in the extreme west of the dep., flows eastwards through the whole of it, and passes into Hwa-yung (華容) dis., dep. of Yŏ-chow, where it flows into the T'ung-t'ing lake. Of the 'nine Këang' enough has been already said. This passage certainly assigns the place of them near where the T'ung-t'ing lake is. The great difficulty in my way against acceding to the view of the Sung scholars is that neither here nor elsewhere in the Tribute of Yu are the 'nine Keang' spoken of as a marsh or lake.

東迆北會于匯,—this clause is attended with no little difficulty. Gan-kwŏ took 迆 in the sense of 溢 'to overflow,' and says that 'the stream, overflowing as it went east, divided into separate channels, which all went north and united to form the P'ang-le' (東溢分流,都共北會爲彭蠡). Woo Ch'ing, ingeniously but too violently, removed the clause 東匯澤爲彭蠡, and read it after the text—東迆北會于匯,東匯澤爲彭蠡. 匯 is then a name, in the first place, for the meeting of the Han and Keang, and in the next for the stream of their united waters. These attempts at explanation only show the difficulty of the text. We must suppose that in this par. the Shoo takes no notice of the junction of the Han and the Këang, but the 匯 in it and the prec. par. have the same reference,—are to be understood of the turbulence of the united streams, which caused the formation of the P'ang-le. This turbulence, however, is primarily predicated of the Han, and here the Keang is supposed by an eastward course, winding (迆) to the north, to merge its waters at that point in those of the Han. 東爲中江,入于海,—Gan-kwŏ says:—'We had the northern *Këang*; here we have the middle one; that there was a southern one is plain' (有北,有中,南可知). The Han was called the northern Keang in the last par., after its junction with the great stream. Here the great stream after leaving the P'ang-le, or the point at which the waters which formed it tried to discharge themselves, is called the middle Keang. Possibly, the portion of those waters which did enter may be regarded as the southern Këang, or southern part of the river. Still as the Shoo makes no mention of a southern Këang, we need not trouble ourselves with it. We get the idea certainly of one stream flowing to the sea from this point, and I conclude that the three Keang of Yang-chow (Part i., p. 40) have nothing to do with the Yang-tsze.

P. 10. *The course of the Tse.* What is most remarkable in the account of this river is that it is described as first on the north of the Ho, then crossing that powerful stream, and re-appearing on the south of it. The former part of it is called by Woo Ch'ing 'the northern Tse,' the latter, 'the southern.' The name of the Tse still remains north of the Ho. On the south it has long been lost, but the ancient course of the stream must have been much the same as that of the present Seaou Ts'ing (小清河).

濟、入于河、溢爲滎、東出于陶丘北、又東至于菏、又東北會于汶、又北、東入于海。十一節 導淮自桐柏、東會于泗沂、東入于海。十二節 導渭自鳥鼠同穴、東會于灃、又東會于涇、又東過漆沮、入于河。十三節 導洛自熊耳、東北會于澗瀍、又東會于伊、又東北入于河。

Yung *marsh*. Eastward, it issued forth on the north of Taou-k'ew, and flowed further east to the *marsh of* Ko. North-east from this it united with the Wăn, and after flowing north went eastwards on to the sea.

11 He surveyed the Hwae from *the hill of* T'ung-pih. Flowing east, it united with the Sze and the E; and with an eastward course *still* entered the sea.

12 He surveyed the Wei from Neaou-urh-tung-heuĕ. Flowing eastwards it met with the Fung, and eastwards again with the King. Farther east still, it passed the Tseih and the Tseu; and entered the Ho.

13 He surveyed the Lŏ from Heung-urh. Flowing to the north-east, it united with the Këen and the Ch'ëen; eastwards still, it united with the E; and then on the north-east entered the Ho.

導沇水,東流爲濟,入于河,—the Statistical Account says of the Tse-water, under the dep. of Hwae-k'ing in Honan:—'It has another name, that of the Yen-water. It rises in the hill of Wang-uh, in the west of the dis. of Tse-yuen, and flowing east along the north of the district, it passes with a south-east course through the north of the district of Măng, and on to the Ho.' There is another stream,—'the Wide Tse' (廣濟),—in the same department, having a longer course very much parallel to this, and more to the east, which some would rather identify with the river of the text. It is not worth the time and space to enter into the discussions of the critics on the subject. For some time after leaving its source the stream was called the Yen, but ere long it was known as the Tse, and soon lost in the Ho. 溢爲滎,—here Gan-kwŏ says:—'The Tse having entered the Ho flows along with it ten *le* and more, and then shooting across to its south bank, flows along with it again for several *le*, and issues out, as the marsh of Yung, on the south-east of Gaou-ts'ang' (在敖倉東南). All this, about a small stream like the Tse entering a mass of fast-rushing water like the Ho, and yet preserving itself distinct, &c., is absurd. Yung is the same as the marsh of Yung-po, Part i., p. 56;—see the note on that par. 溢 must be understood as flowing out, not from the river

but from the ground. The water of the marsh was most likely derived from the Ho, finding its way by some underground communication to the place, but we cannot suppose for a moment that the water of the marsh was that of the Tse, flowing into the Ho from the north and passing through it. 東出于陶丘北, 又東至于菏,—陶丘 = 'the small hill of T'aou.' A hill that seems to be composed of two parts, rising like storeys one above the other, is called 陶丘 (再成爲陶丘, 再成, 其形再重也). The name remains in the district of Ting-t'aou (定陶; lat. 35°11', N., lon. 44', W.), dep. of Yen-chow, the hill being 7 *le* to the south-west of the district city. The hill of T'aou was about 500 *le* from the Yung marsh, and here again there bubbled up a spring from the ground, which was strangely supposed to be the waters of the Tse reappearing after so long a subterranean travel. Woo Ch'ing says that the 出 should lead us to think of a well-spring, sending up its waters to the surface from its own bosom. These waters flowed away to the marsh of Ko which they served to augment;—see Part i., p. 57. 又東北會于汶,—the waters of what we may now call the Southern Tse flowed through the marsh of Ko, and on the north-east of it were met by those of the Wăn-water, which is now one of the feeders of the Grand Canal;—see on Part i., p. 27. 又北, 東入于海,—the Tse, augmented now by the Wăn, flowed north as far as about the pres. district city of Yang-kuh (陽穀; lat. 36°9', N., lon. 29', W.), and then pursued its way to the sea, very much in the course of the present Seaou-ts'ing (小淸), the name of 淸, 'clear,' having taken its rise from the purity for which the waters of the Tse had always been famous.

P. 11. *The course of the Hwae.* The Hwae rises in the hill of T'ung-pih (see on par. 2), Honan prov., dep. of Nan-yang, dis. of T'ung-pih (lat. 32°20', N., lon. 3°10', W.). It met with the united streams of the E and the Sze (see on Part i., par. 30) in Keang-soo, dep. of Hwae-ngan, dis. of Ts'ing-ho (lat. 33°35', N., lon. 2°34', E.), and from that point went on east to the sea. The eastern portion of the Hwae's course is now very much changed. From the dis. of T'ung-pih, dep. Nan-yang, it flows east and north through the small dep. of Kwang, where it receives the Joo (汝水), and from the dis. of Koo-ch'e (固始; lat. 32°18', N., lon. 51', W.). it passes into Ngan-hwuy. Entering this prov. in the dep. of Ying-chow (潁州), it traverses it, flowing nearly due east, and collecting many waters, to the small dep. of Sze (泗州; lat. 35°8', lon. 1°52', E.) when it passes through the lake of the 'Great marsh' (洪澤湖), which may be said to be formed by it, into Keang-soo, and from which lake on the north-east it discharges itself again into the Yellow River, in the dis. of Ts'ing-ho, dept. Hwae-ngan. Thenceforth its course is lost in that of the Ho. At the same point the Grand Canal also issues from the Ho, so that we may say there is a connection between the Hwae and the Yang-tsze, which we saw, Part i., p. 45, began to be established in the Chow dynasty. On the northern side of the Ho, the canal now receives the waters of the E and the Sze, which used to flow into the Hwae. In the mention of both the E and the Sze, after their waters had been blended together, Woo Ch'ing finds a case analogous to that of the Han's retaining its individuality after joining the Keang, as in p. 8. The streams, he says, were of about equal size, and therefore the name of each must be preserved. The whole course of the Hwae from T'ung-pih to the sea is about 1,800 *le*.

P. 12. *The course of the Wei.* See on Part i., pp. 73–75. The river rises in the hill of Neaou-shoo-t'ung-heuě, in the west of the district of Wei-yuen (渭源), dep. of Lan-chow, Kan-suh. In par. 2. and Part i., p. 76, the mountain is called Neaou-shoo, but here we have its full name, meaning 'Bird and Rat in the Same Hole.' Gan-kwŏ, with his fondness for the marvellous, says that 'a bird and a rat lived in the same holes on this mountain, and paired together as male and female.' The Urh-ya had said that 'a bird called T'oo (鵌), and a rat, called Tuh (鼵), lived here together in the same hole.' This is conceivable; the addition of their pairing is of course absurd. From Lan-chow dep. the river flows into that of Kung-ch'ang, and thence to the small dep. of Ts'in (秦州), from which it passes into Shen-se, the whole of which it traverses till it meets the Ho at the termination of its southward flow. The whole length of its course is now under 1,500 *le*, whereas in the Han dynasty it was given as nearly 1,900. It may have altered its course in some parts.

P. 13. *The course of the Lŏ.* See on Part i., p. 55. 熊耳,—see on par. 2. The Heung-urh hill there mentioned is, no doubt, that of the text, from which Yu began his survey of the Lŏ; but the sources of the stream are more distant, in the small dep. of Shang, in Shen-se, as stated on Part i., p. 55. There is also a Heung-urh hill there, distinguished from this by the prefix of 'Western.' According to the Geography of the Han dynasty, the course of the Lŏ was altogether 1,970 *le*.

十四節 九州攸同、四隩既宅、九山刊旅、九川滌源、九澤既陂、四海會同。十五節 六府孔修、庶土交正、厎慎財賦、咸則三壤、成賦中邦。○

14 III. *Thus*, throughout the nine provinces a similar order was effected:—the grounds along the waters were everywhere made habitable; the hills were cleared of their superfluous wood and sacrificed to; the sources of the streams were cleared; the marshes were well banked; access to the capital was secured for all within the four seas.

15 A great order was effected in the six magazines *of material wealth;* the different parts of the country were subjected to an exact comparison, so that contribution of revenue could be carefully adjusted according to their resources. The fields were all classified with reference to the three characters of the soil; and the revenues for the Middle region were established.

Ch. III. Pp. 14, 15. A summary of the labours of Yu thus far described. 14. 九州攸同,—this clause is a summary of the whole par.; the other clauses give the particulars of the general order which was established. The phrase 攸同 occurred before, where after Gan-kwŏ, I explained 攸 by 所, its frequent synonym;—see Part i., p. 75. K'ung seems to take the character in the same way here, his comment on the clause being—所同事在下, 'the particulars in which they were made to agree are given below.' This is forced, however. The dict. gives 攸 as sometimes merely 'a helping word' (語助詞), an expletive, and quotes from the She King. Part III., Bk. I., Ode x., stt. 4,5, 四方攸同, which is much akin to the text. We may consider the 攸 therefore as simply supplying the place of the copula. The nine Chow are of course the nine provinces described in Part i. 洲 and 州 were originally interchangeable; and the Urh-ya defines 洲 as 'inhabitable ground in the midst of water,' (水中可居者). Now all the habitable ground the ancient Chinese knew was conceived of as surrounded by water, and hence it was called a 州 or continent, and the subdivision was again made of the nine Chow, embracing the empire proper;—see Hoo Wei *in loc.* 四隩既宅,—隩, see Can. of Yaou, p. 7. But we must seek for a different meaning here. That which I have adopted is after Le Seun (李巡), who says:—涯內近水爲隩. Under Yen-chow we are told, Part i., p. 16, that the people could come down from the heights and dwell on the low ground, and under Yung-chow (p. 78), that the country about San-wei was made habitable; the text says that throughout the nine provinces all the low ground near the streams that had formerly been inhabited was recovered from the waters 四隩=四方之隩. This is better than to take it, with Ts'ae and the Daily Explanation, as=四海之隩. 九山刊旅,—九山=九州之山;—see the Introduction to Ch. I. Wang Ts'ëaou (王樵) says:—'刊 and 旅, describing the beginning and end of the work on the hills, embrace all the operations on them. The cutting down the wood was the first step in the regulation of the waters; the sacrificing was the announcement of the completed work.' On 旅, see on Part i., pp. 65,76. 九川滌源,—九川=九州之川; see on par. 5. 滌源, 'had their

十六節 錫土姓。○十七節 祗台德先、不距朕行。○十八節 五百里甸服、百里賦納總、二百里納銍、三百

16 IV. He conferred lands and surnames. *He said*, "Let me go
17 before the empire with reverent attention to my virtue, that none
may act contrary to my conduct."
18 Five hundred *le* constituted THE IMPERIAL DOMAIN. From the first

sources cleared,' is a somewhat difficult expression. Ying-tă says it means that from the source of the rivers to their mouth, Yu cleared all their channel, so that they had no obstruction in their course. This is, no doubt, intended, but the question is as to how it is said by the characters employed. Hoo Wei approves a remark by one of the critics Kin (金氏), that when it is said here that the sources of the rivers were cleared, and not their courses, we must understand by the text the work described by Yu himself—'I deepened the channels, and canals, and conveyed them to the streams.' In this way there were no pools of water about the country to lead to the obstruction of rivers. The remark is well enough, but it leaves the difficulty of the language untouched. We may conclude that if the sources were cleared, the courses would also be attended to;—this is probably the ground of Ying-tă's observation. 九澤既陂,—九澤 must be taken in analogy with 九山 and 九川, as =九州之澤. It does happen, indeed, that we can make out nine marshes mentioned in the first Part,—Luy-hea in Yen-chow; Ta-yay in Ts'eu-chow; P'ang-le and the Shaking marsh in Yang-chow; Yun-mung in King-chow (supposing only *one* marsh intended in p. 50); Yung-po, the marsh of Ko, and Măng-choo in Yu-chow; and Choo-yay in Yung-chow. Notwithstanding this coincidence, we must deal with 九澤 as with 九川. 陂=障, 'a bank or dyke,' used here as a verb. It is synonymous with 隄 in the general signification, but the terms are differently applied, 隄 denoting the high banks on both sides of a river to confine the waters to their channel; 陂, the embankment surrounding a marsh, with sluices to admit water, and others to let it out. 四海會同,—two interpretations have been proposed of this clause. There is that given in the 集傳:—四海之水,無不會同,各有所歸, 'the waters within the four seas all met in a similar way,—each had its place to which it came.' The other, which I have followed in the translation, is that proposed by Gan-kwŏ. Lin Che-k'e explains it by a reference to the conclusion of each chapter on the provinces, which sets forth an account of the route of conveyance to the capital. A commentator Chang (張) observes:—'When the calamity of the inundation was removed, not only could the people of the nine provinces without obstruction, but the barbarous tribes, east, west, north, and south, could likewise all assemble in the capital. We are sent back to the discussions about the meaning of the phrase, 'the four Seas;'—see on the Canon of Shun, p. 13. In this place we must take, I think, the general indefinite signification of the phrase. 會同,—see on Ana. XI, xxv., 6.

P. 15. This is a sort of summary of the portions of Part i., on the soil, fields, revenue, and tribute of the different provinces. 六府孔修,—see on 'The Counsels of Yu,' pp. 7,8. 庶土交正,厎愼財賦,—it seems most natural to take 土 here in the sense belonging to it in the first Part,—as meaning the soil, and 庶土, the soil everywhere, with the different characters attaching to it. It will also cover 'the fields,' the account of which always follows it;—to this we are led by the 咸 which follows in the next clause. 厎愼 indicates the care and diligence with which Yu proceeded, according to the force that we have seen attaches throughout this Book to 厎. The 財 preceding 賦 occasions some perplexity. I have endeavoured to give what I consider is the meaning. 咸則三壤,成賦中邦,—則 is a verb, =法, signifying 'according to,' 'taking as a law;' 三壤, 'the three soils,' *i.e.*, the three grades of quality as 'highest, middle, and lowest,' every grade having also, as we have seen, a threefold subdivision. 中邦 'the middle region,' is held by Hoo Wei to denote the territory in the three first of the domains spoken of in the next chapter.

Ch. IV. Pp. 16—22. Another territorial and political division of the country. The division of the empire into nine provinces was mainly regulated by the natural features of the country,—a reference to the hills and streams. The division here described was of another character and mainly political. Not a few difficult questions arise out of it, which I shall briefly touch on, after discussing exegetically the meaning of the several paragraphs.

P. 16. 錫土姓, 'He conferred lands and surnames,'—this must be understood in close connection with the paragraphs below. The evils occasioned by the overflow of the waters had been in a great measure removed; the lands had everywhere been surveyed; the revenues which they ought to yield had been fixed:—it was necessary that provision should now be made for the government of the multitudes, and the maintenance of the order which had been established. Yu therefore now assigned throughout the province, according to the plan which is subsequently detailed, different portions of territory to those whose birth, or services, or virtue, most entitled them to the distinction. He was himself, indeed, only a minister, a servant, and what he did in this way must have been subject to the approval of Yaou, by whom it was necessary that his acts should be confirmed;—we may well suppose that they were never disallowed. And we may suppose also, that in his conferring lands his first regards were given to the officers who had rendered him the most effectual assistance in his arduous labours.

This assignment of lands was like the action of a conqueror who dispossesses the original possessors of the kingdom which he has subdued, and portions it out among his followers. And there was probably an element of this nature in the action of Yu. The tribes of San-meaou, for instance, were doubtless put under some minister of Yaou. But the strifes of the founders of the Chinese empire with the earlier occupants of the country are barely intimated. Yu's subjugation of it was mainly a reclaiming of it from the wildness of nature, and the disasters brought about by the overflowing of its rivers.

When it is said that Yu conferred surnames as well as names, we cannot but think of his era as that of the real origin of the Chinese empire. Gan-kwŏ's exposition of the par.—it must be borne in mind that he understood Yaou and not Yu as the nominative to 錫—is:—'The emperor, establishing the virtuous, gave them surnames after their places of birth, meaning that such and such a virtuous man was born in such a place, and therefore the name of that place was given to him as a surname to distinguish him, (天子建德,因生以賜姓 [this is a quotation from the 左傳,隱八年], 謂有德之人生此地,以此地名賜之姓,以顯之). The surname, however, was given not only from the birth-place, but after the name of the fief conferred, from the office held by the receiver or one of his ancestors, from any remarkable incident in his life, and from a variety of other circumstances;—the history of surnames among the Chinese is just like the same history in other nations. Subsequent to Yu's time, and especially on the changes of the early dynasties, we have instances of the conferring of lands and surnames; but not at all on the large scale which the text suggests to us as practised by him.

As closely connected with this paragraph and the whole of the chapter, we should keep in mind Yu's own statement in the 'Yih and Tseih,' p. 8:—'I assisted in completing the five tenures, extending over 5,000 *le*; in appointing in the provinces twelve Tutors; and establishing, in the regions beyond, extending to the four seas, five presidents.'

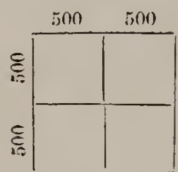
P. 17. I have introduced '*He said*' before this paragraph, understanding it to be a remark made by Yu, related here, amid the account of his achievements, to show how he himself set the chief store by his personal virtue. It seems out of place, indeed, but we cannot help that. Gan-kwŏ rather supposes it to be describing the thought of the emperor, and in an indirect form, from the narrator, and not from the sovereign. 祇=敬. 台=我. 台 and 朕 have the same reference. We have seen how 朕, before the founder of the Ts'in dynasty, was used indifferently by the emperor and by his ministers. Hoo Wei observes:—'From 冀州 (Part. i., p. 2) downwards describes the business of good government and the nourishment of the people; from 錫土姓 describes the business of good instruction and the transformation of the people. 成賦中邦 (par. 25) is what I call good government;—it gets the wealth of the people. 聲教訖于四海 (par. 23) shows what I call the good instruction;—it gets the hearts of the people.'

Pp. 18—22. *The five domains.* 18. 五百里甸服,—I do not see how to translate 服 in this and the other paragraphs otherwise than by 'domain, if, indeed, that word can be called a translation of the Chinese character. The dictionary gives the 五服, and the cognate phrases of 六服, 九服, as a distinct signification of the term, without attempting to deduce it from others that are more common. It is often represented as meaning 'service,' 服事, such and such service being rendered to the emperor here, and such and service being rendered there. So Gan-kwŏ explains 甸服 as denoting 爲天子服治田, 'for the emperor doing service in the cultivation of the fields.' In whatever way this application of it arose, the character is in effect here simply a designation of territory. 甸 is defined by Ts'ae as=田, 'fields;' and he says:—'Because all the business of this territory was to supply the

里納秸、服、四百里粟、五百里米。○十九節五百里侯服、百里

hundred *le* they brought, as revenue, the whole plant of the grain; from the second, they brought the ears; from the third, they brought *only* the straw, but had to perform other services; from the fourth, *they gave* the grain in the husk; and from the fifth, the grain cleaned.
19 Five hundred *le beyond* constituted THE DOMAIN OF THE NOBLES. The first hundred *le* was occupied by the cities and lands of the

revenue, from the fields, therefore it is called 甸服. Here again the dictionary is very cautious, and defines the term (from the 說文) 'the emperor's 500 *le* of land.' There is, I think a connection between 甸 and 田; but without attempting to indicate what it is, I translate 甸服, 'the imperial domain.' The 500 *le* are understood to extend every way, north, south, east, and west, from the capital, so as to form a square of 1,000 *le*, which may be represented thus:—



The whole would contain an area of 1,000,000 square *le*.

百里賦納總,—總, meaning 'to collect and bind up,' then = 'all,' 'the whole.' Here applied to the produce of the land it means 'the whole plant.' Ts'ae's definition is very good:—禾本全曰總. 賦 = 'as revenue;'—not that they brought all the produce to the imperial granaries, but the proportion of it—probably one tenth—as assessed. This was the rule for the first hundred *le* round about the capital. We have no mention of the payment of revenue in the other domains. It was, no doubt, on some arrangement analogous to that made for this *fuh*. The princes occupying the several territories received it, and then paid a tithe of their incomes to the emperor not in kind but in value, in other articles produced in their principalities;—such at least is the account givn by Hoo Wei. 二百里納銍,—銍 primarily means 'a short sickle for reaping grain;' it is then used for the grain reaped with it. Ts'ae says:—刈禾曰銍. He adds, however, 半稾, 'half the stalk' We are to understand the ear, with a small portion of the stalk, by which the ears could conveniently be bundled together. 三百里納秸, 服,—秸 denotes 'the straw,' the plant without the ears or grain. Ts'ae defines it 半稾去皮, which I do not understand. The contribution of revenue from this portion of the domain was thus the least valuable of all, and therefore the inhabitants were called upon to perform other service, which is denoted by 服. Ts'ae would extend this to the first and second hundred *le* as well, and some would extend it to all the other four. But this is quite arbitrary. The service must be confined to the third hundred *le*. What it was we cannot well say, but Kin Keih-p'oo (金吉甫) ingeniously conjectures that it was specially the conveyance of their revenue for the inhabitants of the 4th and 5th hundred *le* beyond. He finds in this an explanation for the omission of 納 in the account of their revenues; he sees also the imperial grace in the arrangement:—those at a moderate distance from the capital paid a small contribution of revenue, and made up for it by their personal service, while those farther off, paying a larger contribution, were spared the labour of conveying it. We can see generally that the contributions from the different hundreds were arranged with reference to their distance from the capital and trouble of conveyance. 四百里粟, 五百里米,—粟 and 米 are sometimes used indifferently, with the general signification of 穀 or 'grain.' When a distinction is made between them as here, their meaning is as in the translation:—有殼曰粟, 無曰米. [Hoo Wei takes the opportunity to touch here on the burdensome system of transporting the revenue in kind (漕運之法), which has prevailed in China since the time of the Han dynasty. It was a consequence of the change from the feudal system to a centralized government,—an evil in itself, but less than other evils. In times of weakness and confusion like the present it must be found very burdensome.]

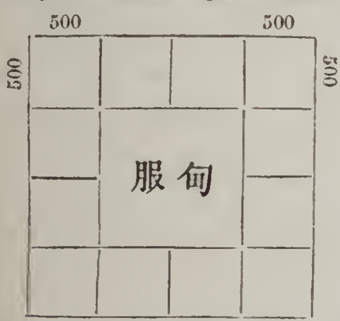
P. 19. 五百里侯服,—侯服 = 侯國之服, 'the domain containing the principalities of the nobles.' By 侯 we must understand all the nobles of the five ranks, (see Mencius, Bk. V. Pt. II., ii.); nor are we to

采、二百里男邦、三百里諸侯。○ 廿節 五百里綏服、三百里揆文教、二百里奮武衞。○

high ministers and great officers; the second, by the principalities of the Nan; the other three hundred were occupied by the various princes.

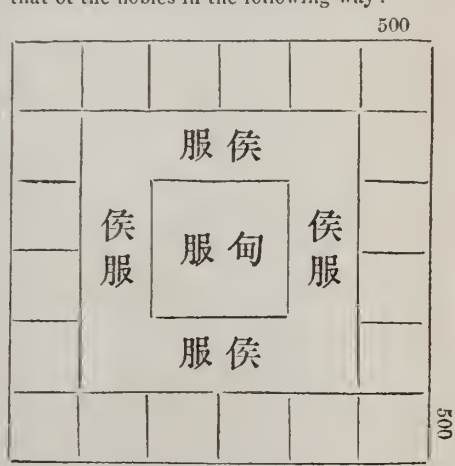
20 Five hundred *le still beyond* formed the PEACE-SECURING DOMAIN. In the first three hundred *le* they cultivated the lessons of learning and moral duties; in the other three hundred they showed the energies of war and defence.

suppose that they occupied only this domain;—the next was occupied by them as well. Outside the imperial domain, this extended 500 *le* in every direction (Ts'ae). The following figure may be taken as a representation of it:—



The domain was thus altogether three times the size of the imperial domain, and would contain 3,000,000 square *le*. 百里采,—Ts'ae says:—采,卿大夫邑地,'采 was the cities and lands allotted to the chief ministers and officers.' Those were the nobles and officers in the emperor's immediate service, having their offices within the imperial domain. Outside of it the first hundred *le* was assigned them for their families and support. They took rank in various degrees with the feudal princes. Under the Chow dyn., acc. to Mencius, a chief minister received as much territory as a How, a great officer as much as a Pih, and a scholar of the first class as much as a Tsze or a Nan. Perhaps the arrangement made by Yu was much the same. 二百里爲男邦,—二百里='the second hundred *le*.' The 男 was the lowest of the five ranks of nobility, but the territory assigned to it in the Chow dyn. was the same as that of the Tsze (子). It may have been different under Yaou. The ministers and officers of the emperor took rank, it has been said, with the feudal princes, but from the territories of the Nan being called here 邦, we may conclude that the 采邑地 were not recognized as principalities. 三百里諸侯,—三百里 is not the third hundred *le* but 'the *remaining* three hundred *le*.' 諸侯 embraces the Kung, How, Pih, and Tsze,—the princes of all the ranks above the Nan. It is conjectured that the smaller principalities were placed next to the imperial domain at once to receive and to afford shelter from the encroachments not unlikely to be attempted by the more powerful lords.

P. 20. 五百里綏服,—this domain was likewise occupied by the princes. 'Being more distant from the imperial seat,' says one of the commentators Chang (張氏), 'the name was changed to 綏, that its occupants might know that the reason why principalities were established was to secure the repose of the royal House.' According to this comment, I have translated 綏 by 'peace-securing.' The domain extended 500 *le* in every direction from that of the nobles in the following way:—



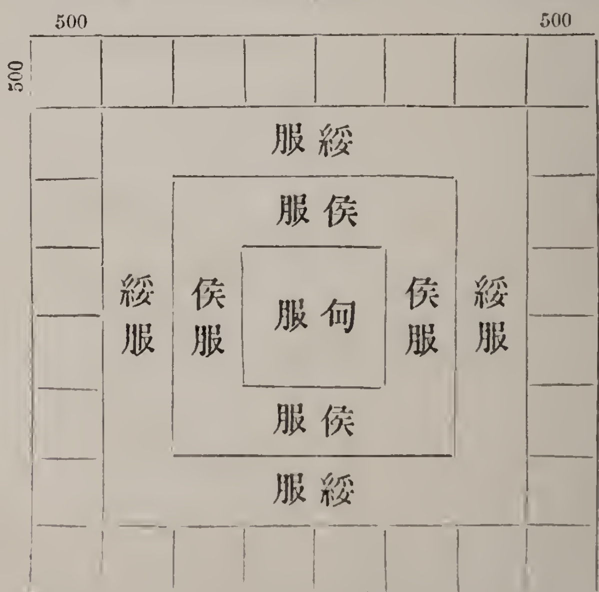
It was thus five times the size of the imperial domain, and contained 5,000,000 square *le*. 三百里揆文教,—'through the first

五百里要服、三百里夷、二百里蔡。○ 廿一節

21 Five hundred *le*, *remoter still*, constituted THE DOMAIN OF RESTRAINT. *The first* three hundred *le* were occupied by the tribes of the E; *the next* two hundred by criminals undergoing the lesser banishment.

three hundred *le* of this domain they cultivated lessons of learning and moral duties.' 揆＝度, 'to measure,' 'to calculate;'—see on Canon of Shun, p. 2. By its use here we are to understand, it seems to me, that some selection was made in the lessons and instruction which were here given. In all stages of society, especially in the earlier, learning and polite manners must be expected to flourish most in the capital and near it. There will be the higher seminaries and institutions; in distant provinces, schools of no great pretensions, teaching the substance of human duty and the more important acquirements, will be sufficient. 二百里奮武衛,—the principalities in this part of the empire approached the nature of military colonies on the frontiers. They bordered on the wild tribes; it was necessary they should always be prepared to resist aggression. We need not suppose that here they paid no attention to literary and moral training, or that in the inner portion of the domain they altogether neglected the art of war;—the characteristics of the two parts simply were as in the text.

P. 21. 五百里要服,—the dict. deals with 要服 as we saw it did with 服, defining the phrase simply as the name of a territory, without trying to account for its being denominated *Yaou*. In his dictionary, Dr. Medhurst explains 要服, 'the Important Tenure,' in which case we must read 要 in the third tone. This view has the support of Soo Tung-po; but it cannot be admitted. In his translation of the Shoo, Dr. Medhurst renders the phrase—'the Restricted Tenure.' This is more in accordance with the prevailing view. Gan-kwŏ says the domain 要束以文教, *i.e.*, 'was bound and restrained by the instructions of learning.' The idea of restraint seems to be correct; 'the instructions of learning,' as the instrument of that restraint, are foreign to the subject. Many critics assign to 要 the idea of 要約, 'summary,' 'perfunctory.' Thus Leu Tsoo-hëen in the 集說:—'This domain was all occupied by wild tribes, but it was still near the Middle Kingdom, and an easy, summary, jurisdiction was exercised over it;—it was not governed with attention to every particular.' I prefer the view given in the translation, with which indeed this other is not inconsistent. The territory was assigned to the nobles; but with reference to its indigenous inhabitants, they governed them in a 'rough and ready' way, just sufficient to keep them in subjection. It extended in every direction from the Peace-securing domain 500 *le*—thus:—



廿二節

五百里荒服。三百里蠻。二百里流。○

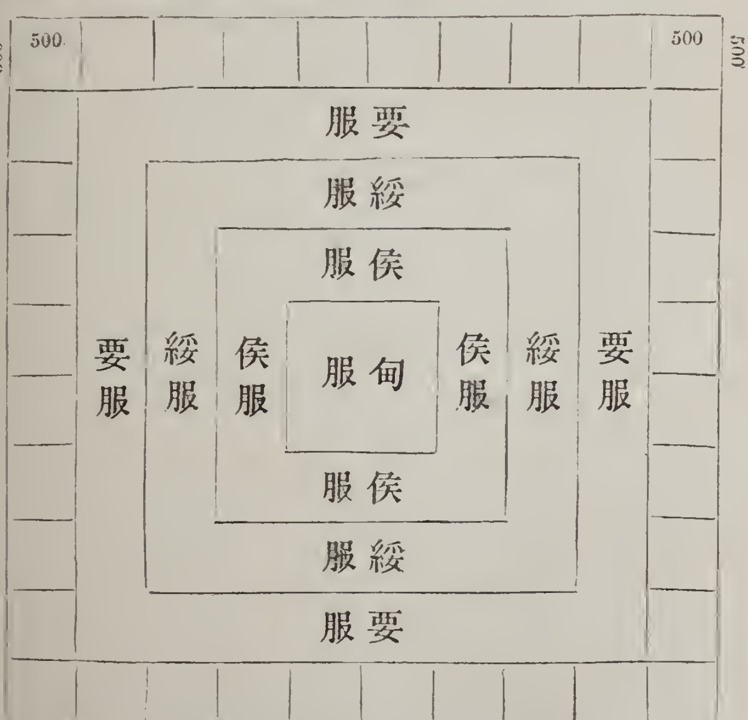
22 Five hundred *le*, *the most remote*, constituted THE WILD DOMAIN. Three hundred *le* were occupied by the tribes of the Man; two hundred, by criminals undergoing the greater banishment.

It was thus 7 times the size of the imperial domain, and contained 7,000,000 square *le*.

三百里夷,二里百蔡,—there is nearly a consent on the meaning of 蔡. It is taken as = 放, in Can. of Shun, p. 12, meaning 'to banish and confine.' In the 左傳, 定四年, we read—王於是乎殺管叔而蔡蔡叔. There the opposition of 蔡 and 殺 fixes the meaning of the term. A note, however, says that the, first 蔡 is to be read *shă*, and we find the explanation of this in the character's being given in the 說文 as 𥻦, with the meaning of 'to scatter.' This must have been afterwards mistaken for 蔡. [Here perhaps we have also the explanation of how the 竄三苗, of the Can. of Shun, *loc. cit.*, appears in Mencius, Bk. V. Pt. I., iii. 2, as 殺三苗.] By 蔡, then in the text we must understand banished criminals; and in contrast with the 流 of the next par., that their banishment was of a lighter character, and not to the greatest distance.

The first three hundred *le* were occupied by wild tribes which had not yet been merged in the conquering race, nor driven by it from their original seats. The attempts to explain 夷 as an adjective = 易 or = 平, may be seen in 禹貢錐指. Hoo Wei very pertinently compares with the text the language of Mencius, Bk. IV., Pt. II., i.

P. 22. 五百里荒服,—we have come to the last of the domains. It was called the 荒服 with reference, we may suppose, to the rude character of the inhabitants, and the wildness of the country. It extended 500 *le* in every direction beyond the fourth domain—thus:—



It was thus nine times the size of the imperial domain, and contained 9,000,000 square *le*.

三百里蠻, 二百里流—蠻 corresponds to the 夷 of the prec. par. The *Man* were considered still more rude and barbarous than the *E*. Properly speaking, 蠻 was the name of the wild tribes on the south; 夷, that of those on the east; 戎, that of those on the west; and 狄, that of those on the north. 蠻夷, however, is used as a designation for *all* the wild tribes, and also 戎狄. Similarly we find the single terms 蠻 and 夷 employed.

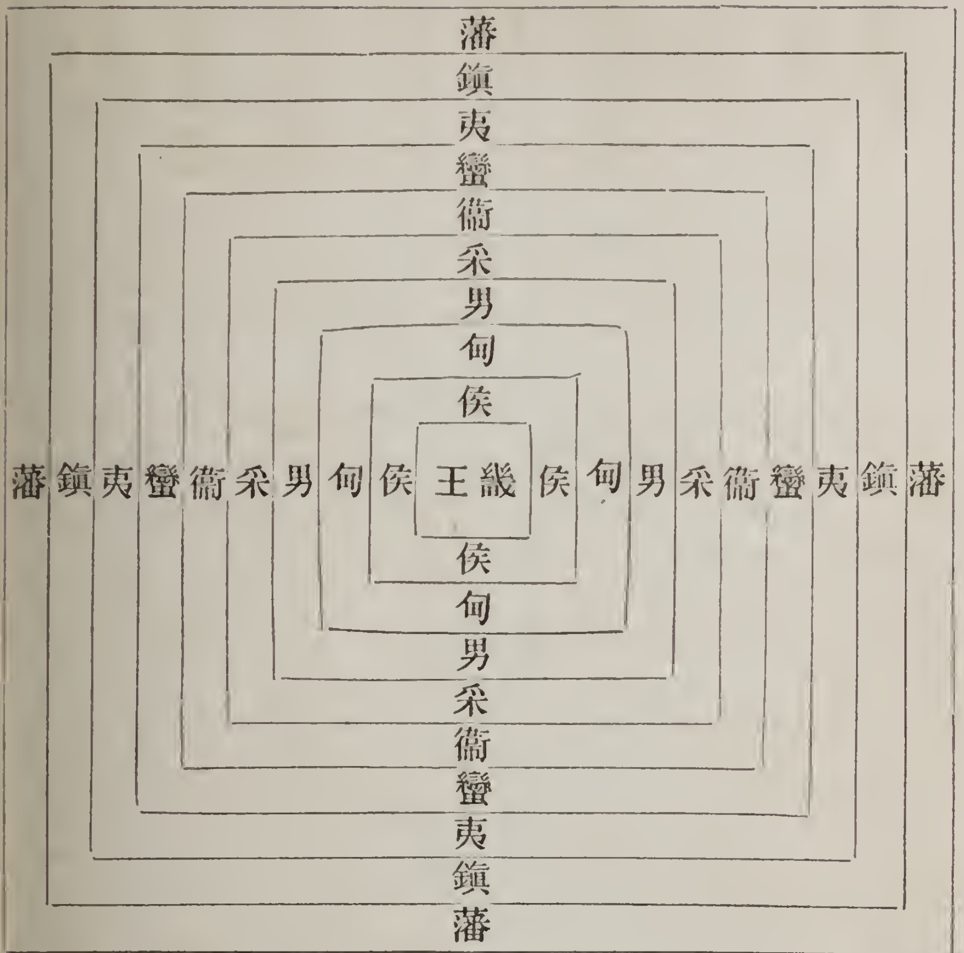
流 is used as in Can. of Shun, p 12. It must denote a more distant banishment than 蔡 in the last par. It is not meant that criminals occupied the whole territory, but they had their position assigned to them here among the *Man*.

[The five *Fuh* constituted what we may call the China Proper of Yu's time. Beyond them there was still an outlying territory, over which the ancient emperors claimed authority, and where Yu went on to make political arrangements. 'I assisted,' he says in the Yih and Tseih, p. 8, 'in completing the five domains, extending over 5,000 *le;* in appointing in the provinces twelve Tutors; and in establishing in the regions beyond, extending to the four seas, five presidents.' The nine Chow and the five Fuh covered the same territory, the former being its natural divisions, the latter its artificial and political ones. A subdivision of the five Fuh is insisted on by many, by which the three inner domains constituted the Middle Kingdom,' and the two outer the territory of the 'Four *E*.' On this it is not necessary to dwell. With regard to the five Fuh, certain questions present themselves to the mind.

First, the five domains of Yu formed a square of 5,000 *le*. If the *le* were of the same length as that of the present day, Yu's China must have extended rather more than 1,700 miles from north to south, and from east to west, and contained an area of nearly 3,000,000 square miles. The largest area which can possibly be assigned to the 'Eighteen Provinces' of the present day does not come up to 2,000,000 sq. m.;—see Williams' 'Middle Kingdom,' Vol. I., p. 7. It is not possible that the *le* of Yu could have been equal to the *le* now; but scholars have not been able to determine its measurement. Koo Yen-woo (顧炎武), in the beginning of the present dynasty, contended that the ancient *le* was only 31-50ths of the modern one, but his views do not seem to have obtained general acceptance. If they could be established, Yu's five Fuh would have been rather more than 1,100 miles in each way, which we might admit, so far as the question of extent is concerned.

But second, the five Fuh of Yu surround the imperial domain, which is represented as a square of 1,000 *le* exactly in the centre of them (see in 'Le Chou King,' p. 333, a strange parallel attempted to be drawn by De Guignes between this arrangement and the division of the Holy Land described in the last chapters of Ezekiel). Now the imperial seat of Yaou was in K'e-chow, the most northern of the provinces. His capital was in P'ing-yang, the name of which remains in the dep. P'ing-yang, in Shan-se, lat. 36°6′, N., lon. 4°55′, W. It could not, therefore, have been in the centre of the domains. This difficulty is clearly seen by Chinese critics. Ts'ae Ch'in observes:—'Though we extend the northern territory of K'e-chow to Yun-chung (雲中; we are to look in the 'Six T'ing of the city of Kwei-hwa' in the extreme north of Shan-se for this. The city of Yun-chung is now the city of T'oh-kih-t'oh [托克托]), to Chŏ (涿; ? dis. of 涿州, dep. of Shun-t'een), and to Yih (易; ? the small dep. of Yih Chow), I am afraid we shall not have 2,500 *le*. Even if we have them, they will consist of a sandy desert without vegetation. On the other hand, in the east and south, whence the greatest revenue now comes, we must put down the domain of Restraint, and the Wild domain. The account of the domains does not seem to harmonize with the nature of the country. Looked at with reference to this, it is unintelligble. I may observe, however, that territories have been very different in ancient and modern times, in regard to their prosperity and the reverse. The country on the north of K'e-chow may not have been the wild and desert tract which we find there in subsequent times; while the regions of Fuh-këen and Chĕ-keang, which were then jungly fens, occupied by barbarous tribes, have now become rich and populous, territory of the highest character. The character of a region cannot be pronounced from its appearance at one era.' This effort of Ts'ae to remove the difficulty cannot be regarded as successful. Barrenness or fertility is one element in it. Even on that point we could not admit Ts'ae's views, unsupported, as regards the north of K'e-chow, by historical evidence; but the main point is that of geographical position. Ch'in Szek'ae shows how, on the arrangement described, we must carry the wild domain on the east, into the sea; on the west, beyond Tseih-shih; on the north, 1,200 *le* beyond Yun-chung; while on the south it would not have reached mount Hăng. There is no laying down the five domains on the surface of China. I cannot regard them as anything but an ideal mapping out of the country. This much we may admit,—that Yu placed the smaller principalities next to the imperial, and the larger ones farther off, the indigenous tribes being more strong and numerous according as the distance from the capital increased. In name, the divisions probably existed, and nobles and wild chiefs might be said to belong to one Fuh and another, but there could only be a rough and general approximation to the scheme which Yu had in his mind.

Third, a division of the empire into nine, or more properly ten Fuh, was made under the Chow dynasty. It is twice given in the Chow Le, first in Bk. XXIX., where the domains are called Ke (畿), and again in Bk. XXXIII., where all but the king's Ke are called Fuh. This arrangement may be represented thus:—



It will be seen that not only are the number of the domains double what Yu made them, but that, where the same names are retained, the order in which they are placed is different. That is a matter, however, to be explained when we come to the 'Chow Le.' The point to be remarked here is that the domains of Han are said to be distant from each other 500 *le*, like those of Yu, and we have the country represented as a square of 10,000 *le*. [The spaces between them in the diagram are smaller than in the prec. diagrams, in order to get the figure upon the page.] How to reconcile the Shoo and the Rites of Chow is a question of much perplexity.

The method adopted by Ch'ing K'ang-shing is the most remarkable. He supposes that the first clause in each of the paragraphs 18—22 gives the Fuh as it had been in the previous part of Yaou's reign, and that the other clauses, always describing 500 *le* in difft. portions, give an addition made by Yu. For instance, the 200 *le* of the Nans' principalities and the 300 of the other princes' were added by him to the second domain, making it altogether 1,000 *le* in each direction from the first. This addition is intended, he contends, by the term 弼 in the Yih and Tseih, p. 8. Making the nine provinces terminate with the Man Fuh of the Chow dynasty, 7,000 *le* from the capital, he gets the 49,000,000 square *le* which I have mentioned in the note on that passage, as the area of the empire proper. The mingled violence and ingenuity of this treatment of the Shoo cannot be contemplated without moving us to smile.

Other methods of reconciling the two accounts have been proposed. Yu's measurements, it is said, were as the bird flies, the Chow dynasty's were as men travel, up and down and winding about. Again, it is urged, the *le* of Yu was double that of Chow, and moreover, the domains of Chow include all the territory beyond Yu's Fuh, which he describes as extending to the four seas. As Ts'ae says, 'To sum the matter up, nothing certain has been said about it' (要之, 皆非的論). The more we extend Yu's domains, the greater difficulty we have to reconcile the classic with the actual face of the ground,—the everlasting hills, the bounding deserts, and the sea embracing the empire on the east and south.]

廿三節 東漸于海、西被于流沙、朔南暨、聲教訖于四海、禹錫玄圭、告厥成功。○

23 V. On the east reaching to the sea; on the west extending to the moving sands; to the utmost limits of the north and south:—his fame and influence filled up all within the four seas. Yu presented a dark coloured gem-stone, and announced the completion of his work.

CH. V. P. 23. THE UNIVERSAL RECOGNITION OF YU'S FAME, AND HIS ANNOUNCEMENT OF HIS COMPLETED WORK. 東漸于海,—漸 (the first tone) is explained by Gan-kwŏ by 入; so also the dict., with ref. to this pass., has 流入. Ts'ae and most recent commentators explain the term by 漬, 'to soak.' As the term is here used along with 被 and 暨, the less emphatic it is made the better. Gan-kwŏ's definition is to be preferred. 西被于流沙,—被, as in Can. of Yaou, p. 1, *et al.* 流沙,—see par. 5. 朔南暨,—朔 = 北, the north';—see on Can. of Yaou, par. 7. 暨 = 及. The whole = 'the south and the north being come to.' The extension of Yu's fame in these directions is left thus indefinite, and no place of boundary is specified, because in the Book the termination of the nine provinces north and south is left undefined. 聲教訖于四海,—it does not seem appropriate to bring in 教, 'instructions,' here. Yu has appeared in the whole of the Book as a worker and not as a teacher. The 教 was that given by his doings and character, and not by his works. I have ventured therefore to use 'influence' in the translation, instead of 'instructions.' This is according to the definitions of the term which are the oldest;—see those quoted in the dict. from the 說文 and 釋名. Hoo Wei says that 'the four seas' denote the E on the east, the Jung on the west, the Man on the south, and the Teih on the north. I cannot think so. 訖于四海 is to me a vague phrase, by which the writer would express in the widest admissible terms the extent of Yu's fame. Compare the eulogium of the perfect sage in the Doctrine of the Mean, ch. xxxi.

禹錫玄圭, 告厥成功,—錫, as in Can. of Yaou, p. 12, and more particularly, Part i., p. 52—九江納錫大龜 = 'to present.' 圭 = 瑞玉, 'an auspicious gem.' Of the 'five tokens of gem,' Can. of Shun, p. 7, three were called 圭;—see the note on that passage. The gem-token was conferred by the emperor on the noble,—a delegation to him of his dignity and authority. There seems an incongruity in speaking of one, as in the text, as presented by the minister to the emperor. So strongly has this been felt, that Sze-ma Ts'een produces the passage as—帝錫禹玄圭, 以告成功, and Gan-kwŏ takes the same view. The text, however, will not admit of it. The 圭 is called 玄, because, say some, the colour of water is dark, and Yu has regulated the waters; because, say others, the colour of the heavens is of a deep dark, and Yu was engaged on a heavenly work. These sayings are far-fetched; Yu found somewhere such a dark-coloured precious stone, so remarkable that he thought it worthy to be presented to the emperor. The emperor was Yaou, but the stone would be presented in the first place to Shun, as his vice-gerent.

CONCLUDING NOTE. The standard chronology fixes the year in which Yu thus announced the completion of his work as that B. C, 2276, the 80th year of Yaou's reign, and the seventh of Shun's association with him in the government.

According to Mencius (Book III., Pt. I., iv. 7), Yu was eight years employed on the regulation of the waters. There is a different statement in the Historical Records, Bk. XXVII., 河渠書, where it is said, as if from the Books of Hea, that Yu was engaged on the inundating waters for thirteen years (夏書曰, 禹抑鴻水, 十三年). This estimate of 13 years arose probably from mistaking the meaning of Part i., p. 18.

There was another tradition, that Yu's work extended only over three years. Ma Yung says:—'Yu dealt with the waters for three years, and eight of the provinces were brought to order, on which Yaou considered the work as good as done, and resigned the administration to Shun. All this took place in twelve years after the regulation of the waters had been taken in hand' (*i.e.*, by K'wăn). 'In the year after, the 13th year, Yen-chow was also brought to order, and

Shun publicly accepted the administration.' Ying-tă writes to the same effect. They both include in the thirteen years the nine in which K'wăn laboured in vain.

We may be sure that the work ascribed in this Book to Yu was not done in three or four years. Mencius' assignment of eight years is short enough. Hoo Wei supposes that so much time was occupied with the labour upon the nine provinces, and that the conferring of lands, and arrangement of the five *fuh* occupied so much time more. As to the exact year in which Yu began his labours; when they terminated; and how many years the deluge of Yaou lasted:—these are questions which we cannot determine categorically.

THE BOOKS OF HEA.

BOOK II. THE SPEECH AT KAN.

甘誓

一節 大戰于甘、乃召六卿。

二節 ○王曰、嗟、六事

1 There was a great battle in Kan. *Previous to it,* the emperor call-
2 ed together the six leaders of his hosts; and said, "Ah! all ye

INTRODUCTORY AND CONNECTING NOTE. It was observed in the first note on the last Book, that though 'The Tribute of Yu' appeared as the first of the Books of Hea, it is descriptive really of what took place during the reign of Yaou. It terminates, accord. to the received chronology, B.C. 2276, 22 years before the accession of Shun to the throne upon Yaou's death. 'The Counsels of the Great Yu' bring us farther down. We have there the accession of Yu to the administration of the empire under Shun, B.C. 2222, and his reduction of the Meaonites, referred to B.C. 2220. The Shoo tells us nothing of Yu's accession to the throne, nor the events of his reign. Shun died B.C. 2207. Yu carried on the government during the years of mourning for his death, and then withdrew, to allow his son, Shang-k'eun (尙均), an opportunity of ascending the throne. The people, however, would not have him to be their king;—they preferred Yu (Mencius, Book V., Part I., vi.), whose reign accordingly dates from B.C. 2204. Yaou had given him the surname of Sze (姒). Old and worn out with the fatigues he had undergone, he died after a reign of eight years, short as compared with the reigns of Yaou and Shun. Kaou-yaou whom he had associated with him in the administration died the year after. He then made Yih his prime minister, with the view of his succeding him. He died on a progress to the south, B.C. 2197, in Hwuy-k'e (會稽), in the pres. dep. of Shaou-hing (紹興), in Chĕ-këang. He was succeeded by his son K'e (啟), whose reign dates from B.C. 2196, and to whom is attributed the speech recorded in this Book which is assigned to B.C. 2194, the third year of his reign.

[The Chinese chronologists are pleased to lay it down so, and it is hardly worth while quarrelling with the arrangement. Still it is not quite accurate. According to Mencius, Yih administered the govt. during the period of mourning for Yu, and it was not till that was expired, that the people called K'e to occupy his father's place in preference to Yih. His reign therefore should date only from B.C. 2194; should be reckoned only six years instead of nine; and the expedition against the prince of of Hoo be referred to his first year instead of his third.]

That the speech at Kan was made by K'e rests on the authority of the Preface to the Shoo, par. 6, which is followed by Sze-ma Ts'een. The Taouist Chwang-tsze, indeed, and Lew Heang, in his 說苑, Bk. VII., 政理篇, say that Yu fought with the prince of Yu; and others speak of the emperor Seang (夏

之人、予誓告汝。三節○有扈氏、威侮五行、怠棄三正、天用勦絕其命、今予惟恭行天之罰。四節○左不攻于左、汝不

who are engaged in my six armies, I have a solemn announcement to make to you.

3 "The prince of Hoo wildly wastes and despises the five elements, and has idly abandoned the three acknowledged commencements of the year. On this account Heaven is about to destroy him, and bring to an end the favour it has shown to him; and I am reverently executing the punishment appointed by Heaven.

4 "If you, left-side men, do not do your work on the left, it will be a disregard of my orders. If you, right-side men, do not do your

后相), three reigns later than K'e, as his antagonist. The statements of Chwang-tsze and Lëw Heang might possibly be reconciled with the Preface, but Mih-tse, (明鬼篇, 三), quotes (with variations) most of the Book, attributing it to Yu. There were evidently two traditions during the Chow dynasty, after the time of Confucius, as to when and by whom the speech at Kan was made.

Title of the Book.—甘誓, 'The Speech at Kan.' 誓,—see on 'The Counsels of the Great Yu', p. 28. The 誓 or 'martial speeches' are given by Ying-tă as the 5th of the component elements of the Shoo. This at Kan is the first of them that forms a distinct Book. We had a speech of Yu to his troops in the passage just referred to. 甘 was the name of the place where the speech was made.

Contents. The emperor, about to engage in battle with a rebellious vassal, assembles his generals and troops, and addresses them. First he declares obscurely the grounds of the expedition which he had undertaken, and concludes by stimulating the soldiers to the display of courage and observance of order by promises of reward and threats of punishment. It is so short that it is not worth while to divide it into chapters.

P. 1. *Occasion of the speech.* 大戰于甘,—the battle is called 'great,' we might suppose, because of the numbers engaged in it, and the obstinacy with which it was contested. Another reason is assigned, however, for the denomination,—that the wickedness of the prince of Hoo, in compelling the emperor to take the field against him, might be more strongly set forth. On the principle of Mencius, VII., Pt. II., ii., the emperor did not fight (戰), but only 'punished;' nor did he take the field till after the means which the constitution of the govt. provided had proved ineffectual. Such came to be the rule, when the feudal system had become fully developed;—we can hardly seek to apply it regularly to the case of K'e at so early a period. 甘 is given by some as the name of a place in the southern border of the principality of Hoo; by others, as the name of a river; by others again, as the name of a marsh; and by others, as the name of a wilderness. There is an agreement, however, as to the locality, and all the representations might be reconciled. We have still the 'Shed of Kan' (甘亭), with the water from the 'valley of Kan' flowing past it, in the dis. of Hoo (鄠縣); lat. 34°8', N., lon. 7°50, W.) dep. of Se-ngan, Shen-se. The Shed or Portico marks, it is said, the place of the battle.

乃召六卿,—we must bring 王 from the next par. as the nominative to 召. The whole Book is only a fragment. This par. must have been the proper sequence originally of a preceding narrative. I introduce '*previous to it*' in the translation, after Sze-ma Ts'een, who has—啟伐之, 大戰於甘, 將戰作甘誓, 乃召六卿申之. 六卿,—'the six high nobles,' here evidently the leaders of the 'six armies' (六軍, and 六師), which composed the military force of the emperor. This is the view of all the commentators.—Ch'ing says:—六卿者六軍之將. We need not trouble ourselves to inquire further what offices these *k'ing*

sustained in time of peace. In the Chow dynasty, a 軍 or army consisted of 12,500 men.

Pp. 2, 3. *The grounds of the expedition against Hoo.* The king commences his speech with a sigh,—an Ah! (嗟),—because of the gravity of the matter;—so, Ts'ae. 六事之人,—Ch'ing observes that the change of style from 六卿 to 六事 indicates that the king was addressing not the generals only, but the inferior officers and common soldiers as well. Of course he could not be heard by such a multitude, but his speech would be circulated throughout the host. Gan-kwŏ says:—各有軍事,故曰六事. I have translated accordingly. 3. 有扈氏=the holder of, *i.e.*, the prince invested with, Hoo. This Hoo was the present territory of the district of Hoo in Shen-se. The name in the text was changed in the Ts'in dynasty to the present 鄠. The prince of Hoo, according to Sze-ma Ts'een and the older interpreters, was of the surname Sze, the same as the emperor. I have read of him somewhere as K'e's 庶兄, his elder brother by a secondary wife. Ts'ae does not seem willing to admit so much. The surname is not a point of importance. 威侮五行,怠棄三正,—these two clauses state the crime of Hoo, but in obscure and mystical terms. Ch'ing defines 五行 by 四時, 'the four seasons,' making the phrase analogous with 五辰 in the 'Yih and Tseih,' p. 4;—see the note there. He calls 三正—天地人之正道, 'the correct way of heaven, earth, and man,' meaning probably the same with Ma Yung, that the phrase denotes the commencement of the year in 子 the 11th month, or midwinter, which was called the 天正, the commencement in 丑, the 地正, and the commencement in 寅, the first month of spring, the 人正. This last was the beginning of the year with the Hea dyn.; the Shang began it with the 地正; and the Chow with the 天正. The text would imply, on this view of it, that these diff. commencements had been employed before: see note on the Canon of Shun, p. 14. If it were so, perhaps the prince of Hoo wanted to begin the year with some other month, as the founder of the Ts'in dyn. afterward adopted the month 亥, the 10th, the first month of winter. Maou K'e-ling's view of the subject is not unreasonable. He considers these two clauses as an obscure intimation from K'e that Hoo refused to acknowledge him as the right successor of Yu. This is an old view. Yaou had been succeeded by Shun, as the worthiest man in the empire, and Shun had been succeeded by Yu. Why should Yu's throne descend to his son? This afforded the pretext for rebellion. Maou further tries to show that by the language used K'e makes the rebellion a crime against Heaven, and not merely an attempt against himself. See the 尚書廣聽錄, *in loc.* We can hardly doubt that the object of the expedition was to put down a dangerous rival. 天用勦絕其命,—勦 is given in the 說文 as 剿 and defined by 絕; 命 is not to be taken as='life,' but the position of the prince of Hoo, as invested with that principality, though, in being deprived of that, we may presume, he would pay the forfeit of his life as well; 用='on this account,' as in the 'Yih and Tseih,' p. 8, *et al.*

P. 4. *Rules to be observed by the troops.* 左不攻于左,云云,—左=車左, 'the left of the chariot;' 右=車右, 'the right of the chariot.' It appears that in the warfare of those early times, chariots were much used in China, as in other nations in a similar or less advanced stage of civilization,—among the ancient Gauls and Britons, for instance. The ordinary war-chariot for the troops contained only three men,—an archer on the left, a soldier armed with javelins and pike or spear on the right, and the charioteer in the centre. This continued down to the Chow dynasty;—see the 集傳 and 後案, *in loc.* 攻=治,治其事, 'do your work,' *i.e.*, observe the rules laid down for your guidance. So, also, 非其馬之正: comp. Mencius, Bk. III., Pt. II., i. 4. [The pictures of those chariots are not unlike those given of similar war *materiel* on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments.]

P. 5. *The martial law of K'e;—rewards and punishments.* 用命,賞于祖,不用命,戮于社,—祖=遷廟之祖主, 'the spirit-tablets of his ancestors which had been removed from the regular hall of ancestral worship to the special shrine appointed for them;'—see on The Doctrine of the Mean, Ch. xix. So 社=社主, 'the tablets of the spirits of the land.' It would appear from this, that it was the practice of the emperors, when they went on a warlike expedition, to carry with them these two classes of tablets, that they might have with the host, hovering about them, the spirits of their ancestors and the tutelary spirits of the country or dynasty. A variety of passages are adduced to prove the existence of the practice in the Chow dynasty;—it had come from the earlier time. Those tablets were to K'e and his army like the ark of God in the camp of the Israelites. Martial law also was executed before them. And strict law it was. 予則孥戮汝,—孥 is defined by Gan-kwŏ and others by 子, 'children.' But it may

恭命、右不攻于右、汝不恭命、御非其馬之正、汝不恭命。○用命、五節賞于祖、不用命、戮于社、予則孥戮汝、○

work on the right, it will be a disregard of my orders. If you, charioteers, do not observe the rules for the management of your
5 horses, it will be a disregard of my orders. You who obey my orders shall be rewarded before my ancestors; and you who disobey my orders shall be put to death before the spirits of the land; and I will also put your children to death."

include wives as well. The threat='I will also exterminate your families.' Attempts are made to weaken the force of both the terms 戮 and 孥, but without success. A different meaning of 戮 cannot be admitted here from what it has in the preceding clause. Kaou-yaou praised Shun, because with him 'punishments did not extend to the criminal's heirs;'—see 'The Counsels of Yu,' p. 12. The practice of K'e was very different. It may be said that the text is speaking only of military law; and it must be replied that it was the military law of a very cruel and barbarous state of society.

CONCLUDING NOTE. The Pere de Mailla, in his 'Histoire Generale de la Chine,' has wonderfully amplified (? and improved) the account of the battle of Kan. He says (Vol. I., p. 125):—'On the approach of the imperial army, the prince of Hoo drew up his in order of battle. The emperor arranged his troops in this way:—On the two wings he placed his chariots of war which carried 25 men, armed with arrows, pikes, and sabres, and his cavalry in the centre; after which he addressed them as follows:—

"Remember that you are fighting for Heaven. You who are on the wings, be attentive to the orders which will be given you; let it be seen that you are well skilled with your arrows and your pikes. These are my orders; respect them. And you cavaliers, at the first signal which shall be made to you, enter with courage into the ranks, which the arrows will have opened," &c., &c.

The Shoo does not mention the issue of the battle. According to Sze-ma Ts'een, it was the defeat and death of the prince of Hoo (遂滅有扈氏). We find, however, in the 'History made Easy' (綱鑑易知錄) this account:—'Not succeeding, his generals begged to renew the engagement. K'e said, "My present failure is owing to the slenderness of my virtue, and because my instructions are not good." On this he returned with his army to the capital; silenced all his music; sat on a single mat, and confined himself at meals to a single dish. At the same time he was affectionate to his relations, and respectful to his elders; he gave honour to the worthy, and office to the able:—brooding silently over his affairs (隱神; this is an unusual combination, and not found in the Thesaurus. Without other examples, we can only guess at its meaning). After a month, the prince of Hoo submitted and was put to death.'

All this is plainly an imitation of the account of Yu's expedition against the tribe of San-meaou, Pt. II., Bk. II., pp. 19, 20. It is a clumsy imitation of it. Why should the prince of Hoo, thus submitting himself to the emperor's virtue, have been put to death?

We may suppose that K'e was successful at Kan, and put down the rising rebellion. We know nothing of the subsequent events of his reign. He died B.C. 2188, and was succeeded by his son, T'ae-k'ang.

THE BOOKS OF HEA.

BOOK III. THE SONGS OF THE FIVE SONS.

五子之歌

一節 太康尸位、以逸豫滅厥德、黎民咸貳、乃盤遊無度、畋于有洛之表、十旬弗反。○

1 I. T'ae-k'ang occupied the throne like a personator of the dead. By idleness and dissipation he extinguished his virtue, till the black-haired people all began to waver in their allegiance. He, however, pursued his pleasure and wanderings without any restraint. He went out to hunt beyond the Lŏ, and a hundred days elapsed with-

TITLE OF THE BOOK.—五子之歌, 'The Songs of the five Sons.' It would have been more correct to name it 'The Songs of the five Brothers.' The singers were the brothers of T'ae-k'ang, bewailing in these strains his evil course and evil fate. The word 'Sons' is probably used with reference to the fact that they were with their mother at the time,—left to her, while he who should have been her chief support had got himself outcast both from her and his kingdom; still there is not a word in the songs having special refeence to her. The Book ranks in that division of the Books of the Shoo, which goes by the name of 'Instructions' (訓). Though the form be poetical, the subject-matter is derived from the lessons left by Yu for the guidance of his posterity.

CONTENTS. After three introductory paragraphs, relating the occasion of the Songs, we have the Songs themselves,—one from each brother. The first deplores how the emperor had lost the affections of the people; the second speaks of his dissipation and extravagance; the third mourns his loss of the imperial seat; the fourth deplores his departure from the principles of Yu, and its disastrous consequences; and the fifth is a wail over their miserable condition. I have divided the whole into two chapters,—the Introduction, and the Songs.

The GENUINENESS of the Book is disputed. It is sufficient to say here that a Book substantially the same as this did form part of Confucius' compilation of the documents of the Shoo.

CH. I Pp. 1—3. HOW T'AE-K'ANG LOST HIS KINGDOM, AND IN WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES HIS BROTHERS COMPOSED THEIR SONGS. I

二節 有窮后羿、因民弗忍、距于河。○ 三節 厥弟五人、御其母以從、徯于洛之汭、五子咸怨、述大禹之戒以作歌。○

2 out any sign of his return. *On this*, E, the prince of K'ëung, tak-
ing advantage of the discontent *of the people*, resisted *his return* upon
3 the *north of the* Ho. The emperor's five brothers had attended
their mother in following him, and were waiting for him on the
north of the Lŏ; and, *when they heard of E's movement*, all full of dis-
satisfaction, they related the cautions of the great Yu in the form
of songs.

太康尸位,—T'ae-k'ang was the eldest son of K'e, and succeeded to the empire on his death. His reign dates from B. C. 2187. 尸 is defined by Gan-kwŏ by 主,='to preside over.' The character has that meaning;—see the dict. Its proper signification, however, is 'a corpse,' and it is often used for the personator of the dead in the funeral ceremonies of antiquity;—see the dict., which defines it in this application by 神象, 'the image of the spirit.' Ts'ae has improved on Gan-kwŏ by interpreting the text on this use of the char.—T'ae-k'ang was but a personator on the throne, little better than a sham sovereign. 逸豫,—逸 is 'idleness,' and 豫 is 'pleasure,' 'dissipation.' The meaning of the terms is akin. 貳,—comp Pt. II., p. 5—任賢勿貳. But the usage in the two passages is not identical. Here 咸貳=皆有二心, 'all had two hearts.' 盤遊,—盤=樂, 'pleasure.' We find 般 in Mencius, in the same sense,—e. g., Bk. II., Pt. I., iv. 4, 般樂怠敖. 有洛之表,—for the Lŏ, see the Tribute of Yu, Part i., p. 55, *et al.*; 表=外, 'beyond,' 'the country beyond,'; the 有 is not at all needed for the sense, and I cannot account for its introduction. 2. 有窮后羿,—窮 was the name of a principality, referred to the present sub. dep. of Tih (德州), dep. of Tse-nan in Shan-tung. Its holder in the time of T'ae-k'ang was named E. There was a tradition in the Chow dynasty, which made him a descendant of the master of the archers, centuries before, in the time of the emp. Kuh (嚳), whose office was indicated by the character, the name of the office having become hereditary as a personal name in the family. The history of the individual in the text is very obscure, and will be found, so far as it can be ascertained, in the concluding notes to this Book and the next. In the text he appears simply withstanding the return of T'ae-k'ang to his capital. Medhurst translates 距于河 by 'drove him beyond the Yellow river,' but 'drove' is much too strong. T'ae-k'ang had gone beyond the Ho, we know not how far; and E opposed his return. His doing so cannot be defended, but we do not know his motives. He was enabled to do what he did, 因民弗忍, 'because the people could not bear,' *i.e.*, could not bear the indifference and extravagance of T'ae-k'ang. 3. 御其母以從,—御=侍, 'to be in attendance on.' The movement of the mother and brothers had perhaps been previous to the movement of E. The composition of the songs, however, could only have taken place after they had heard of that;—they look on K'e-chow, the peculiar patrimony of their family, as being as good as lost. It is most natural to suppose that while they were waiting for the long delayed return of T'ae-k'ang, they heard of E's action against him. 五子咸怨,—the dissatisfaction is to be supposed to be directed against T'ae-k'ang. See Mencius' defence of such dissatisfaction with a relative, Book VI., Pt. II., iii.

四節 其一曰、皇祖有訓、民可近、不可下、民惟邦本、本固邦寧。○五節 予視天下、愚夫愚婦、一能勝予、一人三失、怨豈在明、不見是圖、予臨兆民、懔乎若朽索之馭六馬、爲

4 II. The first said,
"It was the lesson of our great ancestor:—
The people should be cherished;
They should not be down-trodden:
The people are the root of a country;
The root firm, the country is tranquil.
5 When I look throughout the empire,
Of the simple men and simple women,
Any one may surpass me.
If I, the one man, err repeatedly;—
Should dissatisfaction be waited for till it appears?
Before it is seen, it should be guarded against.
In my relation to the millions of the people,
I should feel as much anxiety as if I were driving six horses with rotten reins.

Ch. II. Pp. 4—9. The Songs of the brothers.

Pp. 4, 5. *The first brother's song.—How T'ae-k'ang had carelessly lost the affections of the people.* 4 其一＝'the first of them;' —*i.e*, the first in order who spoke, probably the oldest. 皇祖,—Gan-kwŏ takes 皇＝君; Ts'ae makes it＝大. On whichever view, the two characters refer to Yu. 民可近, 不可下,—literally, 'the people should be *neared*, they should not be *put down*.' In the 國語, 周語, 中, we have this passage quoted as 民可近, 不可上. Hence it is said that the compiler of this present Book plagiarized the passage from the 國語, changing 上 into 下. I should rather suppose that the speaker in the 國語 changed 下 into 上 from the frequency of that word in his mouth at the time. On this and the next clause, comp. the words of Shun to Yu, Pt. II., Bk. II., 17. 予視天下,—the 予, according to Ts'ae, is the speaker's designation of himself and his brothers. I am not sure of this. Possibly he is still reciting the words of Yu; or he may be speaking in the person of his brother the emperor. This last view is that which I prefer.—It is only in the last two lines, 爲人上者奈何不敬, that we have the speaker's own reflection. 一人三失, 怨豈在明, 不見是圖,—we find this quoted in the 國語, 晉語, 三, and also the two last clauses of it in the 左傳, 成十六年. If we connect the first clause closely with the other two, the lesson which is taught is of a doubtful character. I have therefore tried to indicate in the translation that the clause which should properly complete the first one is wanting. 予臨兆民, 懔乎若朽索之馭六馬,—this passage shows plainly that these words are spoken in the person of the emperor. 兆民—'the millions of the people,' in opposition to 'the one man.' 以尊

人上者、奈何不敬。○其六節二曰、訓有之、內作色荒、外作禽荒、甘酒嗜音、峻宇彫牆、有一于此、未或不亡。○其七節三曰、惟彼陶唐、有此冀方、今失厥道、亂其紀綱、乃底

The ruler of men—
How can he be but reverent *of his duty?*"

6 The second said,
"It is in the lessons:—
When the palace is a wild of lust,
And the country a wild for hunting;
When wine is sweet, and music the delight;
When there are lofty roofs and carved walls,—
The existence of any one of these things,
Has never been but the prelude to ruin."

7 The third said,
"There was the prince of T'aou and T'ang,
Who possessed this country of K'e.
Now we have fallen from his ways,
And thrown into confusion his rules and laws;
The consequence is extinction and ruin."

適卑曰臨, 'when the high go to the low, the action is called *lin*.' Ming-shing quotes from Hwae-nan's 說林訓, 君子居民上, 若腐索御奔馬, and from Confucius in the 家語, 致思篇, 懍懍焉若持腐索之扞馬,—passages very like this, but as likely to have been suggested by it as to have suggested it. He also contends that it was not till the Ts'in dynasty that the emperor used *six* horses in his carriage. The point is by no means certain. On the rhymes in this song, see Maou K'e-ling, on 'The Wrongs of the Old Text of the Shoo,' Bk. III.

P. 6. *The song of the second brother.—On the dissipation and extravagance of T'ae-k'ang.* Gan-kwŏ defines 荒 here by 迷亂, 'led astray and disordered.' Such a meaning of the term, however, is not justified by examples. Its proper signification of 'a wild' answers sufficiently. 內外, 'within' and 'without,'—'the palace' and 'the country.' 禽荒—禽 includes 獸. In the 國語, 越語下, we read—王其且馳騁弋獵, 無至禽荒, 宮中之樂, 無至酒荒. 音=八音, 'the eight kinds of musical instruments; here = 'music' generally. Mencius might seem to have had this passage in view, when he spoke as in VII. Bk. II., xxxiv.

P. 7. *The song of the third brother.—How the imperial patrimony was lost.* 惟彼陶唐,—'there was that T'aou and T'ang.' No doubt it is Yaou who is here intended. He ascended the throne from being prince of T'ang, the name of which remains in the dis. of T'ang, dep. of Paou-ting, Chih-le. [Others, however, will have it that the principality of T'ang was in the pres. district of T'ae-yuen, dep. T'ae-yuen, in Shan-se.] Before he ruled in T'ang, he had been princelet, it is said, in T'aou, referred to the dis. of Ting-t'aou, dep. Ts'aou-chow, Shan-tung. [Others will have it that Yaou lived first in T'ang, and then in T'aou.—So uncertain are such early matters.] Ts'ae says that when raised to the empire, he made T'aou his capital. [In this case T'aou

滅亡。○其[八節]四曰、明明我祖、萬邦之君、有典有則、貽厥子孫、關石和鈞、王府則有、荒墜厥緒、覆宗絶祀。○其[九節]

8 The fourth said,
"Brightly intelligent was our ancestor,
Sovereign of the myriad States!
He had canons, he had rules,
Which he transmitted to his posterity.
The standard Stone and the equalizing Quarter
Were in the imperial treasuries.
Wildly have we dropt the clue he gave us,
Overturning our family and extinguishing our sacrifices."

ought to be the same as P'ing-yang.] Setting little store by all these statements, we have the fact that Yaou is often referred to as 陶唐氏. 有此冀方,—Yaou of course possessed the whole empire; but it was in K'e-chow that he had his capital, and it was from it that T'ae-k'ang was now kept. We therefore find it specified in this way. 紀綱,—'rules and laws;' = the lesser regulations and the greater. 紀 properly signifies 'to separate and arrange sorts of silk,' a fine delicate manipulation; 綱 is the large rope of a net, to which the whole is attached.

We find the whole of this song with two slight variations, and the addition of one line, in the 左傳. Under the 8th year of duke Gae, Confucius appears quoting from the Books of Hea—惟彼陶唐,帥彼天常,有此冀方,今失其行,亂其紀綱,乃滅而亡.

P. 8. *The fourth brother's song.—How unworthy a successor of Yu T'ae-k'ang had been.* 有典有則,—Gan-kwŏ defines 典 by 經籍, 'standard writings,' or 'books,' and 則 by 法. Ts'ae, much more happily, illustrates the phrases by referring to the second Book of the Rites of Chow, where the six 典, the eight 法, and the eight 則, are all described as in the special charge of the first minister of the crown (冢宰). The *teen* were the general regulations about government, and its several departments of instruction, ceremonies, offices, punishment, and employments. The *tsih* were the special rules about sacrifices, emoluments, the collection of revenue, &c. Yu's canons and rules were more compendious probably than those of a later period; but they would be of the same general nature. 關石和鈞,王府則有,—關 is here explained by 通, and Medhurst translates—'He rendered uniform the weights and harmonized the measures.' But this is wrong. 關 and 和 are two adjectives, qualifying 石 and 鈞, which latter term moreover is not a measure, but the quarter of the 石. Choo He gave it as his opinion that the two phrases were simply the denominations of the weights. We may translate 關 by 'current,' or 'standard,, and 和 by 'equalizing.' By the use of these weights there was an end of petty strifes among the people,—they were made 'harmonious.' The royal treasury contained the standard measures of capacity and length as well; that we must understand:—so widely and carefully had Yu provided for the working of the government. We find this passage quoted in the 國語,周語,下, where the glossarist, Wei Ch'aou (韋昭; of Woo, one of the 'Three Kingdoms'), would make 關 = 'the customs,' a meaning which might be adopted but for the following 和. 覆宗, 'overturning our ancestral temple,' = causing our family to be cast out from the empire.

五曰、嗚呼曷歸、予懷之悲、萬姓仇予、予將疇依、鬱陶乎予心、顏厚有忸怩、弗慎厥德、雖悔可追。

9 The fifth said,

"Oh! whither shall we turn?
The thoughts of our breasts make us sad.
All the people are hostile to us;
On whom can we rely?
Anxieties stand thick in our hearts;
Thick as are our faces, they are covered with blushes.
We have not been careful of our virtue;
And though we repent, we cannot overtake the past."

P. 9. *The song of the fifth brother.—A wail over the sad condition to which they were reduced.* 予懷之悲,—'I dwell on this and am sad;' or, as in the 'Daily Explanation,' 此予懷之所以悲, 'this is why the thoughts of my bosom are sad.' The 予, in this and other places, I have translated in the plural, the brothers in this way taking to themselves the blame attaching to T'ae-k'ang. 鬱陶乎予心.顏厚有忸怩.—comp. Mencius, V., Bk. I., ii 3—鬱陶思君爾,忸怩. Ming-shing contends that the text is plagiarized from that passage. But Mencius must there be quoting from histories of Shun current in his days;—most probably he is quoting from the first part of the Canon of Shun, which is now lost. If this be denied, we may say that Mencius appropriated the language of the text, with quite as much reason as that it was modelled from him. As to the meaning of 鬱陶, it is very much disputed. K'ung explains it by 哀思, 'anxiously, mournfully, thinking.' Others again, as Yen Jŏ-keu, assuming 陶 to mean 'joy,' 'to be joyful,' make the phrase = 'the first emotion of joy not yet finding vent.' This meaning would be quite inappropriate in the text, and they say that this being the proper meaning of the phrase, its use here arose from misunderstanding it in Mencius, and shows the hand of the plagiarist. But the other meaning suits the passage in Mencius much better than this, and is not to be so readily sent out of court. 鬱 properly denotes 'trees growing bushy;' then, 'tangled.' 陶 is 'a potter's furnace;' it is also used for potters' work. The phrase in the text will then signify the 'tangled workings of the mind,' appropriate to its anxious thoughts, rather than its joyful emotions. 顏厚,—'our faces are thick';—this is said to show the strong working of their shame.

Concluding Note. Neither from the Shoo nor from the 'Historical Records' do we learn anything about T'ae-k'ang but what is contained in the first three paragraphs of this Book; and from them we cannot say in what year of his reign he undertook his hunting expedition beyond the Lŏ, or what was the result of the movement of E against him. The chronologists, however,—on what authority it is not necessary here to discuss,—refer the expedition to the 19th year of his reign, B.C. 2169: and they say he was never able to recross the Ho. He lived on for ten years in Yang-hea (陽夏), corresponding to the pres. dis. of T'ae-k'ang, dep. of Ch'in-chow, in Ho-nan. His name is there perpetuated. Some writers say that E built a city for him there, and allowed him to occupy it as his capital, and to continue nominally to be emperor. Whatever hand E had in it, chronology recognizes T'ae-k'ang as emperor till his death, B.C. 2159; and the reign of his brother Chung-k'ang, with whom we have to do in the next Book, dates from the year following, B.C. 2158.

THE BOOKS OF HEA.

BOOK IV. THE PUNITIVE EXPEDITION OF YIN.

胤征

一節 惟仲康肇位四海、胤侯命掌六師、羲和廢厥職、酒荒于厥邑、胤后承王命徂征。○ 二節 告

1 I. When Chung-k'ang commenced his reign over all within the four seas, the prince of Yin was commissioned to take charge of the imperial armies. *At this time* He and Ho had neglected the duties of their office, and were sunk in wine in their *private* cities, and the prince of Yin received the imperial charge to go and punish them.

NAME OF THE BOOK.—胤征. 'The Punitive Expedition of Yin.' 胤 is the name of a State;—where it was situated I have not been able to ascertain. The 胤侯 in par. 1 makes it clear that we must take the first character as the name of a principality. K'ang-shing makes it, in his comment on the 8th par. of the Preface, the name of a minister, which would seem to be a gross blunder. It can be accounted for, however. The Book is one of those whose genuineness is controverted. K'ang-shing had not seen it. To guide him in determining the meaning of 胤, he had only the expression in the Preface, and its occurrence in Pt. V., Bk. XXVI., p. 14. His error is quite excusable. 征, 'punitive expedition,'—the meaning is laid down by Mencius, VII Pt., II., ii., 2. The Book is rightly assigned to the division of the Shoo, which consists of 誓, 'martial speeches.'

CONTENTS. He and Ho, ministers of the Board of Astronomy, had grossly neglected their duties, and given themselves over to licentious indulgence. The emperor considers them worthy of death, and commissions the prince of Yin to destroy them. The prince on his part assembles his forces, and addresses them on the object of the expedition, setting forth the justice of the punishment to be inflicted, and summoning them to second him with all their energies. This is all that appears on the surface of the Book;—whether we are to understand other ends as contemplated in the expedition will be considered in the notes. I have divided it into two chapters:—the first containing only the first paragraph, and stating generally the grounds of the expedition; the second occupying all the other paragraphs, which contain the speech of the prince of Yin.

Ch. I. P. 1. THE OCCASION OF THE EXPEDITION. 惟仲康肇位四海,胤侯命掌六師,—we can give no meaning to the 惟, standing, as it does here, at the commencement of the Book. In modern style,

于衆曰、嗟予有衆、聖有謨訓、明徵定保、先王克謹天

2 II. He made an announcement to his hosts saying, "Ah! ye, all my troops, there are the well-counselled instructions of the sage *founder of our dynasty*, clearly verified in their power to give stability and security *to the State*:—'The former kings were carefully

for 肇位四海 we should say 始即位,臨御四海. 命 must be taken passively,—'was charged,' 'was appointed.' 掌六師,—'to handle the six armies.' The prince of Yin was raised to the office of 大司馬, made, in our phraseology, commander-in-chief of the imperial forces. 六師=六軍, 'the six armies,' indicated in Book II., as forming the military force of the emperor;—see on Ana., VII. x. 2. This was the first step of Chung-k'ang on his accession to the throne,—to put his armies in the charge of the prince of Yin. The editors of Yung-ching's Shoo give their opinion that Chung-k'ang succeeded his brother in Yang-hea, and that he was not in possession of Yu's capital called Gan-yih (安邑), and the name of which still remains in the dis. of Gan-yih, in the small dep. of K'eae (解州), separated by the pres. dynasty from P'ing-yang. They suppose that E kept him as well as T'ae-kang from all the country north of the Ho. This is against the view of Gan-kwŏ and Ying-tă, that E called Chung-k'ang to the throne in the room of his brother. Looking at the text, I cannot suppose that Chung-k'ang reigned only over part of the empire. The phrases 四海 and 六師 would seem designed as a protest against such a view. Then he is represented as exercising an authority quite independent in the appointment of the prince of Yin, and sending him subsequently against He and Ho. How it was that Chung-k'ang could possess such an authority, situated as he was between his brother, whom E kept from the best part of the empire, and his son whom E cast out of the whole of it,—this is a historical difficulty which we have not facts enow to enable us to solve. There is much speculation about it among the critics. The wiser course in such a case is to rest contented in our ignorance. 羲和廢厥職,酒荒于厥邑,—this He and Ho would be descendants—sons or grandsons—of the ministers of Yaou; and Ts'ae says that the different offices sustained by them in Yaou's time had now been united in one. We need not think so. He and Ho here may very well be the chiefs of the two families, as they rather seem to be in the Can. of Yaou, p. 3. On Ts'ae's view, 厥邑 will be singular, and Gaubil has accordingly translated 'leur ville.' As they were 卿 or high nobles in the employment of the emperor, their cities would be in the territory next to the imperial domain, the first hundred *le* of the *How fuh*, and probably not far from each other. The phrase 廢厥職, in conn. with the next clause, implies that they had both neglected their duty and abandoned their posts. 酒荒,—comp. 色荒 in the last Book, p. 6. 胤后,—not 胤侯, as above. Ts'ae observes that when the princes of the empire took up their residence at court as high ministers, their style was changed from 侯 to 后.

Some time may have elapsed between the prince of Yin's being appointed commander of the imperial armies and his receiving this commission to punish He and Ho; but we naturally conclude that he led all his powers against them. And was it necessary to do this? They were not living in their own fiefs, surrounded by other nobles yielding a reluctant submission to their suzerain. This circumstance harmonizes with the view that He and Ho were in league with E, and that the main object intended by such a display of force was to overawe that dangerous chief, and to weaken his power by cutting off his confederates.

Ch. II. Pp. 2—7. The speech of the prince of Yin. Pp. 2, 3. *Principles of the State for the guidance of officers and others;—preparatory to the introduction and condemnation of He and Ho.*

2. 嗟,—the speech begins like that at Kan, Bk. II., p. 2. 聖有謨訓,明徵定保,—the 聖 here must refer to Yu. The 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases the passage thus:—我夏聖祖大禹,著有謨訓,其言皆明切徵驗,可以定國保邦. It is quoted in the 左傳,襄二十一年, with 勳 for 訓,—聖有謨勳,明徵定保. A meaning is there also put upon it not so natural as that which I give to it here. What follows are the counsels of Yu. The 'Daily Explanation' goes on to paraphrase them with a—謨訓有曰. Lin Che-k'e observes that 謨 means the counsels offered by a minister to his sove-

戒、臣人克有常憲、百官修輔。厥后惟明明。三節 ○每歲孟春、遒人以木鐸、徇于路、官師相規、工執藝事以諫、其

attentive to the warnings of Heaven, and their ministers observed the regular laws *of their offices*. All the officers, *moreover*, watchfully did their duty to assist *the government*, and the sovereign became
3 entirely intelligent.' Every year in the first *month* of spring, the herald with his wooden-tongued bell goes along the roads, *proclaiming*, 'Ye officers able to direct, be prepared with your admonitions. Ye workmen engaged in mechanical affairs, remonstrate on the

reign, as in the 'Counsels of the great Yu,' 'Counsels of Kaou-yaou,' &c.; but that the rules laid down by a sovereign for the guidance of his descendants are also called by the same name, as in the 'Instructions of E,' p. 8. The usage of 訓 is similar. 先王克謹天戒,—'the former kings,' as spoken of by Yu, must refer to Shun and Yaou, and what others he had heard of before them. Compare the language of Shun in the 'Yih and Tseih,' p. 4,—古人之象. 克謹, 'were able to attend sedulously to;'—克, joined to a verb, often serves to emphasize its meaning. 天戒,—'warnings of Heaven,' such as were supposed to be conveyed by eclipses, and other unusual heavenly phenomena. 臣人,—this is understood to mean the great ministers,—輔弼大臣, while the officers generally, large and small, are spoken of in the phrase 百官 below. The 人 after 臣, however, is peculiar; but it must merge in the 臣. 臣人 corresponds to the 先王 before; we cannot render it 'ministers and people.' 明明 is the redoubled adjective, expressing the meaning intensely. 3. Not only was this general principle laid down in the counsels of Yu, that the ministers and officers should all be earnestly assisting to the sovereign, but there was also a special institution to call forth the experience of all classes for the same object. 遒人 is defined by Gan-kwŏ and in the dictionary by 宣令之官, 'the officer who proclaims the orders.' Ying-tă tries to deduce the meaning from one of the significations of 遒, in which it = 聚, 'to collect.' This officer collected the people, and gave them their orders, and hence was derived his name.' We may translate the phrase by 'herald.' 木鐸,—see Ana. III. xxiv. The wooden-tongued bell was used for civil, peaceful objects; in war a metal-tongued bell was used. 徇=徧; 徇于路='all along the roads.' What follows—官師,云云,—is to be understood as the language of the herald's proclamation. So it is taken in the 'Daily Explanation.' This view is established likewise by the account of a similar practice in the Chow dynasty;—see the Chow Le, Bk. III. (天官,小宰), par. 52,—正歲帥治官之屬而觀治象之法,徇以木鐸,曰,不用法者,國有常刑. 官師相規,—官 and 師 are not two classes, but one. They are called 官 as having office, and 師 as supposed to be men of principle and knowledge, fitted to instruct. So, Ts'ae;—官以職言,師以道言. 規,—'a compass,' then used as = 正, 'to correct,' the use of a compass being necessary to make correct circles. There is a difficulty with 相. We naturally interpret 相規, 'to correct one another;' but this would give no pertinent meaning. How would the officers' not correcting one another bear on the guilt of He and Ho in not admonishing their sovereign? The object of the 規 must be defects in the emperor's conduct or government. The paraphrase in the 'Daily Explanation' brings out this very clearly:—凡職官有道者,或遇朝廷之德政闕失,即直言

或不恭、邦有常刑。○[四節]惟時羲和、顛覆厥德、沈亂于酒、畔官離次、俶擾天紀、遐棄厥司、乃季秋月朔、辰弗集于房、瞽奏鼓、嗇夫馳、庶人

subject of your business! If any of you disrespectfully *neglect this requirement*, the country has regular punishments for you.'

4 "Now here are He and Ho. They have entirely subverted their virtue, and are sunk and lost in wine. They have violated the duties of their office, and left their posts. They have been the first to allow the regulations of heaven to get into disorder, putting far from them their proper business. On the first day of the last month of autumn, the sun and moon did not meet harmoniously in Fang. The blind *musicians* beat their drums; the inferior officers and common people bustled and ran about. He and Ho, however, as if they

以相規正, 'all ye officers, being men of principle, if you see that there are defects in the virtue or government of the court, speak out directly that you may correct them.' This meaning of 相 does not first occur to the reader, but it is admissible;—the emperor is the other party opposite to whom the officers are to suppose themselves placed. 工執藝事以諫,—here we go below the official class; even mechanics might see extravagance in the expenditure of the court on articles of their departments, which they were bound to find some way of remonstrating about,—so earnest was Yu, and such precautions had he taken, that the errors of the sovereign should be brought to his notice.

[Both Gaubil and Medhurst err egregiously in translating these last two clauses. De Mailla hits the meaning of the former, but loses entirely that of the second. Grosier, in a note to De Mailla's version, seems to approve that of Gaubil.]

We find from 遒人 to 以諫 quoted as from the 'Books of Hea' in the 左傳, 襄十四年. 其或不恭,—on this use of 恭, see Mencius, IV., Pt., I., i., 13.

P. 4. *The crimes of He and Ho; and the punishment due to them.* 惟時(=是)羲和, 顛覆厥德, 沈亂于酒,—comp. the She-king, Pt. III., Bk. III., Ode. ii. 3. 畔官離次,—the dict. explains 畔 with ref. to this passage, by 離, 'to leave.' It is better, however, to take it in the sense of 'to disobey,' 'to violate.' 官 = 'the duties of office'; 次 = 'the place,' 'the post' 俶擾天紀,—俶 = 始, 'the first;' 擾 = 亂, 'to throw into confusion;' 天紀, 'the heavenly regulators.' See Part V., Bk. IV., p. 8, where those regulators are said to be five,—the seasons of the year, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the calculations of the calendar. The phrase in the text is to be taken generally:—He and Ho had neglected the contemplation of the Heavens, and attention to the calendar, so putting far from them 'their proper business' (厥司=其所司之事). 乃季秋月朔, 辰弗集于房,—here is a specific and flagrant instance of the neglect of duty by those astronomers. On the first day of the last month of autumn it had happened that 辰弗集于房. The year when this took place is not mentioned, but we cannot do other than suppose that it was the same year in which the speech was made, or the one immediately before it. The prince of Yin could not have spoken as he did, if a second autumn had intervened between the phenomenon and the date of his speech.

房—see on the Can. of Yaou, par. 5, where we saw that this was the central constellation of the larger group of constellations in the eastern quarter, called the 'Azure Dragon.' It begins with the star π of Scorpio and ends with σ, and extends over a space of less than $5\frac{1}{2}°$ (see Gaubil's Shoo-king, pp. 68, 69, and

走、羲和尸厥官、罔聞知、昏迷于天象、以干先王之誅、政典曰、先時者、殺無赦、不及時者、殺無赦。五節 ○今予以

were mere personators of the dead in their offices, heard nothing and knew nothing;—so stupidly went they astray *from their duty* in the matter of the heavenly appearances, and rendering themselves liable to the death appointed by the former kings. The statutes of government say, 'When they anticipate the time, let them be put to death without mercy; when they are behind the time, let them be put to death without mercy.'

J. B. Biot's 'Etudes sur l' Astronomie Indienne et Chinoise,' p. 375). The clause 辰弗集于房 has always been understood as describing the fact of an eclipse of the sun, on the day and month indicated, in that portion of the heavens; and there can be no doubt the interpretation is correct. Down to the present day ceremonies substantially the same as those which the prince of Yin goes on to describe are observed on the occurrence of such a phenomenon. The passage is quoted moreover in the 左傳, 昭十七年, corresponding to B.C. 524, and this explanation given of it.—There can be no doubt therefore as to the meaning. As to the characters themselves, Medhurst translates them.—'There was a conjunction of the sun and moon without being fully combined, in the constellation of Fang;' and Gaubil has:—'Le soleil et la lune en conjunction n'ont pas été d'accord dans Fang.' Gaubil's version is a literal translation from the interpretation of Ts'ae Ts'in, who bases it on the fact that in the Books of Han instead of 集 we have 輯, and says that the two characters may be interchanged, adding:—日月會次, 不相和輯. I doubt the interchangeableness of 集 and 輯; but the former has the established significations of 合, [this is Gan-kwŏ's explanation *in loc.*], and 齊, which give the ideas of 'harmonious, regular union.' 辰 must be the conjunction of the sun and moon for the month in question;—see the Canon of Yaou, par. 3. 瞽奏鼓, 嗇夫馳, 庶人走,—these were customs observed on occasion of an eclipse; similar practices were observed under the Chow dynasty; and with some modifications they are prescribed by the Chinese government at the present time. See Biot's Studies above referred to, pp. 357—360. 瞽奏鼓,—by 'the blind' we must understand the musicians who were employed in antiquity because of their blindness, their loss of the sense of sight being supposed to sharpen that of hearing. 奏=伐, 'to strike.' 嗇夫 is explained by Ts'ae—小臣, 'small officers;' according to K'ang-shing, they were *employés* under the Minister of Works. By 庶人 are intended what Mencius, V., Pt. II., ii., 6, calls 庶民在官者, 'such of the common people as were employed about the government offices';—see the note on that passage. Of what these people ran, and the smaller officers galloped about for, we get an idea from the passage of the 左傳 where this text is quoted. We are there told that when an eclipse happened, the emperor fasted, and had the drums beat before the altar of the spirits of the land, while the princes of States presented offerings before that altar and had the drums beat in their court. [It would appear from the same passage, that in the Chow dynasty these things were observed only when eclipses happened on the first day of the first month of the year. In this point the custom of Hea, with which the present usage agrees, differed from that of Chow.] Again, in the Chow Le, Bk. XXXVII. (near the end), we read of the bow and arrows used to deliver the sun, and those used to deliver the moon. On an eclipse of the sun, they shot their arrows into the sky to frighten away the injurious moon, and *vice versa*. See the long note of K'ung Ying-tă on the passage, where immense lore is brought to bear on its illustration. While the phenomenon was occasioning so much excitement, He and Ho were entirely indifferent to it. 尸厥官,—comp. Bk. III., p. 1. 昏迷于天象,—'darkly going astray in

regard to the heavenly appearances.' 迷,—comp. Canon of Shun, p. 2.

政典,—see on the last Book, p. 8, 有典有則. 先時者,云云,—there is considerable diversity of view in interpreting this sentence. First, the 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases it thus:—曆官職掌,凡躔度節候,俱要推算合時,或失于先時,或失于後時,罪當殺無赦, 'They who are intrusted with the office of regulating the calendar must calculate exactly to the time the degrees of motion of the heavenly bodies, with the terms of the year. If they err by being too early or too late, their crime requires that they be put to death without mercy.' This view is approved by Gaubil, who translates:—'Celui qui devance ou qui recule les tems doit être, sans remission, puni de mort;' and he adds in a note, 'Une loi si severe contre les calculateurs d'éclypses, dans des tems si reculés, denote une ancienne methode pour les éclypses.' Possibly astronomers of this high antiquity in China may have been able to calculate eclipses after a fashion, by means of the cycle of 19 years,—if indeed they were acquainted with that, which is quite uncertain; but I find it difficult to believe they had attained so far. Nor is this interpretation of the text sufficiently evident or attested by tradition to bring us to Gaubil's conclusion.

Second, Gan-kwŏ gives a more general and plausible interpretation. By 時 he understands 'the four seasons, and the four and twenty terms into which they were divided, with the times of new and full moon and the two quarters' (四時節氣,弦望晦朔). On this view the statute was to the effect that the astronomers neglecting their work, and allowing the months and seasons to get into confusion, were to be punished with death. It does not bear directly on the special crime of He and Ho's absence from their posts on the occurrence of the eclipse; but we can conceive of the prince of Yin's thinking it sufficiently to the purpose to appeal to it in addressing his troops.

Third, Lin Che-k'e separated the passage from the par. to which in all editions it is now united, and joined it to the part of the speech which follows. The prince of Yin has done with He and Ho when he has once said that they were liable to the death appointed by the former kings, and then turns to his troops to urge them to do their duty, prefacing his remarks with this reference to the canons of Government on military law, by which neglect of orders, whether in anticipating movements or in delaying them, was punishable with death. This view has been ingeniously supported by Ch'in Leih (陳櫟);—see the 附錄. Choo He condemned Che-k'e's interpretation, on the ground that it was forced, the passage being connected more naturally with the preceding part of the speech than with what follows. The editors of Yung-ching's Shoo, however, profess themselves unable to decide positively between this view and the first. The ordinance is too severe, they say, against the astronomers, who might easily make a mistake in their figures, while it may be acknowledged if it form part of the stern code of martial law. For myself I have hesitated between the second and third views, abiding for the present by the second. The passage, with the slight variation of 逮 for 及, is found in Seun-tsze, 君道篇, but not in a connection which enables us to judge of the meaning he put upon it.

[The eclipse of the sun related in this paragraph has always been a subject of great interest to students of history in China and elsewhere. Could it be satisfactorily verified, a date would be established in Chinese history, which would for ever settle all doubts as to its antiquity and general certainty.

The accession of Chung-k'ang dates, it has been seen, B.C. 2158 (Gaubil says 2159. But there is no real difference between him and me, as I do not reckon the year of our Lord's birth, the dates in my scheme of Chinese chronology running thus:—A.D. 1; A.D.; B.C. 1. Gaubil reckoning—A.D. 1; B.C. 1, my B.C. 2158 is with him B.C. 2159). The Shoo does not say expressly that the eclipse took place in that year, though the ordinary, and perhaps the readiest, inference has been that it did do so. But such an inference may not be correct. The appointment of the prince of Yin may have been one of the first acts of Chung-k'ang, and the expedition against He and Ho may not have been undertaken till some years after. If the eclipse could be verified any time during the reign, i.e., between B.C. 2158 and 2146, there would be a sufficient harmony between the chronology and the astronomy. More than this, in the scantiness of dates and the uncertainties attaching to the particular reigns of the Hea emperors from Yu to Këĕ, one of which uncertainties I pointed out in the concluding note to the last Book, I should almost be prepared to regard with satisfaction a verification of the eclipse in any year of the first half of the 22d century before our era, or even, I will venture to say, between B.C. 2050 and 2158. To be sure, the genuineness of 'The Punitive Expedition of Yin' is called in question; but in regard to this eclipse, we know, on the authority of the 左傳, which I have adduced, that the record of it was in one of the Books of Hea. Whether the Books of the Shoo additional to those derived from Fuh-shang were a compilation of the times of the Tsin dynasty or not, one of them—the real 'Expedition of Yin'—did contain the same passage that we have in the present text.

Now, the year B.C. 2158 must be given up as the date of the eclipse. No such phenomenon could have then occurred. Ts'ae tells us, however, that the astronomers of the T'ang dynasty (by which time they began to have such a knowledge of the precession of the equinoxes as enabled them to attempt these investigations) determined that the eclipse took place in the fifth year of Chung-k'ang. Several of the early Jesuit missionaries applied themselves to solve the point,—none with such devotion to the inquiry

爾有衆、奉將天罰爾、衆士同力王室、尙弼予欽承天子威命。○火六節炎崑岡、玉石俱焚、天吏逸德、烈于猛火、殲厥渠魁、脅從罔治、舊染

5 "Now I, with you all, am entrusted with the execution of the punishment appointed by Heaven. Unite your strength, all of you warriors, for the imperial House. Lend me your help, I pray you, reverently to carry out the dread charge of the son of Heaven."

6 "When the fire blazes over the ridge of Kwăn, gems and stones are burned together; *but* when a minister of Heaven exceeds in doing his duty, the consequences are fiercer than raging fire. I will so

as Father Gaubil, who brought out the result, in harmony with the conclusions of the T'ang scholars, that the eclipse occurred on the 11th October (old style) of the year B.C. 2155 (2154 in my scheme), the 5th year of Chung-k'ang, and that it was visible at Gan-yih at 6h. 49m. in the morning. Here was an important result; the only circumstance to render one dissatisfied with it was that the eclipse must have been very small, extending only over a sixth part of the sun's diameter, so that it was little likely to arrest attention.

Since Gaubil's time the tables used in those calculations have been rendered more accurate, and the conclusions arrived at possess a greater certainty. My friend, the Rev. Mr. Chalmers of Canton, took in hand in the present year to verify the eclipse, and confirmed Gaubil's conclusion so far as regarded the year, the month, and the day, but found that it must have occurred during the night, before the rising of the sun at Gan-yih, and not after it. I have since found that the same result was obtained in France in 1840 by Largeteau, an able astronomer (see Biot's 'Etudes,' p. 377). It would seem then that we must give up the year 2154 as well as 2158. And yet the matter may be considered as still *sub judice*. It is only in the present century that the secular variation of the moon's mean motion, which seriously affects the calculation of eclipses so remote as this of Chung-k'ang, has been determined with an approach to nice exactness. It may yet come out, as the lunar tables are perfected, that the eclipse of 2154 was visible at Gan-yih, and in that case we shall not hesitate to accept it as the one referred to in this Book.

Mr. Chalmers has determined that there were eclipses of the sun, in or near the constellation Fang, in the years B.C. 2135 (or 2136), 2127 (or 2128), and 2108 (or 2109). Of these that B.C. 2127 was visible in China, and very high Chinese authority has contended that it was to it that the prince of Yin referred. For the reasons which I have assigned I could accept either of the dates 2154 or 2127. I can hardly doubt that on one or other of them there was the phenomenon, by their disregard of which He and Ho afforded the ground which is alleged for their punishment. The text on which I have dwelt so long is to be regarded as a strong confirmation of the substantial truth of Chinese history.]

P. 5. *The troops are exhorted to be brave and energetic.* Compare Yu's speech to his army, Pt. II., Bk. II., 20. The 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases 以爾有衆 by 率爾六軍衆士, which is, plainly enough, the meaning, though we cannot give 率 as a synonym of 以. We may say here that 以=用. 將=行, 'to execute.' 同力王室=同心盡力于王室. A preposition like 于, or a verb signifying 'to maintain,' has to be supplied. 承...命,—承 is 'to receive,' but must be taken here with the pregnant meaning of 'executing' as well.

P. 6. *How the imperial charge was to be executed with discrimination, and justice tempered with forbearance.* 火炎崑山,—Ts'ae says that 崑 is 'the name of a mountain, which produces gems.' Gan-kwŏ's account is substantially the same. It is best taken so. The dict. would lead us to say that 崑崙 is meant, which is now referred to the 枯爾坤山, in the west of the Koko-nor, where the Yellow river has its sources. But the text leads us to conceive of the Kwăn as a volcanic mountain, which I have not read that the Kwăn-lun is 天吏,—see Mencius, II., Pt. I., v. 6, *et al.* 逸德,—逸=過, 'to go be-

汙俗、咸與惟新。七節○嗚呼、威克厥愛、允濟、愛克厥威、允罔功、其爾衆士、懋戒哉。

destroy *only* the chief criminals, and not punish their forced followers, while those who have long been stained by their filthy manners will be allowed to renovate themselves."

7 "Oh! when sternness overcomes compassion, then things are surely conducted to a successful issue. When compassion overcomes sternness, no merit can be achieved. All ye, my warriors, exert yourselves, and be cautious."

yond.' 逸德 is virtue—conduct in the performance of what may be considered duty—carried to its utmost, going beyond. 渠魁,—'the great chiefs.' He and Ho are intended. 脅從,—脅=迫脅, 'pressed.' Those parties had been forced into combination with He and Ho. The expressions here certainly give support to the view that those astronomers were associated with some rebellious movement against the imperial authority.

咸與惟新,—the 'Daily Explanation' has here—皆與赦除,使之改過自新. 與 is to be taken as=許, 'to allow,' 'to grant to.'

P. 7. *The severity of martial law.* We are to understand that the prince of Yin here warns his troops, that if they do not do their duty, they must not expect him to deal with them on any principle of indulgence. As to their duty in the circumstances, the 'Daily Explanation' finds it in the concluding words 懋戒哉, the 懋 referring to p. 4, where they were urged to unite their strength for the imperial House, and the 戒 to p. 6, where it is laid down how their justice was to be tempered. It paraphrases:—懋勉于同力,警戒于逸德,以共濟弼承王命之功哉. This is finding a great deal of meaning in the terms. Yen Jŏ-keu argues strongly that this paragraph is adapted from the 左傳,昭二十三年, where a general of Woo (吳), says:—吾聞之,作事,威克其愛,雖小必濟. It is more likely, however, that the general of Woo was adapting the words from the copies of the Shoo current in his time. His application of them is not happy;—it is enigmatical indeed, but Jŏ-keu's argument is here, as in many other places, too eagerly pursued.

CONCLUDING AND CONNECTING NOTE. With this Book terminate Confucius' selections from the monuments of the Hea dynasty subsisting in his time. Seventeen reigns altogether are assigned to it. Chung-k'ang's was the fourth. Of the twelve that follow, the Shoo gives us no intimation; but the name of the last emperor and his wickedness are often mentioned and dwelt upon in the Parts of the classic that follow this.

Sze-ma Ts'een gives us little more than a catalogue of the emperors' reigns, how they came to the throne and how they died. He has not a word on the length of their reigns; and only on K'ung-këă, the 13th from Yu, and Këĕ, the last, does he give a few brief notices of their characters. His whole account is comprised in less than a page. The fragments of the history of those times that have been gathered from other sources, more or less trustworthy, and are found in Choo He's 'General Mirror of History' (通鑑綱目), and in what may be called the 'Standard Annals' (歷代統紀表), may be related in brief space.

Chung-k'ang's reign of 13 years terminated B.C. 2146. We should like to know the relations that existed between him and E, but all we are informed of is that this chief put to death Pih-fung, or the baron Fung (伯封), one of his ministers, a son of K'wei, Shun's minister of Music. We are left in uncertainty as to whether the act was one of justice, the punishment of a criminal, or one of hostility, the cutting off a faithful adherent.

Chung-k'ang was succeeded, B.C. 2145, by his son Seang (后相), who reigned for 27 years. In the first year of his reign he had to with-

draw across the Ho to Shang-k'ew (商邱), still the name of the principal district in the dep. of Kwei-tih, Ho-nan. He was driven to this step, we may well believe, by E, who now exercised the supreme authority in K'e-chow. In 2138 E was killed by a minister of his own, or at least on his instigation. The minister's name was Han-tsuh, or perhaps we should rather say Tsuh of the State Han (see the 左傳, 襄四年; and comp. Mencius IV. Pt. II. xxiv). He took to himself E's wife, and by her had two sons, Këaou (澆) and He (豷), the former of whom by his father's orders put the emperor to death in Shang-k'ew, B.C. 2118, he himself being only 20 years of age. Various 'punishments' of barbarous tribes are ascribed to Seang in the early years of his reign, which it is difficult to believe he was capable of in his circumstances. We may infer from the accounts, however, that the wild tribes, in and about the empire, took advantge of the weakness and confusion of the government to try and regain their independence or to make plundering incursions.

On the death of Seang, Tsuh claimed the empire, and maintained himself on the throne for 39 years. When the emperor was killed, however, one of his wives, who was pregnant, made her escape to her native State of Jing (仍), of which her father was chief. There she gave birth to a son, known as Shaou-k'ang (少康), who lead a perilous life for nearly 40 years. His existence was known to the usurper, who made various attempts to get him in his power. At one time he was chief herdsman to the chief of Jing; at another he was chief cook to the prince of Yu. The latter chief recognized his worthiness, and gave him his two daughters in marriage, and an establishment in the pres. dis. of Yung-ho, dep. of P'ing-yang. There his capacity and character still more developed themselves. The old adherents of his House took heart. The people remembered Yu. An end was made of the usurping family, and Shaou-k'ang was raised to the throne of his father in B.C. 2078.

Shaou-k'ang's recovery of the throne [we might say K'ang the third; Chung-k'ang was K'ang the second, and T'ae-k'ang K'ang the first] was followed by the reverent acknowledgment of the chiefs of the empire, and the submission of the wild tribes. The only event of his reign which is recorded, however, is his appointment of one of his sons by a secondary wife to be the chief of Yuĕ (越), there to maintain the sacrifices at the tomb of Yu, who died, we saw, at Hwuy-k'e, in the pres. Chĕ-keang. The emperor's son was styled Woo-yu (無余). He was the first feudal chief established in the regions of Woo and Yuĕ, so slowly did the conquering Chinese firmly establish their rule over the country.

Shaou-k'ang was succeeded, B.C. 2057, by his son Ch'oo, (后杼); and he was followed, after a reign of 17 years, in B.C. 2039, by his son Hwae (后槐).

After Hwae came his son Măng (后芒), B.C. 2013; then Măng's son, Sëĕ (后泄), B.C. 1995; then, Sëĕ's son, Puh-këang (后不降), B.C. 1979; then, Puh-këang's brother, Keung (后扃), B.C. 1920; then, Keung's son, Kin 后廑, B.C. 1899; then, a son of Puh-keang, called K'ung-këă (后孔甲), B.C. 1878.

Sze-ma Ts'een pauses in his list of all but nameless sovereigns to dwell on the character of K'ung-këă, whom he pronounces to have been superstitious and dissipated, so as to alienate from him the hearts of all the princes. In the 27th year of his reign, B.C. 1851, there occurred an event, most important to the fortunes of the Hea dynasty,—the birth of Le (履), son of the chief of Shang, who became in due time T'ang the Successful, the founder of a new line of emperors.

K'ung-këă was succeeded by his son Kaou (后皐), B.C. 1847; and he again by his son Fă (后發), B.C. 1836. Fă died B.C. 1816, leaving the throne to his son Kwei, (癸), with whom the sovereignty of the line of Yu came to an end.

Kwei is better known by his name of Këĕ, 'the Injurer of men and Destroyer of many' (賊人多殺曰桀). The first three and thirty years of his long reign are a blank. Possessing extraordinary strength, able to twist bars of iron about like ropes, he gloried in his vigour, and wearied out the people with expeditions of war. In B.C. 1785, he proceeded to attack the chief of She (有施氏), in the neighbourhood of mount Mung in the present Shantung. The chief propitiated his anger by presenting him with his daughter Me-he (妺喜), of surpassing beauty, but more depraved, if possible, than the emperor himself. All thoughts of prudence were lost amid the enjoyment of her charms. He gratified all her caprices. He made her a chamber of carnation-stone, with side apartments of ivory, a splendid tower, and a bed glittering with gems. Around this he heaped up, in their wild dissoluteness, mounds of flesh, hung dried meats on all the trees, filled a pond with wine till they could row

a boat on it, while three thousand people would make their appearance at beat of drum and drink up the liquor like so many oxen. All government was neglected. In the mean time the avenger was growing up. T'ang succeeded to his father's principality, B.C. 1783, and soon drew the regards of all thoughtful men to himself. The great officers who felt ashamed of Këë's vices, and mourned the condition of the empire, betook themselves to Shang; the people who groaned beneath the oppression of their lords, too many of whom followed Këë's example, sighed for the gentle rule of T'ang. The emperor was roused to fits of jealousy, and at one time got T'ang in his power, and imprisoned him. He let him go, however; and at last, B.C. 1765, after many misgivings, T'ang took the field against his sovereign. There could be no doubt as to the result. Heaven and earth combined with men to show their detestation of the tyrant. Two suns fought in the sky. The earth shook. Mountains were moved from their strong foundations. Rivers were dried up. Këë was routed, and fled south to Ts'aou, which is still the name of a district in the dep. of Loo-chow (廬州), in Ngan-hwuy, and there he was kept a prisoner till his death three years after. His son and some of his adherents made their way to the wilds of the north, and mingled among the barbarous tribes.

Thus miserably ended the dynasty of Hea, having extended, including the usurpations of E and Tsuh, over 439 years.

THE SHOO KING.

PART IV. THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK I. THE SPEECH OF T'ANG.

商書

湯誓

一節 王曰、格爾衆庶、悉聽朕言、非台小子、敢行稱亂、有夏多罪、天命殛之。○二節 今

1 I. The king said, "Come, ye multitudes of the people, listen all to my words. It is not I, the little child, who dare to undertake *what may seem to be* a rebellious enterprize; but for the many crimes of the sovereign of Hea Heaven has given the charge to destroy him.

NAME OF THE PART.—商書, 'The Books of Shang.' 商 (the reader will distinguish the character from 尙, which is the title given to the whole of the Shoo. A Chinese scholar can discriminate them by their different tones) is the dynastic designation by which T'ang and his descendants possessed the empire, B.C. 1765—1122, a period of 644 years. The family traced their origin up to Hwang-te, through Sëĕ, (契), a son of the emperor Kuh, and minister of Instruction to Yaou and Shun. For his services at that time he was invested with the principality of Shang, a part or the whole of the territory now forming the small department of Shang in Shen-se, and received the surname of Tsze (子). From Sëĕ to T'ang were fourteen generations; and we find the latter at a considerable distance from the ancestral fief, and having his capital in the first place, before he dethroned Këĕ, at the southern Pŏ, which seems correctly referred to the dis. of Shang-k'ew (商邱), dep. of Kwei-tih, in Ho-nan. The title of the dynasty, however, was derived from the original Shang to which Sëĕ was appointed.

We saw, on the 9th paragraph of the Preface, that more than one half the documents originally composing this Part of the Shoo were lost, while of the 11 Books which still claim to be received in it there are only 5 whose genuineness is not contested.

NAME OF THE BOOK.—湯誓, 'The Speech of T'ang.' We must regard 湯, not as the honorary posthumous title, but as the designation of the emperor during his lifetime;—see in the note on the Canon of Yaou, par. 1. His name, as we have it from himself, was Le (履). Sze-ma Ts'een says it was 天乙, of which I have not met with a satisfactory explanation. 誓,—see on 'The Speech at Kan.'

爾有衆、汝曰、我后不恤我衆、舍我穡事、而割正夏。予惟聞汝衆言、夏氏有罪、予畏上帝、不敢不正。三節 ○今汝

2 "Now, ye multitudes, you are saying, 'Our prince does not compassionate us, but is calling us away from our husbandry to attack and punish *the ruler of* Hea.' I have indeed heard *these* words of you all: *but* the sovereign of Hea is an offender, and, *as* I fear God, I dare not but punish him.

'The Speech of T'ang' is found in both 'the old and modern texts.' It is now the first of the Books of Shang, though it was in the time of Confucius only the sixth. The five that preceded it have been lost;—see on the 'Preface of Confucius.'

CONTENTS. T'ang having summoned his people to take the field with him against Këĕ, and finding them backward in the enterprise, he addresses them, and sets forth his own reasons for attacking the tyrant, in order to remove their hesitation, and silence their murmurs, while in the end he uses both promises and threats to move them to obey his orders. The whole Book is very short; but I have divided it into two chapters,—the first containing three parr., and giving T'ang's reasons for his course; and the second, in only one par., laying down his martial law. The speech must have been made at Pŏ, and in the year B.C. 1765.

Ch. I. Pp. 1—3. T'ANG'S REASONS FOR ATTACKING KEE, AND THE UNREASONABLENESS OF HIS SUBJECTS' MURMURS. 1. 王曰,—we have no introductory paragraphs as in the 'speech at Kan,' telling us the occasion of the speech. We can, however, supply the want from the preface, p. 12. The use of 王 to denominate T'ang, when he was not yet on the throne, has occasioned a good deal of criticism. Ts'ae says that it is a case of prolepsis by the recorder of the speech. Yet as T'ang was the 天吏, or 'minister of Heaven,' the moment that he took the field, he was the rightful sovereign of the empire, and Këĕ was only an ordinary man. 非台小子,敢行稱亂,—台 (read *e*)=我, the first personal pronoun. 小子, 'the little child,' is a frequent designation, humbly applied to themselves by the emperors. Ts'ae Peen (蔡卞) says:—'In an announcement to the myriad regions, and in distinction from their multitudes, the emperor calls himself "the one man." Realizing his relation to God, and feeling as in His presence, he calls himself "the little child" (以天子告萬方,故稱予一人,對上帝而言,故稱台小子). 稱=舉, 'to raise up,' 'to undertake.' Keang Shing edits the character with 人 at the side, on the authority of the 說文. T'ang states very distinctly the reason of his movement. Këĕ, 'the holder of Hea,' was a criminal condemned by Heaven which had given charge to cut him off. But how had Heaven done this? and how was the charge given to T'ang? The answer to both questions is the same:—'By the voice of the people.' 2. Acc. to the view of Gan-kwŏ (and here he is followed by Keang Shing), T'ang addresses in this par. not his own people, but the subjects generally of Këĕ. 我后, 'our sovereign,' is Këĕ, and 舍我穡事而割正=' he disregards our husbandry, and exercises a cruel government.' 割 is explained by 剝, with reference to cruel dismemberments inflicted by Këĕ; and 正 is taken as=政, 'government.' Gan-kwŏ takes no notice of the 夏 after 正, and Keang Shing argues that the character is spurious. With the same critics, moreover, the clause 夏氏有罪 is the language of the people, the words which T'ang had heard from them.

This view has many difficulties,—is inadmissible, indeed. 夏 is here in the text, and we cannot throw it out. Nor can we take 正 in 割正 differently from its mean. in 不敢不正. No similar difficulties attach to the interpretation given by Ts'ae, which I have followed in the translation. 正=治罪, 'to punish,' a well established meaning of the character. 夏氏.—this usage is much akin to our own of calling men by their estates and

其曰、夏罪其如台、夏
王率遏衆力、率割夏
邑、有衆率怠弗協、曰、
時日曷喪、予及汝皆
亡、夏德若茲、今朕必
往。○四節爾尚輔予一人、
致天之罰、予其大賚
汝、爾無不信、朕不食
言、爾不從誓言、予則
孥戮汝、罔有攸赦。

3 "Now you are saying, 'What are the crimes of Hea to us?' The king of Hea does nothing but exhaust the strength of his people, and exercise oppression in the cities of Hea. His people have all become idle *in his service*, and will not assist him. They are saying, 'When will this sun expire? We will all perish with thee.' Such is the course of *the sovereign of* Hea, and now I must go *and punish him*.

4 II. "Assist, I pray you, me, the one man, to carry out the punishment appointed by Heaven. I will greatly reward you. On no account disbelieve me;—I will not eat my words. If you do not obey the words which I have spoken to you, I will put your children with you to death;—you will find no forgiveness."

possessions. 3. 夏罪其如台,— Gan-kwŏ takes 如台 as=如我所聞之言, 'according to the words which we have heard.' Here Keang Shing rightly declines to follow him, and follows Sze-ma Ts'een, who reads—有罪,其奈何, which he interprets as an exclamation of despair. More accordant with the tone of the whole speech, and better warranted by usage is the meaning given in the translation. The two 其 intensify the language;—see on Can. of Yaou, p. 11. 率遏,率割,率怠,— in all these cases 率 is to be taken as=一切, 'in every thing,' 'universally.' Gan-kwŏ is unable to think of any meaning for it but 'to lead,' and labours hard, but unsuccessfully, to explain the passages accordingly. 割夏邑,—here 割 must be explained by 剝. 時(=是)日曷喪,予及汝皆亡,—see on Mencius, I. Pt. II., iv. 4. Ching would seem to make this passage the words of Këĕ himself. He says:—'Këĕ seeing that the people wished to rebel, compared himself to the sun, saying, "Has ever that sun perished? If that sun perish, then I and you will also all perish." He made use of the sun's security from danger, to make the people dread himself;'—see the 後案, *in loc.* Mencius is a safer guide as to the meaning of the text than K'ang-shing. We may well believe, however, that Këĕ had compared himself to the sun. Different traditions say it was in reply to the remonstrances of E Yin that he did so. 夏德若此,—this is a very evident instance of the use of 德 for evil conduct.

Ch. II. P. 4. T'ang's determination to have his orders obeyed.—Promises of reward, and threats of punishment. Comp. Yu's speech in the 'Counsels of Yu,' p. 20, and 'The speech at Kan.' 予其大賚爾,—賚=賜, 'to give to,' 'to confer gifts,'='to reward.' Sze-ma Ts'een has 理, which it is

difficult to account for. The 其 here is strongly intensive. The usage approaches to that pointed out on Can. of Yaou, p. 12.

汝不從誓言,我則孥戮汝,—the want of such a clause as 汝不從誓言 is felt in 'The speech of Kan,' p. 5. 我則孥戮汝 is there so unconnected that Woo Ch'ing supposes it slipped in by mistake from the present passage.

Concluding note. Though T'ang professed to have it in charge from Heaven to destroy Këě, and the charge of Heaven was ascertained from the voice of the people, it is plain from this speech that it cost him some trouble to get the co-operation even of his own subjects. The will of Heaven is not always clearly intimated in providence. Even when it is so, it must be wrought out by those who perceive it amidst and against many conflicting interests and prejudices.

This speech was followed by the battle of Ming-t'eaou (Preface, p. 12), not far from the capital of Hea, and by the defeat and downfall of the tyrant.

THE BOOKS OF SHANG

BOOK II. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF CHUNG-HWUY.

仲虺之誥

一節 成湯放桀于南巢、惟有慙德、曰、予恐來世以台爲口實。○二節 仲虺乃作誥曰、嗚呼、惟天

1 I. When T'ang, the Successful, was keeping Këĕ in banishment in Nan-ch'aou, he had a feeling of shame on account of his conduct, and said, "I am afraid that in future ages men will fill their mouths with me."

Name of the Book.—仲虺之誥, 'The Announcement of Chung-hwuy.' Chung-hwuy was one of the principal ministers of T'ang, descended from a He-chung (奚仲), Master of the carriages (車正), under the Hea dynasty, and who at first occupied the territory of Sëĕ (薛), which was in the pres. dis. of T'ăng, (滕), dep. of Yen-chow, Shan-tung. He-chung removed to the pres. sub. department of P'ei (邳) in Këang-soo, but Chung-hwuy appears still in Sëĕ;—see the 左傳定元年 (near the beginning). The family traced their line up to Hwang-te; their surname was 任;—see the 歷代疆域表. Chaou K'e and many other scholars have made Chung-hwuy the same as Lae-choo (萊朱), a minister of T'ang, mentioned by Mencius, VII., Pt. II., xxxviii. 2; but it is only by inferential reasoning that the point can be made out. 誥=告, 'to tell,' 'to announce to.' 'Announcements' form one of the divisions of the Shoo, and this is the first of them. They are distinguished from the 誓, which are speeches made to an army, as being made in a general assembly for the information of all (誓, 用之于軍旅, 誥, 用之于會同, 以喻衆). From this account of them, we must understand that the 'Announcement of Chung-hwuy' was not addressed to T'ang only, but was spoken or published for the general information.

On a reference to the Preface, it will be seen that there were originally four other Books, which are now lost, between the 'Speech of T'ang' and this. The time that elapsed between the Speech and the Announcement, however, could not have been long; and, indeed, the one follows the other in the arrangement of the Books, which we derive from Ch'ing Heuen and other scholars, who were not acquainted with Gan-kwo's discoveries. According to the Preface, the Announcement was made at a place called Ta-keung, for which in the 'Historical Records' we find T'ae-keuen-t'aou (泰

生民有欲、無
主乃亂、惟天
生聰明時乂、
有夏昏德、民
墜塗炭、天乃
錫王勇智、表
正萬邦、纘禹
舊服、茲率厥
典、奉若天命。

2 II. On this Chung-hwuy made the following announcement:—"Oh! Heaven gives birth to the people with *such* desires, that without a ruler they must fall into all disorders; and Heaven *again* gives birth to the man of intelligence whose business it is to regulate them. The sovereign of Hea had his virtue all-obscured, and the people were *as if they were* fallen amid mire and charcoal. Heaven hereupon gifted *our* king with valour and wisdom, to serve as a mark and director to the myriad States, and to continue the old ways of Yu. You are now only following the standard course,

卷陶; the 陶 is probably spurious). Ts'een also says that in the interval T'ang, by the advice of E Yin, had proclaimed himself emperor. We are still, therefore, in the year B.C. 1765.

CONTENTS. T'ang is suffering from a feeling of remorse at having dethroned Këë, and is afraid that his fame will suffer from his act. Ch'ung-hwuy sets himself to vindicate the course of his chief, and shows first that he was called to the throne by the will of Heaven; next, that he was called to it by the wishes of the people; and finally, he urges on him various wise counsels. The whole naturally falls into 4 chapters:—the first, in one par., giving the occasion of the Announcement; the second, in two parr., showing that T'ang had only obeyed the guidance of Heaven; the third, in three parr., containing how men consented with Heaven in the matter; and the fourth, in three parr., containing Chung-hwuy's own counsels.

CH. I. P. 1. T'ANG'S DOUBT AS TO THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF HIS COURSE. 成湯,—Gan-kwŏ says:—武功成,故曰成湯, 'His military operations were brought to a successful issue, and therefore he was styled 成湯.' Gaubil and De Mailla don't translate 成 at all, but transfer it; Medhurst has 'the accomplished T'ang',—which is not good. 放桀于南巢,—Këë had fled to Nan-ch'aou, and T'ang simply took measures that he should remain there. We must not lay much emphasis on the 放. The southern Ch'aou is identified with the pres. dis. of the same name, dep. of Loo-chow in Gan-hwuy.

有慙德,—'He thought,' says the 'Daily Explanation,' 'how Yaou had resigned the throne to Shun, and Shun had resigned it to Yu, and Yu had wished to resign it to Yih, and now he had got it by attacking Këë and banishing him, and he was ashamed that his virtue was not equal to that of those ancients' (慙愧其德不如古). It is simpler to take the phrase as in the translation; we may understand 於 after 慙. Comp. Mencius II., Pt. II., ix., 1. 以台爲口實,—lit., 'take me to be a mouth-full.' T'ang's fear evidently was lest future ages should misunderstand his motives, and suppose him to have been actuated by a selfish ambition. The critics refine on the point, and suppose that his anxiety was lest ambitious men should justify their rebellious attempts from his example.

Ch. II. CHUNG-HWUY'S ANNOUNCEMENT. Pp. 2, 3. THAT T'ANG WAS CALLED BY HEAVEN TO DO AS HE HAD DONE. 有欲,—the 'desires' are the senses and the passions, the lusts of men's own hearts. 時乂,—時=是. Gan-kwŏ says:—是治民亂, 'his it is to rule the disorders of the people.' There is a force in the conciseness of the language, which tells us that not only is it the business of the Heaven-appointed to regulate disorders, but that he does do so. 塗炭,—comp. Mencius, II., Pt. I., ix., and V., Pt. II., i. There, sitting in mire and charcoal is used to give the idea of being defiled; and Ming-shing says that as here the phrase gives the idea of misery, it is not rightly employed. The compiler, he argues, borrowed it from Mencius, and misunderstood its meaning. This is very small criticism. To

三節 夏王有罪、矯誣上天、以布命于下、帝用不臧、式商受命、用爽厥師。○四節 簡賢附勢、實繁有徒、肇我邦于有夏、若苗之有莠、若粟之有秕、

3 honouring and obeying the appointment of Heaven. The king of Hea was an offender, falsely pretending to the sanction of supreme Heaven, to spread abroad his commands among the people. On this account God viewed him with disapprobation, caused *our* Shang to receive His appointment, and employed you to enlighten the multitudes of the people.

4 III. "Contemners of the worthy and parasites of the powerful,—many such followers he had indeed, *but* from the first our country was to the sovereign of Hea like weeds among the springing corn,

sit in dust and ashes very strongly conveys the idea of misery. 表正萬國,—表='to serve as a signal to,' *i.e.*, by example and all personal ways; 正='to correct,' *i.e.*, by laws and institutions. 纘禹舊服=繼禹舊所服行, 'to continue what Yu of old time practised and did.' 茲率厥典,奉若 (a verb, as in Can. of Yaou, p. 3) 天命,—Gaubil translates—'en suivant ses loix, c'est suivre celles de ciel,' making 厥 refer to Yu, and 厥典='his laws.' Medhurst does the same. They are both wrong. If we are to find an antecedent to 厥, it must be 天 and not 禹. Wang Ts'eaou says well:—上言天意如此,故此言王于此,惟循其常道以順天, 'Above it has been said that such is the mind of Heaven, and hence it is here said, that the king in this course is only pursuing its regular way to be obedient to Heaven. 3. 矯誣上天,—矯 and 誣 are often found together. They both denote, 'falsification,' but the latter has the idea of 'slandering' as well. 帝用不臧,—用, as in the 'Speech at Kan,' p. 3, *et al.*,='on this account;' 臧=善, here taken actively, 'to approve.' 帝, the personal name, the Judge and Ruler, very evidently, takes the place here of the vague phrase—'high Heaven.' 式=用, 'to use,' 'to employ.' The 'Daily Explanation' uses 使, 'to cause,' for it. 用爽厥師,—爽=明, 'to enlighten,' used probably with reference to the 有夏昏德 of last par.

Jŏ-keu calls attention to the manner in which this paragraph appears in Mih-tsze, who has quoted it in every one of his chapters, called 'Against prevailing views of the Decrees or Appointments of Heaven' (非命篇). First we have—於仲虺之告曰,我聞于夏人,矯天命布命于下,帝伐之惡,龔喪厥師. Next it is—我聞有夏人,矯天命布命于下,帝式是惡,用闕師. The third time we have—我聞有夏人,矯天命于下,帝式是增,用爽厥師. It seems absurd to argue from these passages against the genuineness of the present text.

CH. III. Pp. 4—6. THE ANNOUNCEMENT CONTINUED.—THAT T'ANG WAS CALLED BY MEN TO DO AS HE HAD DONE. P. 4. *It was necessary for T'ang to dethrone Këĕ in order to his own preservation.* 簡賢附勢,實繁有徒,—Medhurst translates:—'*The sovereign of Hea* contemned the wise and attached himself to the mighty, which substantially increased his followers.' Gaubil has the same view. But they are both wrong. The 'Daily Explanation'

小大戰戰、罔不懼于非辜、矧予之德、言足聽聞。○(五節)惟王不邇聲色、不殖貨利、德懋懋官、功懋懋賞、用人惟已、改過不吝、克寬克仁、彰信兆民。○(六節)乃葛伯仇餉、初征自葛、東征、西夷怨、南征、

and blasted grains among the good. *Our people*, great and small, were in constant apprehension, fearful though they were guilty of no crime. How much more was this the case, when our *prince's* virtues made them a theme *eagerly* listened to! *Our* king did
5 not approach to *dissolute* music and women; he did not seek to accumulate property and money. To great virtue he gave great offices; to great merit he gave great rewards. He employed others as *if their abilities were* his own; he was not slow to change his errors. Rightly indulgent and rightly benevolent, from the display *of such virtue* confidence was reposed in him by the millions of the people.
6 "When the chief of Kŏ showed his enmity to the provision-carriers, the work of punishment began with Kŏ. When it went on

paraphrases:—夏王既已不道,而其所任用者,又皆簡慢賢哲,阿附權勢之人,同惡相濟,徒衆實多. 肈我邦于有夏,云云,—I put a comma after 肈, and take it adverbially,—'from the first.' 我邦 is then in the nominative, the subject of the sentence; and 于有夏='in relation to—or simply to—'the ruler of Hea.' The 'Daily Explanation' makes 于有夏=于有夏之間, 'in the country of Hea.' But 有夏 is 'the holder,' and not the country, 'of Hea.' The whole meaning, moreover, comes out much better on the view I have taken. It sounds strange to have Shang likened to weeds and blasted grains; but it was only Këë who was thus affected by the presence of Shang. The point of comparison is the detestation such things awaken in the mind of the husbandman. 秕 is not 'chaff,' as Medhurst has it, but 穀之不成者, 'the grain that has not ripened.' It is to be distinguished from the 稗 which Mencius mentions, VI., Pt. I., xix. 矧予之德,言足聽聞.—Gan-kwŏ read this passage without a stop.—'How much more when our virtues and words became sufficient to attract attention!' Choo He approved of putting a comma at 德, and making 言足聽聞 a clause by itself. I have followed this view in the translation. 5. *A description of T'ang's virtues.* Medhurst puts all this paragraph in the imperative mood,—'Only let your Majesty not become too familiar with music and women,' &c., &c.;—this is wrong in grammatical construction, and not pertinent to the context. Gaubil translates in the indicative mood, which is correct, but in the present tense, which is wrong. Chung-hwuy is describing the virtues of T'ang, which had attracted universal regard to him, and made the people long that he would dethrone Këë. Wang K'ang-t'ang (王肯堂) says:—此言湯德足人聽聞之實,乃指爲諸侯時言之, 'This speaks of the virtues of T'ang when he was one of the princes of the empire.'

6. *A reference to T'ang's former exploits, to show how the people desired him.* See Mencius, I., Pt. I., xi. 2; III., Pt. II., iii., 2—5; and VII., Pt. II. iv. 3. Read also the notes on those

北狄怨、曰、奚獨後予、攸徂之民、室家相慶、曰、徯予后、后來其蘇、民之戴商、厥惟舊哉。○七節佑賢輔德、顯忠遂良、兼弱攻昧、取亂侮亡、推

in the east, the wild tribes of the west murmured; when it went on in the south, those of the north murmured:—they said, 'Why does he make us alone the last?' To whatever people he went, they congratulated one another in their chambers, saying, 'We have waited for our prince;—our prince is come, and we revive.' The people's honouring *our* Shang is a thing of long existence.

7 IV. "Show favour to the able and right-principled *among the princes*, and aid the virtuous; distinguish the loyal, and let the good have free course. Absorb the weak, and punish the wilfully blind; take their States from the disorderly, and deal summarily with those going to ruin. Thus overthrowing the perishing and strengthening what is being preserved, how will the States all flourish!

passages. The Tsin compiler, it is said, made up this passage from Mencius, and Mencius moreover, is quoting from one of the lost Books, the T'ang Ching or 'Punitive Expeditions of T'ang.' Mencius, however, does not particularize any Book, but only quotes generally from the Shoo. I can well believe that he does quote from the T'ang Ching, and also that Chung-hwuy does the same,—if, indeed, we need to suppose any quotation in Chung-hwuy's case. He adduces facts and speeches which were flying about through the mouths of the people at the time.

Ch. IV. The speech concluded.—Counsels to T'ang to help him to preserve the popularity and the throne which he had gained. Ch'in Leih (陳櫟) says:—'The shame of T'ang was the natural feeling of his mind, when he thought of the position which he occupied, as a minister who had effected a revolution and taken the place of his sovereign. Ch'ung-hwuy, in dissipating that feeling, was at first led to praise T'ang, but then he became anxious lest the feeling of shame should give place to one of exultation and pride, and concluded by admonishing him;—such is the way in which a great minister should lead on his sovereign in the right path' (see the 集說 on the first par). 7. 佑賢輔德,—有才德兼備,是謂賢者, 'those who are largely endowed both with talents and virtue are the *heen;* 有積善行仁,是謂有德者, 'those who have accumulated good deeds and shown benevolence are the *tih*.' 'Aid the virtuous,' *i.e.*, reward them, honour them, encourage them to virtue in every way. 遂良,—奉公守法,是謂良者, 'those who seek the common weal and keep the laws, are the *lëang;*' 遂 'to accord with,' 'to make to feel comfortable;' here it denotes every arrangement which could encourage the good in their course.

兼弱,—'the weak' are princes incapable of managing their affairs. They are to be put under a powerful neighbour, or have a 'resident' located with them (after our Indian fashion) from the court. 攻昧,—the 'Daily Explanation' says:—'Punish them, and strip them of a portion of their territory.' 侮亡,—see Mencius, I., Pt. II., iv. 6, 樂酒無厭謂之亡. The 亡 are those who are utterly lost to all virtue, and in the way to certain ruin. 侮 is 'to contemn.' Such princes are to be dealt with summarily and at once.

推亡,—the 亡 here has a slighter meaning than in the clause above, and embraces the 弱, 昧, 亂, and 亡; while the 推 applies to 兼, 攻, 取, and 侮. Similarly 固存 extends to the first four clauses.

亡固存、邦乃其昌。○八節德日新、萬邦惟懷、志自滿、九族乃離、王懋昭大德、建中于民、以義制事、以禮制心、垂裕後昆、予聞曰、能自得師者王、謂人莫已若者亡、好

8 "When *a sovereign's* virtue is daily being renewed, he is cherished throughout the myriad States; when he is full of his own will, he is abandoned by the nine classes of his kindred. Exert yourself, O king, to make your great virtue illustrious, and set up the *pattern of the* Mean before the people. Order your affairs by righteousness; order your heart by propriety:—so shall you transmit a grand example to posterity. I have heard the saying:—'He who finds instructors for himself, comes to the supreme dominion; he who says that others are not equal to himself, comes to ruin. He who likes to ask becomes enlarged; he who uses *only* himself becomes small.'

This par. is partially and imperfectly quoted in the 左傳 three times. The first is under the 12th year of duke 宣; the second, under the 14th year of 襄; and the third, under the 30th year also of Sëang. See the arguments that have been raised on the first quotation against the genuineness of this Book, in Mingshing's 後案, and the reply of Maou K'e-ling, in the 'Wrongs of the old Text of the Shoo,' Book. V, upon the 'Announcement of Chung-hwuy.' The quotations certainly prove that we are not to look for verbal accuracy in passages adduced from the classics in the 左傳, and I will add other ancient Books. 8. The above paragraph contained counsels of administration; in this the minister becomes more personal, and tells T'ang what he must do in the government of himself. 德日新……乃離,—these are general propositions, the personal application of which commences with the next clause—王懋昭大德. Ts'ae ingeniously suggests that the inscription about daily renovation on T'ang's bathing-tub, 'Great Learning,' C., ii. 1, may have been in consequence of Chung-hwuy's remark here—德日新. 建中于民,—comp. 允執厥中, in the Counsels of Yu, p. 15. 以義制事.以禮制心,—'righteousness' is what the judgment of the mind determines to be 'right' in reference to what is beyond ourselves; 'propriety' is the regulation of our own feelings and behaviour, in accordance with all the Heaven-established relations of society. 垂裕後昆,—in the Counsels of Yu, p. 18, we had 昆 in the sense of 'afterwards.' Here, joined with 後, the phrase 後昆 = 'future futurity,' 'future ages.' The 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases the clause:—且非特可建中于民也.即垂諸後世,凡子孫之欲制事制心者,其家法自足相承而有餘裕矣. 予聞,云云,—all this is intended to inculcate humility on T'ang. 王,—low. 3d tone, 'to exercise, or come to exercise, the imperial authority;'—it often occurs in Mencius. 莫已若者,=莫若已者,—an instance of the negative adverb attracting the pronoun to itself.

In Seun-tsze, 堯問篇, we find 其在仲蘬 (must be for 虺) 之言也,曰,諸侯自爲得師者王,得友者霸,得疑者存,自爲謀而莫己若者亡. And in Leu Puh-wei, Lew Hëang, and other later writers, we have

問則裕、自用則小。○九節嗚呼、愼厥終、惟其始、殖有禮、覆昏暴、欽崇天道、永保天命。

9 "Oh! he who would take care for his end must be attentive to his beginning. There is establishment for the observers of propriety, and overthrow for the blinded and wantonly indifferent. To revere and honour the way of Heaven is the way ever to preserve the favouring regard of Heaven."

Chung-hwuy's words, much to the same effect. Of course the impugners of the 'Old Text,' seize on the discrepancy between this and what we read in the Shoo to discredit it. Maou K'e-ling contends that 得友者霸, &c., are Seun-tsze's own addition; and we may suppose have been quoted from him by subsequent writers. But in the text Chung is quoting from a saying common in his time. We need not suppose that he quotes the whole of it, but only so much as suited his purpose. It was easy to enlarge his couplet, and the whole might be ascribed to him. 9. Chung-hwuy concludes with words of warning. T'ang must at once attend to his counsels, and never intermit in the observance of them. 殖有禮, 覆昏暴,—we may take 昏 as = the 自棄者, and 暴 as = the 自暴者, of Mencius, IV., Pt. I., x. The 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases the two clauses thus:—福善禍淫, 上天不易之道, 有禮者, 天必篤厚而培植之, 昏暴者, 天必厭棄而傾覆之. In par. 5 it is said—王不殖貨利, with ref. to which the dict. defines the term by 興生財利; with ref. to its use in this par., it defines it, after Gan-kwŏ, by 封殖, 'to promote.'

THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK III. THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF T'ANG.

湯誥

王(一節)歸自克夏、至于亳、誕告萬方。○王(二節)曰、嗟、爾萬方有衆、明聽予

1 I. The king returned from vanquishing Hea, and came to Pŏ.
There he made a grand announcement to the myriad regions.
2 II. The king said, "Ah! ye multitudes of the myriad regions,
listen clearly to the announcement of me, the one man. The great

THE NAME OF THE BOOK.—湯 誥, 'The Announcement of T'ang.' The characters have been already sufficiently explained. There is no difficulty in the use of 誥 here. The Announcement was addressed to the whole empire and delivered, no doubt, in the first place in an assembly of the princes and nobles. The Book is one of those whose genuineness in its present form is controverted.

CONTENTS. The notice in the Preface says that T'ang 'had put an end to the sovereignty of Hea, when he made this Announcement.' We may consider it a coronation speech on the inauguration of the new dynasty. The emperor first shows how he had assumed the dignity in reverent submission to the will of Heaven, and goes on to show the sense he had of the duties devolving on him, and the spirit in which he would discharge them, calling at the same time on the princes and people to co-operate with him. I have divided the whole into three chapters:—the first, in one par., stating the occasion of the Announcement; the second, in 4 parr., referring to the downfall of Hea, and his own elevation to the will of Heaven; and the third, also in 4 parr., announcing the sort of sovereign he meant to be, and asking for sympathy and co-operation.

CH. I. P. 1. THE TIME AND PLACE OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT. We are led to conceive that T'ang was encouraged by the address of Chung-hwuy, and continuing his march from Ta-keung, he arrived at Pŏ his capital. We are still to think here of 'the southern Pŏ,';—see on the Name of Book I.

CH. II. Pp. 2—5. THE ANNOUNCEMENT.—THAT THE OVERTHROW OF HEA AND HIS OWN ELEVATION WERE BOTH THE WORK OF HEAVEN. 1. HOW THE GREAT GOD HAS MORALLY ENDOWED MEN, AND WHAT IS THE DUTY OF THE SOVEREIGN. 嗟,—as at the commencement of the speech at Kan. 爾萬方有衆, 明聽予一人誥,—On 予一人, see on the 'Speech of T'ang,' p. 1. T'ang summons all the people in all the empire *to hear* his announcement. They might be considered as all present with him by their representatives; and I suppose measures were taken to have his declaration of views made generally known. 惟皇上帝降衷於下民,—we have had the phrase 皇天, 'great Heaven,' in the 'Counsels of Yu,' p. 4, and it often occurs throughout the Shoo; here, and only

一人誥、惟皇上帝、降衷于下民、若有恆性、克綏厥猷

God has conferred *even* on the inferior people a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature invariably right. *But* to cause them tranquilly to pursue the course which it would indicate, is the work of the sovereign.

here, I think, we have 皇上帝, though once, Part V., Bk. XII., p. 9, we find 皇天上帝. Medhurst translates here—'the great Supreme'; and Gaubil—'L'auguste Chang-ti,' giving the meaning of the characters Chang and Ti in a note as 'Souverain Maître.' The predicate here, and the interchange of the name with 'Heaven,' sufficiently tell us who 'the august sovereign Master,' the 'great supreme Ruler' is. I always translate 上帝 and also 帝, when used with the same application, by 'God,' believing the radical idea in our word to be the same as that in the Chinese,—the idea of supreme rule. Medhurst translates 衷 by 'the due medium,' after Ts'ae, who himself follows his master Choo He. He's language is that '衷 just is 中' (衷只是中). But what is conferred by God is not the due medium as something without man, but the mind that can appreciate such a standard and rule of duty;—see the remarks on the title of The 'Doctrine of the Mean.' vol I., pp. 246, 247. Gaubil translates the term by 'la raison.' 'A moral sense' appears to come nearer to the signification than any other term in English I can think of. Gan-kwŏ defined it simply by 善, 'good,' which Choo He rightly says gives no appropriate meaning. The word occurs not unfrequently in the 國語 in this sense of 'good'=happiness; and twice we have the phrase 降衷, but only ='sending down happiness;'—see the 晉語, 二, and the 吳語. 若有恆性,—'according with—obeying—*this*, they have a constant nature.' By the 'constant nature' we are to understand what Mencius calls 'the constant heart;'—see his Works, I., Pt. I., vii., 20, and III., Pt. I., iii. 8. The meaning is as given in the translation. Mencius also enables us to understand why T'ang should specify 'the inferior people,' for he says that 'they are only men of education who, without a certain livelihood, are able to maintain a fixed heart.' T'ang has in his mind's eye the millions of the people, all in contradistinction from 'the one man,' and he says that every one of them has a God-given nature, which, if he obeyed it, would lead him in the path of virtue. 克綏厥猷惟后,—猷 = 道, 'the path' or 'course'; 厥猷, 'its course,' is that which the nature points to. Chin Tih-sew says, 'When we intend the nature in itself, we speak of 性; when we intend it in action, we speak of 道' (以體言曰性,以用言曰道). 綏 = 安, to give tranquillity—security—to.' This is the business of the sovereign.

In explaining this paragraph Gan-kwŏ is more than ordinarily unhappy. His view of 衷 has been adverted to. At 人 he makes a full stop, and then 若有恆性,克綏厥猷 is all the predicate of 惟后,—describes what is the business of the sovereign,—to accord, namely, with the constant nature which men have, when he can tranquilly set up the lessons for their course' (順人有常之性,能安立其道教,則惟爲君之道).

[The editors of Yung-ching's Shoo pause here to enlarge on the wisdom of T'ang, and his services in completing the doctrine of human nature. Yaou had simply told Shun to hold fast the Mean (Con. Ana. XX. i. 1), and Shun, in transferring the lesson to Yu, had said, 'The mind of man is restless, prone to err; its affinity for the *right* way is small. Be discriminating, be undivided, that you may sincerely hold fast the Mean.' The whole doctrine about the endowments of the nature, and those endowments as from Heaven, was contained, it is said, in those sentences, but darkly and enigmatically. It was for T'ang to declare the doctrine clearly, showing a profound thoughtfulness, and an intelligence peculiar to himself, beyond what was to be gained from Yaou and Shun.

I think that T'ang is deserving of this eulogium; the student should not pass lightly from this paragraph to the next. We cannot but admire the distinct recognition of the great God, the Father of man's spirit, the Former of all men for a life of virtue. There is then recognized the proneness of men to go astray, and the sovereign is called on, by the position in which God has placed him, to correct their errors, and keep them right. The whole doctrine of human nature is not here, but there is much of important truth, from which we must start in guiding the Chinese to a knowledge of that doctrine. A hard task is assigned to the sove-

惟后。○夏王滅德作威、以敷虐于爾萬方百姓、爾萬方百姓、罹其凶害、弗忍荼毒、並告無辜于上下神祇、天道福善禍淫、降災于夏、

3 "The king of Hea extinguished his virtue and played the tyrant, extending his oppression over you, the people of the myriad regions. Suffering from his cruel injuries, and unable to endure the wormwood and poison, you protested with one accord your innocence to the spirits of heaven and earth. The way of Heaven is to bless the good and to punish the bad. It sent down calamities on *the House of* Hea, to make manifest its crimes.

reign, and no account is taken of the fact that he is as prone to go astray himself as any of the inferior people; but it was not an ordinary mind which could thus conceive of what a sovereign should propose to himself. The lessons of T'ang here are the same which Mencius expounds at length, and vindicates in the first Part of his sixth Book. They have the same excellences and the same deficiencies.]

P. 3. *How the last ruler of Hea had failed to fulfil his duty, and brought on himself the wrath of Heaven.* 滅德,—comp. 敗德, 'Counsels of Yu,' p. 20, and 顛覆厥德. 'Pun. Expedition of Yin,' p. 4; but the phrase in the text is stronger then either of those passages. Këë had cast from him that 'benevolence,' which is the greatest of the virtues, and acc. to Mencius, the grand characteristic of humanity. 萬方百姓,—see on the 'Can. of Yaou,' p. 2, where a distinction is made between 萬方 and 百姓, the former having a more extensive signification than the latter. In the text the phrases are co-extensive. 百姓 must = our 'the people.' We are not to lay stress on the 'hundred' It is used indefinitely. When a people are surnamed, considerable progress has been made in civilization. 弗忍荼毒,—荼 is the name of a bitter herb; 毒 is used for 'poison.' An old form of 毒 shows it formed from 虫 instead of 毋, so that its original meaning was probably 'venom.' The two terms together denote 'smarting pain,' 'suffering.' 告無辜于上下神祇,—上下—天地. Comp. 'Can. of Yaou,' p. 1, and 'Counsels of Kaou-yaou,' p. 7. 上下神祇—天神地祇;—see the note on 'Can. of Shun,' p. 23. 神 and 祇 may be considered in themselves synonyms. The dict. defines 祇 by 地神; but in usage they denote the spirits of heaven and of earth respectively. In the text, the people appear before us crying out in distress to all superior powers. T'ang himself immediately represents 'Heaven' as responding to their cry. They called on they knew not whom or what Ts'ae refers in illustration to a passage in the 'History of Keuh Yuen' (屈原傳; the 集傳 simply says 屈原曰, which is a mistake. See the 84th Bk. of the 'Historical Records'), which is worth giving at greater length than he does;—天者人之始也,父母者人之本也,人窮則反本,故勞苦倦極,未嘗不呼天也,疾痛慘怛,未嘗不呼父母也, 'From Heaven man derives his beginning; from his parents he grows as his root. When a man is brought to extremity, he turns back to his root, and thus it is that when men are toiled, embittered, and worn out, we hear them always calling upon Heaven, and when they are sick, pained, afflicted, and grieved, we hear them always calling on their parents.' 淫, as opposed here to 善, has the general sense of 'bad,' 'evil;'—see 'Counsels of Yu,' p. 6. 降災,—these 'calamities' are to be understood of the convulsions of nature and various strange phenomena which preceded the fall of Kee.

以彰厥罪。○肆四節台小子、將天命明威、不敢赦、敢用玄牡、敢昭告于上天神后、請罪有夏、聿求元聖、與之戮力、以與爾有衆請命。○上五節

4 "Therefore, I, the little child, charged with the decree of Heaven and its bright terrors, did not dare to forgive *the criminal.* I presumed to use a dark coloured victim, and making clear announcement to the spiritual Sovereign of the high heavens, requested leave to deal with the ruler of Hea as a criminal. Then I sought for the great sage, with whom I might unite my strength, to request

P. 4. *How T'ang felt himself called on, and prepared himself, to punish the crimes of Këë.* 肆=故, 'therefore.' 將=奉 or 承, 'to bear,' 'to have received.' 奉 and 將 are used together in the 'Punitive Expedition of Yin,' p. 5. 天命明威,—the 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases this by 天命之顯然可畏者, 'the conspicuous terrors of the charge of Heaven.' 玄牡,—under the Hea dynasty they preferred in their victims of sacrifice a dark colour. Under the Shang, it was the reverse; their victims were white. At this time T'ang continued to follow the practice of Hea. K'ang-shing assigns another reason, not so good, for the use of the dark victim;—see the 後案, *in loc.* 上天神后,—Ts'ae by 神后 understands 后土, 'Sovereign Earth.' Lin Che-ke does the same. He says:—神后者后土, 皇地祇也, '"The spiritual Sovereign" is the Sovereign Earth, the great spirit of the earth.' In this way the text is equivalent to the 上下神祇 of the last par. I translate upon a different view, having reference to the form in which this passage appears in the Confucian Analects, XX. i. 3, where for 上天神后 we have 皇皇后帝. In Mih-tsze, moreover, who also quotes T'ang's language, we have only 上天后. 聿求元聖,—聿=遂, 'then;' 元聖, 'the great sage,' is to be referred to T'ang's principal adviser and minister, E Yin;—see on the next Book. 戮力=同力. 戮 is here used in the sense of 勠. The two characters are found interchanged. 以與爾有衆請命,—this is paraphrased in the 'Daily Explanation:'—以與爾萬方百姓, 請更生之命于天.

A good portion of this paragraph is found in the Con. Ana., as already referred to, but with some considerable variations; and with the addition of p. 8, also with variations. The same portion with the same and other additions is found in the works of Mih-tsze;—see the Prolegomena to Mencius, pp. 116, 117. The rest of the par. is also found with a variation in another part of Mih-tsze. In the second of his chapters 'On Honouring men of Talents and Virtue' (尙賢中), we find 湯誓曰, 聿求元聖, 與之戮力, 同心以治天下. These words, moreover, are given as from 'The Speech of T'ang,' and not from the 'Announcement,' while the rest of the paragraph is quoted by him as 'Words of T'ang,' (湯說), without reference either to 'Speech' or 'Announcement.' To add to the perplexity of the subject, Ho An, quoting K'ung Gan-kwŏ's comment on the passage in the Analects, makes him say that Mih-tsze quotes the 'Speech of T'ang' in the same way as it appears in the text there.

I do not see my way clear to an explanation of all these difficulties. The passages of the Shoo quoted in the 20th Bk. of the Analects are brought together in a very loose and irregular manner. As to the comment given by Ho An there from Gan-kwŏ, which speaks of Mih's quoting from the 'Speech of T'ang,' Mih does not say that the passages in the text of the Analects are from that 'Speech,' but only 'Words of T'ang.' Moreover, the additions in Mih would make us refer the language of T'ang not to the time of the 'Speech,' nor to the

天孚佑下民、罪人黜伏、天命弗僭、賁若草木、兆民允殖。○六節俾予一人、輯寧爾邦家、茲朕未知獲戾于上下、慄慄危懼、若將隕于深淵。

5 the favour *of Heaven* on behalf of you, my multitudes. High Heaven truly showed its favour to the inferior people, and the criminal has been degraded and subjected. Heaven's appointment is without error;—brilliantly *now* like the blossoming of flowers and trees, the millions of the people show a true reviving.

6 III. "It is given to me, the one man, to give harmony and tranquillity to your States and Families; and now I know not whether I may not offend *the powers* above and below. I am fearful and trembling, as if I should fall into a deep abyss.

time of the 'Announcement' but to a time subsequent to both, towards the close of the seven years of drought which followed his assumption of the empire. If all the discrepancies tell against the genuineness of the 'Announcement,' they tell as much against the 'Speech,' as it is found both in Fuh-shang's text, and in that attributed to Gan-kwŏ. Keang Shing, aware of this, edits the 'Speech of T'ang' with the addition of the par. from the Analects, and of the sentence 聿求元聖,云云, from Mih-tsze. But if he take one part from Mih, why should he not take the whole? We need not wonder that we should meet with such difficulties. Our course seems to be to state them, and where no satisfactory solution of them presents itself, to leave them, without reasoning from them against the modern text or the ancient.

P. 5. *The righteousness of T'ang's dethronement of Këë proved by the issue, and consequent prosperity.* 孚=信, 'truly.' So 允 in the last clause. Hwang Too (黃度) puts the first clause very plainly:—天佑下民,信矣. 罪人, 'the criminal;' this of course is Këë. 天命弗僭,—僭=差, 'in error.' 'The appointment of Heaven' is the withdrawal of its favour from Hea, and the conferring of it on Shang,—the calling T'ang to the throne in the room of Këë. 賁若草木,兆民允殖,—this is a passage which has wonderfully exercised the ingenuity of the interpreters. 賁 (read *pe*)=飾, 'to adorn,' 'to be ornamented.' What is it that the adorning is here predicated of? The two K'ungs, Gan-kwŏ and Ying-tă, say—'the empire.' The language of the former is:—'The evil-doer being cut off from the empire, all is brilliantly adorned, and beautiful as flowers and trees, while the people truly enjoy their life.' Choo He takes the clauses as epexegetical of the preceding 天命弗僭, and the whole ='What Heaven appoints is entirely right;—the world of things and the world of men are made beautiful and happy by it.' The editors of Yung-ching's Shoo give a great variety of views, several preferable, they say, to that of Gan-kwŏ, but none so good as that of Choo He. I prefer to abide by the oldest view.

Ch. III. Pp. 6—9. T'ANG'S FEELINGS AND PURPOSES IN THE POSSESSION OF THE THRONE, AND WISH FOR THE CO-OPERATION OF HIS PRINCES AND PEOPLE. 6. 俾予一人,—this clause and the next would seem to flow on from something preceding, and in some editions it is given as belonging to p. 5, in which case 上天 would be the nominative to 俾. Whether we do so join it, or take the 俾 as I have done in the translation, the 'gift' must be understood as from Heaven. 茲朕未知獲戾于上下,—茲, 'now,' might very well be taken as beginning a new par. 戾=罪. 上下,—as in par. 3. Gan-kwŏ makes the whole to be a humble expression of doubt in T'ang's mind whether he had really been right in dethroning Këë,—'I do not know whether I may not have offended,' &c. But we must suppose T'ang to have now done with Këë. The prec. chapter shows him sufficiently assured on the subject of his dealings with him. Mih-tsze, in the passage referred to on p. 4, has

七節 凡我造邦、無從匪彝、無卽慆淫、各守爾典、以承天休。○八節 爾有善、朕弗敢蔽、罪當朕躬、弗敢自赦、惟簡在上帝之心、其爾萬方有罪、在予一人、予一人有罪、無以

7 "Throughout all the States that enter on a new life under me, do not, *ye princes*, follow lawless ways; make no approach to insolent dissoluteness: let every one observe to keep his statutes:—that so
8 we may receive the favour of Heaven. The good in you, I will not dare to conceal; and for the evil in me, I will not dare to forgive myself;—I will examine these things in harmony with the mind of God. When guilt is found anywhere in you who occupy the myriad regions, it must rest on me. When guilt is found in me, the one man, it will not attach to you who occupy the myriad regions.

未知得罪于上下. 7. We are to understand that here T'ang addresses the princes of the different States. This is clear enough from 凡我造邦……各守爾典. 造邦,—the 'Daily Explanation' says that this phrase = 新造之邦, 'newly established kingdoms,' adding:—侯邦惟舊,商命惟新,悉與更始,故曰造邦, 'The princes and their States were old, but the rule of Shang was new, and they were all with it making a new beginning,—hence the phrase 造邦.' 卽 = 就 'to approach to.' In the 國語,周語,二, we have the following passage:—先王之令有之曰,天道賞善而罰淫,故凡我造國,無從非彝,無卽慆淫,各守爾典,以承天休. 8. This par. is closely connected with p. 2. There T'ang gives his very high estimate of the duties of the sovereign; here he says how he would try to come up to it. There he lays it down that the sovereign has to lead the people in the right path, and hence he says here that for all that is wrong among them he must be accountable. 'I will not dare to conceal it,'—the meaning is that virtue and talents will not go with him unrewarded. 惟簡在上帝之心,—Medhurst translates this:—'I shall only submit to the inspection of the supreme mind.' In his 'Dissertation on the Theology of the Chinese,' however, he renders—'The inspection of these things rests with the mind of the Supreme Ruler.' Gaubil construes in the same way:—'Tout est marqué distinctement dans la cœur du Chang-ti.' In the Analects I have translated:—'The examination of them is by Thy mind, O God,' which is not sufficiently definite. But the meaning is not exactly as thus represented; the present translation is more accurate. 惟簡 connects the clause closely with what has preceded, so that we must understand the 簡, or 'examination,' as predicated of T'ang himself, and 在上帝之心 as laying down the rule by which he will be guided in it. Choo He says well:—'Heaven knows all our good and all our crimes. It is as if Heaven noted them down and numbered them up. Your good deeds are all before God, and my evil deeds will also be all before Him.' T'ang declares that he will judge himself and others righteously,—in harmony with the judgment of God. 無以爾萬方 = 于爾萬方何與焉. On the manner in which this par. appears in quotations, see on par. 4.

爾萬方。○嗚呼、(九節)尚克時忱、乃亦有終。

9 "Oh! let us attain to be sincere in these things, and so we shall likewise have a happy consummation."

P. 9. 尚克時忱,—時=是, referring to what has been said in the three prec. paragraphs on the obligations of the sovereign and the princes; 忱=信 or 誠, 'sincere.' 乃亦有終,—有終, 'have an end,' *i.e.*, our dynasty will have a long and happy course.

[In the 'Historical Records,' Sze-ma Ts'een, after giving the 16th paragraph of the Preface, gives a fragment which we should suppose, from his usual practice, was a part of the 'Announcement of T'ang.' Keang Shing, indeed, edits it as being the only portion of the real Announcement that remains. Though not concurring in that view, I have thought it well to append the fragment here:—維三月,王自至於東郊,告諸侯羣后,毋不有功於民,勤力乃事,予乃大罰殛汝,毋予怨,曰,古禹臯陶久勞于外,其有功乎民.民乃有安,東爲江,北爲濟,西爲河,南爲淮,四瀆已修,萬民乃有居,后稷降播農殖百穀,三公咸有功于民,故后有立(?土),昔蚩尤與其大夫作亂百姓,帝乃弗予有狀,先王言不可不勉,曰,不道毋之在國女毋我怨. This may be translated:—'In the third month, the king came himself to the eastern suburb, and announced to all the princes and the nobles,—'see that you all achieve merit, and vigorously discharge your duties. *If you do not*, I will severely punish you, and put you to death; do not murmur against me.' He said, 'Anciently, Yu and Kaou-yaou laboured long without, and performed meritorious service for the people, who were enabled to dwell in tranquillity. On the east there was the Këang; on the north the Tse; on the west, the Ho; on the south,' the Hwae. These four great streams were brought to order, and the people were able to dwell. *Then* my lord Tseih instructed them how to cultivate the various kinds of grain. These three Kung all achieved merit on behalf of the people and were enfeoffed. Formerly Ch'e-yew and his officers stirred up rebellion among the people, and *Hwang-te* disallowed him, and held him as guilty. The words of the former kings should act as goads to us.' He said, 'Have no unprincipled ways in your kingdoms. *If you have, and I punish you*, do not murmur against me.'

Sze-ma Ts'een adds—'Thus he gave charge to the princes.' It would be a waste of space to make any remarks on such a farrago.]

CONCLUDING NOTE. We here take leave of T'ang, the one, perhaps, of all the ancient princes of China who gets the strongest hold of our sympathies and esteem. Dr. Gutzlaff has said well:—'From his frequent invocations of Shang-te, we might be led to believe that he was a pious prince, who knew something of the true God.' (China Opened, Vol. I., p. 306). His mild but able government of his paternal State drew to him the attention of all the people suffering from the tyranny of Këë. The universal voice called him to do the work of the avenger, and to assume the sovereignty of the empire. He dethroned the oppressor, but not without some misgivings, the natural workings of compassion in a high-toned generous mind. His conception of the imperial duties was high, and he bent himself with hearty earnestness to discharge them. Here the Shoo stops, and none of the lost Books contained anything of his history after his assumption of the throne.

According to the 'Standard Annals,' his reign terminated B.C. 1753, so that his sway over the empire lasted only 13 years. The first 7 of them were a season of trial and calamity. No rain fell. Famine was the consequence of the drought. The sufferings of the people were intense. The issues of the mint were freely distributed among them, but money was of little use when grain was scanty. It was suggested at last, we are told, that some human being should be offered in sacrifice to Heaven, and prayer for rain presented at the same time. 'It is for the people,' said T'ang, 'that rain needs to be sought. If a man must be the victim for such an object, I will be he.' He then fasted, cut off his hair and his nails, and in a plain carriage drawn by white horses, clad in white rushes, in the guise of a sacrificial victim, he proceeded to a grove of mulberry trees, and there prayed, asking whether the calamity was owing to any failure in his government, or misemployment of officers, or extravagance in palaces, or excessive devotion to beauty, or the practice of bribery, or allowance of calumniators. He had not done speaking when a copious rain fell over several thousand *le*.

This account is doubtless much embellished, but through the cloud of exaggeration we can see the generous sovereign sympathizing with the general distress, fasting, and praying for the removal of the calamity.

According to the current chronology, T'ang was succeeded by his grandson, T'ae-këă;—see on the next Book par. 1.

THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK IV. THE INSTRUCTIONS OF E.

伊訓

一節 惟元祀、十有二月乙丑、伊尹祠于先王、奉嗣王祗見厥祖、侯甸群后咸在、百官總己以聽冢宰、伊尹乃明言烈祖之成德、以訓

1 I. In the 12th month of the first year, on *the day* Yuĕ-ch'ow, E Yin sacrificed to the former king, and presented the heir to the throne reverently before his ancestor. All the princes from the domain of the nobles, and the imperial domain, were present; the various officers *also* were in attendance with their several duties to receive orders from the prime minister. E Yin then clearly described the accomplished virtue of the meritorious ancestor for the instruction of the *new* king.

NAME OF THE BOOK.—伊訓, 'The Instructions of E.' E was the chief minister of T'ang, and was to him almost what Shun had been to Yaou, and Yu to Shun, and Yih to Yu. Mencius gives him his place among sage ministers and counsellors as 'the one most inclined to take office' (V., Pt. II., i). And this was from no facility of temper, or desire for the gains of office. He reasoned:—'Heaven's plan with mankind is that they who are first informed should instruct those who are later in being informed, and they who first apprehend principles should instruct those who are slower in doing so.' 'He thought,' says Mencius, 'that if there were any of the common men and women who did not enjoy such benefits as Yaou and Shun conferred, it was as if he himself pushed them into a ditch.'

Having this character of being so fond of employment, the romancers of the Chow dynasty embellished his history accordingly. He was a native of Sin (莘), the present Shen Chow of Ho-nan, and in Mencius' time the story went that when T'ang was marrying a daughter of the House of Sin, E Yin managed to go to Shang in her train, and got himself taken notice of by T'ang through his skill in cookery. Mencius denies the account, and says that E was a farmer on the lands of Sin, delighting in the principles of Yaou and Shun, and ready to spurn an offer of the empire, if it were made to induce him to do anything contrary to those

principles. T'ang heard of his wisdom and ability, and sent messengers with costly presents, inviting him to his court. Twice their visit to him was fruitless, but when they came a third time, being satisfied of T'ang's sincerity, he said, 'Had I not better make this prince a prince like Yaou or Shun, and this people like the people of Yaou or Shun;'—see Men. V., Pt. I., vii. T'ang received him with great deference, and reposed in him entire trust. He sent him to the court of Këĕ, hoping that his counsels might move the emperor to change his evil course. It was in vain. Five times E went backwards and forwards between Këĕ and T'ang, till, convinced that the former was incorrigible, he moved T'ang to raise the flag of rebellion, and take the empire for himself. After T'ang's death he continued the watchful guardian of his throne. Of the way in which he dealt with T'ae-këă we shall have to speak in treating of the next Book. The surname of 伊 was derived from the river E, near which he and his parents lived. Leu Puh-wei tells a story of a princess of Sin finding an infant, when she was picking mulberries, in a hollow mulberry tree. This was E. Her father gave him to his cook to bring him up, and on inquiry it was found that his mother had lived on the banks of the E. One night she dreamt, during her pregnancy, that a spirit told her that the sun would discharge a flood of water, and that she must run off to the east. When she rose in the morning, she looked to the sun, and lo! it was as in her dream. Giving the alarm to her neighbours, she fled, and after running ten *le*, she paused to look back, when she saw the town overflowed with water, and was herself changed to a hollow mulberry tree,—the same in which the infant was found! E's name is generally understood to have been Che (摯). Sze-ma Ts'een says it was O-hăng (阿衡);—see next Book, p. 1. Yin (尹) was his 字 or designation. 訓, 'instructions;' this we saw, on the name of Pt. III., Bk. III., was the name of one of the divisions of the Shoo. The 'instructions,' acc. to Lin Che-k'e are of three kinds:—lessons of antiquity transmitted for the guidance of future ages; lessons of ancestors intended specially for the guidance of their posterity; and lessons of faithful ministers like E Yin, addressed to their sovereigns.

According to the Preface, p. 18, in the year that T'ang died, E Yin made three Books, of which these 'Instructions' were one. Of the other two only the names remain; and the genuineness of this is disputed.

CONTENTS. T'ae-këă comes to the throne of his grandfather, young and of unstable character. T'ang's counsellor and friend uses the privilege of his years and station to advise the young monarch,—warns him by the fate of Këĕ, and stimulates him with the example of T'ang. I have divided the Book into four chapters: the first, in one par., giving the occasion when E Yin delivered his 'lesson;' the second, parr. 2—4, showing how the throne had come down from the great Yu, and was now possessed by T'ae-këă, the scion of another line; the third, parr. 5—7, celebrating the example of T'ang; and the fourth, par. 7., warning T'ae-këă of the fate he would incur if he neglected the advice given to him.

CH. I. P. 1. THE OCCASION OF E'S INSTRUCTIONS. 惟元祀十有二月乙丑,—Hea had used 歲 for 'year;' in the Shang dynasty they preferred the char. 祀. 元祀 must mean the first year of T'ae-këă. The Hea dynasty had begun the year with the month 寅, the first of spring. The Shang removed the commencement of the year a month back, beginning it with 丑. In this way the 12th month of the text is understood to be the 12th month of the Hea year, and the first month of the Shang, so that these instructions of E were delivered in the first month of the year after the death of T'ang. This is the view of Ts'ae and the scholars generally of the Sung dynasty; and Ts'ae goes largely into the proof of what seems a strange thing,—that while the Shang and Chow dynasties differed from Hea as to the commencement of the year, they yet often numbered the months as Hea had done. Maou K'e-ling denies the argument of Ts'ae, and maintains that the 12th month of the text is the 12th month of the Shang year,—the 12th month also of the year in which T'ang died. At the same time, 元祀 is with him the first year of T'ae-këă. According to him, under the Chow dynasty, the new sovereign succeeded of course to the throne immediately on the death of his predecessor, but his first year was reckoned only from the first month of the year which followed. The practice of the Shang sovereigns was different. A month after the death of an emperor, the style of the year was changed, and what remained of it was reckoned to the first year of his successor. This was the view of Gan-kwŏ and Ying-tă. According to it T'ang must have died in the 11th month of the year, and the Instructions of E were delivered in the month after.—I will not undertake at present to decide between these views;—see on the next Book, Pt. ii., 1. What day of the month 乙丑 was we cannot tell. Had it been the first, we should have read 朔, instead of these two characters.

伊尹祠于先王,奉嗣王祇見厥祖,—祠=祭, 'to sacrifice.' The term is used specially for the sacrifices offered in spring in the ancestral temple, but we cannot think of any such ceremony in the text. The 'heir-king' of course is T'ae-këĕ, and 先王 and 厥祖, are in the singular,—'the former king,' and 'his ancestor,' referring to T'ang.

[This seems to be the place to notice the historical difficulty which there is respecting the succession to T'ang. The Shoo gives no hint of any individual's having interposed between him and T'ae-këă. Indeed the language of the Preface,—'After the death of T'ang, in the first year of T'ae-këă, E Yin made the Instructions of E.' &c., seems to forbid the supposition that T'ae-këă did not immediately follow his grandfather on the throne. The current chronology

于王。○曰、嗚呼、古有夏先后、方懋厥德、罔有天災、山

2 II. He said, "Oh! of old, the earlier sovereigns of Hea cultivated earnestly their virtue, and then there were no calamities from Heaven. The spirits of the hills and rivers likewise were all in tranquillity;

has been arranged accordingly. T'ang's death is entered B.C. 1753, and the reign of T'ae-këă commences the following year, B.C. 1752.

When we refer to the 'Historical Records,' however, it is said after the mention of the death of T'ang:—'His eldest son, T'ae-ting, died before he could come to the throne, and a younger son, Wae-ping, succeeded. He was the emperor Wae-ping (是爲帝外丙). Wae-ping died after reigning three years, and was succeeded by a younger brother,—a third son of T'ang's,—called Chung-jin. He was the emperor Chung-jin (是爲帝中壬). Chung-jin reigned four years, and on his death E Yin raised to the throne T'ae-këă, son of T'ae-ting, and the eldest grandson of T'ang. He was the emperor T'ae-këă, (是爲帝太甲). Whatever other authority Ts'een may have had for this account, there can be no doubt he took it chiefly from Mencius, V., Pt. I., vi. 5; and the interpretation which he gives of Mencius' words is the most natural, though the passage is not unsusceptible of another interpretation;—see the Works of Mencius, pp. 236, 237. Those who follow the natural reading of Mencius in preference to the natural reading of the Preface to the Shoo, hold, of course, that the mourning of T'ae-këă, which the text supposes, was for Chung-jin and not for T'ang. There is a difficulty;—that must be admitted. For myself, I should follow the Preface, and the standard chronology, holding that T'ae-këă immediately followed T'ang upon the throne.]

What sacrifice E Yin performed to T'ang can hardly be determined. In the Books of the 'Former Han' (律歷志,下), we find the first part of the paragraph, with the addition of 朔 after 丑, and the clause 誕資有牧方明 after 先王. Possibly this clause may be an addition of Pan Koo, the Han chronicler, but the whole passage shows that he understood the sacrifice to be the solemn one to God, offered at the winter solstice. Be this as it may, and I do not think it unlikely, the conducting T'ae-këă to appear before his ancestor was a different ceremony. The appearance was, I suppose, before the coffin of T'ang. 侯甸羣后咸在,—侯甸=侯服甸服;—see 'The Tribute of Yu,' Pt. ii., pp. 18, 19. Perhaps these two domains are mentioned by synecdoche for all the five; or there may not have been time for the nobles who were more remote to reach the court. The mention of the presence of these princes shows us that the occasion was the solemn inauguration of T'ae-këă as successor to T'ang. 百官總已以聽冢宰,—see the Analects, XIV., xiii., 2. I there said that 總已 was a difficult expression, and I do not find it easier now. Gaubil does not try to translate it. Medhurst mistakes the meaning, and has:—'The various officers gave a general account of their affairs, in order to wait for orders from the prime minister.' The 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases:—百官各總攝已職,以聽命于冢宰. Is the phrase simply = 'all and each'? 烈祖,—烈 = 'ardent,' as in Pt. III., Bk. IV., p. 6; here it is defined by 'meritorious' (功), and Ying-tă says, 'T'ang had achieved the lasting service of settling the empire, and was the founder of the dynasty of Shang;—hence he is styled 烈祖.'

[De Mailla's view of this paragraph is seen in the expansion which he gives of it, Vol. I., p. 176.—'Having resolved that T'ae-këă should succeed to T'ang, E Yin, as prime minister and as president of the tribunal of rites, assembled all the princes who were at court, and made them recognize T'ae-këă. It was then the 12th month, and the funeral ceremonies for T'ang were not yet performed. E Yin ordered them with great magnificence, and then brought T'ae-këă, whom he placed on a throne which he had prepared for that purpose in the hall of the ancestors of the Shang dynasty, saluted him emperor, and made him receive in this character the homage of the grandees, the vassal princes, the mandarins and the people. Thereafter, addressing himself to the young emperor, he exhorted him to imitate the virtue of the great prince whom he succeeded, and gave him these advices.'——]

Ch. II. Pp. 2—4. THE INSTRUCTIONS OF E.—LESSONS FROM THE HEA DYNASTY; FROM THE RISE OF T'ANG; FROM T'AE-KEA'S OWN POSITION AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF HIS REIGN. 2. 有夏先后,—'the former emperors possessing Hea.' Lin Che-k'e says that we are to understand all the Hea sovereigns before Këĕ. That cannot be. K'ung-këă has been singled out for his wickedness; only Yu himself would fully answer to E's description. It suits his purpose to speak of a line of good princes; and many of them would be considered so in com-

川鬼神、亦莫不寧、暨鳥獸魚鼈咸若、于其子孫弗率、皇天降災、假手于我有命、造攻自鳴條、朕哉自亳。○三節惟我商王布昭聖武、代虐

and the birds and beasts, the fishes and tortoises, all realized the happiness of their nature. But their descendant did not follow *their example*, and great Heaven sent down calamities, employing the agency of our *ruler*, who had *received* its favouring appointment. The attack *on Hea* may be traced to Ming-t'ëaou, and our *attack on it*
3 began in Pŏ. Our king of Shang had brilliantly displayed his sacred prowess. When for oppression he substituted his generous gentle-

parison with Këĕ. 方 is an adverb, and stress is to be laid on it. The dict. defines it by 今, 'now.' It = 'then,' 'so long as.' 咸若=皆順適其性,而得遂其生, 'all quietly followed their nature, and had the enjoyment of their life.' From 山川 down to this describes fancifully, but not without a truth to which the mind responds, the happy condition of the well-governed empire. Ch'in Ta-yew (陳大猷) directs attention to the last par. of the 1st chap. of the 'Doctrine of the Mean,'—致中和,天地位焉,萬物育焉. 于其子孫,—by 子孫 Këĕ is pre-eminently intended. Perhaps E had other earlier and unworthy sovereigns in his mind as well, but Këĕ was the impersonation of all the wickedness of Hea. 于='in the case of.'

皇天降災,—Lin Che-k'e illustrates this by saying that 'the spirits of the hills and rivers could no longer be in tranquillity. Hills fell; rivers were dried up; strange sounds were emitted. Birds and beasts, fishes and tortoises, no longer followed their nature, and many of them were changed into monstrous and prodigious things.' I quote this, as showing how the Chinese share in the feeling of a sympathy between the course of nature and the character and doings of men, so that 'the whole creation groans' and writhes to be delivered from the curse of human wickedness. 假手于我有命,—'borrowed a hand from our having the appointment.' Lin Che-k'e expands the clause well. 假手于我商有天命之成湯,使之伐夏救民,以爲天吏.

[Up to this point the paragraph is found, but in a very different form, in the only remaining part of Mih-tsze's Book on 鬼(明鬼篇,下). He gives it as from the 'Books of Shang:'—嗚呼,古者有夏,方未有禍之時,百獸貞蟲,允及飛鳥,莫不比方,矧在人面,胡敢異心,山川鬼神亦莫敢不寧,若能共允任,天下之合下土之葆. Mih's text is evidently corrupt; yet he could hardly have the 'Instructions of E,' as we now read them.]

造攻,云云,—compare Mencius, V., Pt. I., vii. 9. There we have 'the palace of Muh' (牧宮) instead of Ming-t'eaou. But from the Preface, par. 12, we know that Ming-t'eaou was not far from the cap. of Këĕ. It was there probably that he had the palace of Muh, where his orgies alienated the people from him, and awoke the vengeance of Heaven. [There was another Ming-t'eaou towards the east, where Shun died, according to Mencius, IV., Pt. II., i, 1.] 'Our attack commenced (哉=始) in Pŏ,'—the meaning is that the virtues of T'ang, pleasing to both Heaven and men, first displayed in Pŏ, marked him out as the punisher of Këĕ, and the successor to the empire.

P. 3. 聖武,—'his sacred prowess.' 'It is not simply said,' observe the commentators, 'showed his *prowess*, but his *sacred* prowess. The expression intimates that his prowess came from the valour of virtue and righteousness, by

以寬、兆民允懷。○[四節]今王嗣厥德、罔不在初、立愛惟親、立敬惟長、始于家邦、終于四海。○[五節]嗚呼、先王肇修人紀、從諫弗咈、先民時若、居上克明、爲下克忠、與人不

4 ness, the millions of the people gave him their hearts. Now your Majesty is entering on the inheritance of his virtue;—every thing depends on *how* you commence *your reign*. To set up love, it is for you to love your elders; to set up respect, it is for you to respect your relatives. The commencement is in the family and State; the consummation is in the empire.

5 III. "Oh! the former king began with careful attention to the bonds that hold men together:—he listened to expostulation, and did not seek to resist it; he conformed to *the wisdom of* former people; occupying the highest position, he displayed intelligence; occupying an inferior position, he displayed his loyalty; he allowed *the good qualities* of others, and did not seek that they should have every talent;

which he was able to destroy oppression, deliver the people, and give repose to the empire.'

P. 4. 今王嗣厥德,—T'ae-keă was inheriting the throne. But it was a throne that had been acquired by virtue, and E Yin therefore puts his succession before him in this way. 初=卽位之初, 'the beginning of his reign.' The other observations of the paragraph are the same as the lessons set forth at so much length in the concluding chapters of 'The Great Learning.'

Ch. III. Pp. 5—7. The Instructions continued.—The character and regulations of T'ang. 6. 肇修人紀,—Ts'ae says that the 人紀 are 三綱五常, 'the three relations' [prince and minister, husband and wife, father and son] 'and five constant virtues' [benevolence, righteousness, propriety, &c.]. Somewhat differently, Chang Kew-shing tells us:—'Sovereign and minister, father and son, elder and younger brother, husband and wife, elders and juniors, with friends:—all these relationships are held together by propriety and righteousness which are called the "bonds of men"' (有禮義以相維謂之人紀). We are to understand by 人紀 the fundamental relationships of society, and the moral virtues by which they are securely and happily maintained. Këë had disregarded these virtues and disorganized society; the first work of T'ang was—unconsciously to himself—to exhibit the virtues and reform society. All the rest of the paragraph is an expansion of this clause. 先民時若=先民是順, 'with the former people he was accordant.' By the 'former people' are intended sage men of ancient times, the lessons of whose wisdom had been transmitted. Ying-tă says that 民 is used to indicate that the wisdom was from 'the people.' But the character need not have that force;—compare Pt. V., Bk. XII., p. 11,—相古先民有夏. The sentiment is that T'ang did not consider that all wisdom was with himself, but was ever ready to learn. 爲下克忠,—T'ang's dethroning Këë, and taking the empire to himself, would seem to be contrary to this affirmation of his loyalty, but it was not of his own will merely, nor till he had used every method of remonstrance and advice, that he took the field against his sovereign. 與人不求備,—求備,—see Con. Ana., XIII., xxv.; 與人=與人之善, 'he allowed to men their good qualities.' 與=許; the 檢身 in the parallel clause shows that we are to take 與 as a verb. 以至于萬方,—this language well indicates how T'ang was

求備、檢身若不及、以至于有萬邦、茲惟艱哉。○(六節)敷求哲人、俾輔于爾後嗣。○(七節)制官刑、儆于有位、曰、敢有恆舞于宮、酣歌于室、時謂巫風、敢有殉于貨色、恆于遊畋、時謂淫風、敢有侮聖言、

in the government of himself, he seemed to think he could never sufficiently attain.—It was thus he arrived at the possession of the myriad regions. How painstaking was he in these things!
6 He extensively sought out wise men, who should be helpful to you
7 his descendants and heirs. He laid down the punishments for officers,
and warned them who were in authority, saying, 'If you dare to have constant dancing in your palaces, and drunken singing in your chambers,—that is called sorcerers' fashion; if you dare to set your hearts on wealth and women, and abandon yourselves to wandering about or to hunting,—that is called the fashion of dissipation; if you dare to contemn the words of sages, to resist the loyal and

carried on, as by the force of circumstances, and not by any ambition of his own, to the supreme dominion. 茲惟艱哉—the 艱 suggests the idea that the clause does not celebrate T'ang's surmounting all difficulties that opposed his possession of the empire, but his being able to display the virtues which insured his possession of it. Seun-tsze, in his Book on the 'Ways of a Minister' (臣道篇), quotes a passage from the Shoo, which must be another form of the first part of this paragraph. He has:—書曰、從命而不拂、微諫而不倦、爲上則明、爲下則遜. 6. 敷=廣, 'widely.' Ch'in King (陳經) says:—'T'ang attained the empire with the greatest difficulty, and therefore his anxious thoughts about it went very far forward; it was right he should seek for men of talents and virtue to hand it down to his posterity.' 7. Lin Che-k'e says;—'Although T'ang had sought out wise men to be a help to his descendants, he was still afraid lest the men whom they employed should only think of securing themselves in their offices, and not attend to their duty to remonstrate with and guide their sovereign. He therefore instituted these punishments for officers to admonish them.' E Yin, in calling the young emperor's attention to such ordinances, had regard, no doubt, to the vices and errors into which he saw that T'ae-këă was prone to fall.

巫風,—Ying-tă observes that the wizard is called 覡 and the witch 巫, but that 巫 is applicable both to men and women. These persons had intercourse with spiritual beings, and hence the service of spirits is called 巫 (事鬼神曰巫). We have only to think of the frenzied excitement of the ancient sibyls to see how strong and contemptuous is the language of T'ang in reference to the officers of this fashion. 風 is here = 'ways,' 'fashion.' Properly it denotes 'the wind;' thence it is applied to what is exciting and influences others. 殉 is here in the sense of 求, 'to desire,' 'to seek for.' 淫風,—淫=過, 'excess.' 遠耆德、比頑童,—遠 (3d tone)=疏遠, 'to be distant to and keep at a distance;' 比=狎比, 'to be familiar

逆忠直、遠耆德、比頑童、時謂亂風、惟兹三風十愆、卿士有一于身、家必喪、邦君一于身、國必亡、臣下不匡、其刑墨、具訓于蒙士。○ 八節 嗚

upright, to put far from you the aged and virtuous, and to be familiar with procacious youths,—that is called the fashion of disorder. Now if a high noble or officer be addicted to one of these fashions with their ten evil ways, his Family will surely come to ruin; if the prince of a country be so addicted, his State will surely come to ruin. The minister who does not *try to* correct *those vices in the sovereign* shall be punished with branding.' These rules were minutely enjoined *also* upon cadets in their lessons.

and keep company with.' 頑 is paraphrased by 頑鈍無恥, 'obstinate, stupid, and shameless.' The case of Rehoboam with the counsellors of Solomon and his own young companions will occur to most readers. 三風十愆,—the 'three fashions' are those just mentioned, and the 'ten vices' are the evil ways enumerated in connection with them:—two under the sorcerers' fashion; and four under each of the other two fashions. 家必喪,—家 is here very evidently used for the whole establishment of the noble or officer. 臣下不能匡,其刑墨,—the 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases:—若天子而犯此風愆,則在有位者,皆當盡言直諫,以匡扶其過,若隱忍坐視而不言,是食君之祿,而不忠者也,則必以墨刑加之, to the effect that any officer suffering the emperor to proceed in any of those evil ways without remonstrating with him should be punished with branding. With this the words of T'ang terminate. We are to understand the concluding clause as from E Yin himself. 具訓于蒙士,—the dict., with ref. to this passage, explains 蒙 by 蒙稚卑小之稱, 'the designation of the young and little.' 蒙士 are the sons of officers and nobles being trained in schools to fit them for the duties of mature life. 'They were minutely instructed,' says Ts'ae, 'in these duties, that when they entered on office they might know to administer reproof.'

[Mih-tsze has a passage in his only remaining chapter 'Against Music' (非樂篇,上), where he quotes part of this par. and the next, but evidently his text is very corrupt. He says:—先王之書,湯之官刑有之曰,其恆舞于宮,是謂巫風,其刑,君子出絲二衞,小人否似二伯黃徑乃言曰,嗚呼,舞佯佯,黃言孔章,上帝弗常,九有以亡,上帝不順,降之百殃,其家必壞喪. From this corrupt and mutilated passage we perceive there was a book in Mih's time known as 'The Penal Laws of T'ang.' Of course if such a book was really made by T'ang, we can suppose that E Yin should be quoting from it here. Yen Jŏ-keu contends that such a book was made towards the close of the Shang dynasty, and not by T'ang, and concludes, therefore, that our present 'Instructions of E' bear upon them in this place the manifest stamp of forgery. But he has no direct evidence to show that we should refer 'The Penal Laws of T'ang' to a period several hundred years later than that emperor. All his reasoning on the point is singularly weak.]

呼、嗣王祗厥身、念哉、聖謨洋洋、嘉言孔彰、惟上帝不常、作善降之百祥、作不善降之百殃、爾惟德罔小、萬邦惟慶、爾惟不德、罔大、墜厥宗。

8 IV. "Oh! do you, who *now* succeed to the throne, revere *these instructions* in your person. Think of them!—Sacred counsels of vast importance, admirable words forcibly displayed. *The ways of* God are not invariable;—on the good-doer He sends down all blessings, and on the evil-doer He sends down all miseries. Do you be but virtuous, without consideration of the smallness *of your actions*, and the myriad regions will have cause for congratulation. If you be not virtuous, without consideration of the greatness *of your actions*, *they* will bring the ruin of your ancestral temple."

CH. IV. P. 8. THE INSTRUCTIONS CONCLUDED.—A SOLEMN ADMONITION TO T'AE-KEA TO FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE OF T'ANG, AND TAKE HEED TO HIS WAYS. 祇厥身,—we might translate this—'be reverent of his person,' but the commentators generally prefer to make the lessons of the last par. the object of 祇, and expand the passage by 敬之于身, 'respect them in his person.' 洋洋,—'vast;' comp. 'Doctrine of the Mean,' xvi., 3. 孔=大, 'great,' or 'greatly.' 爾惟德, 云云,—Lin Che-k'e has said on this passage:—K'ung of Han says, "Cultivate your virtue, and not on a small scale; then the whole empire will have cause for congratulation. Do what is not virtuous, and that not on a great scale, and you will overthrow your ancestral temple. These are the instructions of E, showing his true royalty." The meaning of K'ung was that the emperor's virtue must be extremely great, and then he would make the myriad regions happy, while for the overthrow of his ancestral temple it was not necessary that his want of virtue should be great; and this advice showed the true devotion of E Yin. K'ung of T'ang lost this meaning of Gan-kwŏ, and explains it thus:—爲善無小, *i.e.*, all states will rejoice in your little virtue, and how much more will they do so if it be great! 爲惡無大, *i.e.*, a little wickedness will overthrow your ancestral temple, and how much more will great wickedness do so! These two expressions—罔小罔大 are antithetic, but their meaning is the same. Lin then endeavours to show that Gan-kwŏ's interpretation is the only one admissible. The antithetic phrases are certainly somewhat perplexing. I consider that the one of them supposes also the other. 罔小 is equivalent to—'be it small or large,'; and 罔大 to—'be it large or small.' The *tendency* of virtue and vice, without reference to their amount or degree, is as severally represented.

太甲上

一節 惟嗣王不惠于阿衡。○二節 伊尹作書曰、先王顧諟天之明命、以承上下神祇、社稷宗廟、罔不祗肅、天監厥德、用集大命、撫綏萬方、惟尹躬克左右厥辟宅師、肆嗣王丕承基

1 I. The king, on succeeding to the throne, did not follow *the*
2 *advice of* A-hăng. *He, that is,* E Yin, then made the following
writing:—'The former king kept his eye continually on the bright requirements of Heaven, and served and obeyed the spirits of heaven and earth, of the land and the grain, and of the ancestral temple;—all with a reverent veneration. Heaven took notice of his virtue, and caused its great appointment to light on him, that he should soothe and tranquillize the myriad regions. I, Yin, then gave my assistance to my sovereign in the settlement of the people. And thus it is that your Majesty, inheriting the crown, have become charged with the line of the great succession.

NAME OF THE BOOK.—太甲, 'T'ae-këă.' This was the name, we saw on the 1st par. of the last Book, of T'ang's grandson and successor. The names of all the Shang emperors after T'ang are made up of the first series of the cyclical characters, called the 'Heavenly Stems' (天幹), with another distinguishing character added. This was the fashion of the dynasty. The Book is divided into three Parts, each of which is called a *p'ëen* (篇). The first Part might stand very well by itself; the second and third have nothing in their contents specially to require a separation of them from each other. Lin Che-k'e observes that the division of several of the Books of the Shoo into Parts arose from their length. Being written or engraved originally on tablets of wood or bamboo, very many of these could not be kept together so as to be read with comfort. A book

was therefore tied up in two bundles, marked 上, 下, or in three, marked 上, 中, and 下, as the case might be. The division was made for convenience' sake, rather than from regard to any difference in the matter. This is only partially correct. There are some Books that are not divided, which yet are longer than others that are. Sze-ma Ts'een gives the name as 太甲訓 'The Instructions delivered to T'ae-këă.' It may have been current during the Han dynasty under that title. It does belong to the division of the Shoo which embraces 'Instructions.' The genuineness of the Book is called in question.

Contents. E Yin finds the young sovereign disobedient to his counsels, and insensible to repeated remonstrances. On this the minister takes a high-handed measure, removes the emperor from his palace and companions, and keeps him in a sort of easy confinement, near the grave of his grandfather, all the period of mourning. T'ae-këă becomes penitent and truly reformed. This is the subject of the first Part. Delighted with the change, E Yin brings T'ae-këă back in state to the capital. He congratulates him on his reformation, and the emperor makes a suitable reply; after which E again proceeds to his favourite work of counselling and advising. This first Part is divided into ten parr., which are again arranged in three chapters. The first, containing 3 parr., tells of T'ae-këă's waywardness, and how E Yin called him in a letter to follow the example of his grandfather. The second, in 4 parr., tells of T'ae-këă's continued misconduct, and how E Yin by word of mouth expostulated with him. The third, in 3 parr., shows us the minister's patience worn out, with the bold measure which he took, and its happy effects.

Ch. I. Pp. 1—3. T'ae-kea's waywardness. E Yin remonstrates with him in writing.

1. 不惠于阿衡,—惠=順, 'to accord,' 'to be obedient.' Compare its use in Pt. II., Bk. I., 17; Bk. II., 5; Bk. III., 8. 阿衡,—this is said by Sze-ma Ts'een to have been the name of E; and it saves the translator considerable trouble to follow this view. The more common opinion, however, and that followed by Ts'ae, is that the characters were the title of an officer—the prime minister in fact—under the Shang dynasty. 阿 is taken as=倚, and the name is then='support and steelyard,' 'buttress and director.' Others make 阿=保, which gives the same result. The name, it is said, was given to E Yin, because of his services to T'ang and to the empire. 2. *E Yin presses in writing the example of T'ang's religious reverence upon T'ae-këă.* 伊尹作書,—this is the first time that we read in the Shoo of any communication addressed otherwise than by word of mouth. Ch'in Leih suggests that perhaps the presenting written or engraved memorials commenced at this time. We are not to think of E Yin as using pencils, ink, and paper. His memorial was on one or more slips of wood or bamboo, lightly engraved, or described perhaps with some colouring matter on the plain surface. Lin Che-k'e observes that down to the Han dynasty the memorials were all upon such slips, and were presented tied up in black bags. 先王顧諟天之明命,—see 'The Great Learning,' C., i., 2. The meaning of 諟 is not well ascertained. It evidently serves to give emphasis to 顧. Choo He and the Sung school generally take 明命, as referring to 'man's nature,' the bright gift conferred on and entrusted to him by Heaven, and the statement is that 'T'ang assiduously cultivated his virtue.' This is twisting the Shoo to support the dogmas of a school. T'ang had regard to the will of Heaven in reference to the whole course of his life and duty. That led him to cultivate his personal virtue, but it took him out of himself also, to do what his circumstances called him to; more especially did he feel it was required of him by Heaven that he should be reverent and devout,—religious, according to his lights. We may believe that T'ae-këă was glaringly neglectful of all religious worship. 承=奉, 'to serve.' 以承, 'so as to serve;' i.e., his regard to the requirements of Heaven did actually make him a regular and reverent worshipper. 天監厥德, 用集大命;—commentators call attention to the manner in which the first of these clauses responds to 顧天之命. T'ang looked up to Heaven, and Heaven looked down on him. 用='and so;'—we have had several instances of this usage. 集, 'to collect;' here='to make to light upon.' Compare the She-king, Pt. III., i., Ode II., 4,—天監在下, 有命既集. 惟尹躬克左右厥辟宅師,—尹躬='Yin's-self,' 'Yin himself.' According to Leu Puh-wei and others, E's name was Che (摯), but he here speaks of himself as Yin. We must suppose that he was styled 尹, because of his services, and better known among the people as 'the Regulator,' 'the Corrector,' than by his name. Here he accepts the designation. 辟 (*peih*),—'a sovereign.' It was applied to the emperor and to princes of States. 師=衆, 'the multitude,' 'the people.' Wang Ts'eaou says:—'The phrase 宅師 follows from the preceding 撫綏. What is meant by settling—locating—the people, is that after their oppressions were taken away and a gentle rule exercised, they were arranged so that every man was in his proper place' (處之各得其所). 丕承基緒,—緒, comp. III., Bk. III., p 8; 基 is 'a foundation,' that on which any thing rests. Joined with 業, it denotes 'an inheritance,' 'a transmitted property.' The phrase in the text has the same meaning. Ts'eaou says on the

緒。○惟三節尹躬先見于西邑夏、自周有終、相亦惟終、其後嗣王罔克有終、相亦罔終、嗣王戒哉、祗爾厥辟、辟不辟、忝厥祖。○王四節惟庸罔念聞。○伊五節尹乃言曰、先王

3 "I have seen it myself in Hea with its western capital,—that when its sovereigns went through a prosperous course to the end, their ministers also did the same; but afterwards when their successors could not attain to such a consummation, neither did their ministers. Take warning, O heir-king. Reverently use your sovereignty. The sovereign, if you do not play the sovereign, you will disgrace your ancestor.'
4 II. The king would not think *of these words*, nor listen to them.
5 On this E Yin said, "The former king, before it was light, sought
to have large and clear views, and then sat waiting for the morn-

clause that it means that T'ae-këă had come 'to the myriad regions, all established, and to the multitudes of the people, all settled.'

3. *That the minister is more dependent on his sovereign for prosperity than the sovereign on his minister.* T'ae-këă had probably, half in insolence and half in flattery, been saying that he might follow his heart's lusts, while the government was safe in the hands of such a minister as E. 西邑夏,—'Hea of the western city.' The reference must be to Gan-yih, the capital of Hëa, which was farther west then Pŏ, the cap. of Shang. 自周有終,—the 周 here has occasioned much perplexity. On the authority of an expression in the 國語, Gan-kwŏ and others since him have explained it by 忠信, 'loyal and true.' Choo He remarked that to say—以忠信自周, 'by loyalty and faith to perfect one's-self,' would be well enough, but that to define 周 as meaning 'loyal and true' was not allowable; and that the characters 自周 in the text were unintelligible. Wang Pih (王柏), foll. by Kin Le-ts'ëang (金履祥), thought that for 周 we should read 君, the ancient form of which was 㕯, that might easily be mistaken for 周. The editors of Yung-ching's Shoo express their approval of this emendation, and I have translated accordingly. 有終,—comp. Bk. II., 9. 祗爾云云,—爾厥辟='your that being sovereign.' Compare 君君, 臣臣, &c., in Con. Ana., XII. xi. In the Book of Rites, 坊記, p. 22, we find the two last clauses,—厥辟不辟, 忝厥祖, quoted from the Shoo, with an interpretation and application, different from their meaning in E's writing.

Ch. II. Pp. 4—7. T'ae-kea continues careless, and E Yin expostulates with him, and tries to win him on to what was right.

4. Many put a comma at 庸, and explain it by 常.—'T'ae-këă treated E Yin's words as if they were only ordinary and unimportant.' This is Ts'ae's interpretation. Gan-kwŏ, pointing in the same way, explained,—'T'ae-këă kept his ordinary way, and did not change.' Choo He proposed to read the paragraph without a stop at 庸, and to take that character in the sense of 用, so that it simply emphasizes the verbs below;—comp. Bk. VIII., Pt. i., p. 2, —王庸作書以誥. I have translated on this view. 5. 昧爽丕顯,—昧爽, 'the dark and light;'—as we say, 'between the dark and the light,'='the grey dawn;'

昧爽丕顯、坐以待旦、旁求俊彥、啓迪後人、無越厥命以自覆。○六節慎乃儉德、惟懷永圖。○七節若虞機張、往省括于度、則釋、欽厥止、率乃祖攸行、惟朕以懌、萬世有辭。

ing. He *also* sought on every side for men of ability and virtue to instruct and guide his posterity. Do not frustrate his charge *to me*,
6 and bring on yourself your own overthrow. Be careful to strive
7 after the virtue of self-restraint, and cherish far-reaching plans. Be like the forester, who, when he has adjusted the spring, goes to examine the end of the arrow, whether it be placed according to rule, and then lets go;—reverently determine your end, and follow the ways of your ancestor. Thus I shall be delighted, and be able to all ages to show that I have discharged my trust.

丕顯, 'was greatly clear.' Kin Le-ts'ëang says well, that the whole clause shows how T'ang kept his eye continually on the requirements of Heaven (此即先王顧諟之功). 俊,—see on 'Counsels of Kaou-yaou,' p. 4. 彥=美士, 'admirable officers.' The 說文 defines it—美士有文,人所言也. 旁求……後人,—this shows how T'ang's anxieties were not merely for himself and for the time being. 無越厥命,—無=毋; 越 is here not=踰, 'to transgress,' but 墜, 'to let fall,'=' to bring to nought;' 厥命 is the charge of T'ae-këä which E supposes to have been specially committed to himself by T'ang. 6. T'ae-këä was losing all self-restraint, plunging into extravagance, and thinking only of the day before him;—hence the two admonitions in this par. 乃=汝. 儉德,—comp. in last Bk., p. 5,—檢身若不及. 7. Gan-kwŏ takes 虞 in the sense of 度, 'to consider,' 'to calculate,' and 若虞機張=' as when you calculate the adjusting the spring *of your cross-bow*.' This is admissible; but Choo He prefers, and I think rightly, to take 虞 in the sense of 虞人, or 'forester.' 機, is defined by 弩牙, 'the tooth of the cross-bow.' We are to understand the spring by touching which the instrument was discharged. 括=矢末, 'the end of the arrow,' which was placed against the string, and on the correct placing of which—its being 合於法度—depended the success of the archery. 欽厥止,—compare 'The Great Learning,' C., iii., 3. 萬世有辭,—Ts'ae explains 辭 by 譽, 'praise,' and makes the clause refer to T'ae-këä,=' all ages will celebrate you.' Lin Che-k'e makes it refer to E Yin, and=' through all ages be able to say *that I have discharged my trust*,' *i.e.*, be able to give an account of myself. The editors of Yung-ching's Shoo rather approve of this view of Lin's. I have followed it, because it retains the proper signification of 辭. I do not know that the meaning which Ts'ae puts on it can be supported by other examples;—comp. 汝永有辭, Pt. V., Bk. XIII., p. 10.

[In the 'Record of Rites,' and the Book called 緇衣 p. 16, we have quite an array of quotations from the 太甲, more or less agreeing with the received text.—太甲曰,無越厥命,以自覆也,若虞機張,往省括于厥度,則釋。 Here par. 6 is omitted. 尹吉曰,惟尹躬天見于西邑夏,自周有終,相亦惟終. Here 吉 is perhaps an error

八節 王未克變。九節 伊尹曰、茲乃不義、習與性成、予弗狎于弗順、營于桐宮、密邇先王其訓、無俾世迷。○十節 王徂桐宮、居憂、克終允德。

8, 9 III. The king was not yet able to change *his course.* E Yin said
to himself, "This is *real* unrighteousness, and is becoming by
practice *a second* nature. I cannot bear to be near *such* a disobe-
dient *fellow.* I will build *a place* in the palace at T'ung, where he
can be quietly near *the remains of* the former king. This will be a les-
10 son which will keep him from going astray all his life." The king went
accordingly to the palace in T'ung, and dwelt during the period of
mourning. In the end he became sincerely virtuous.

for 告, or, more probably, 尹吉 should be 伊尹, and 天 may be for 先.]

Ch. III. Pp. 8—10. T'AE-KEA CONTINUING VICIOUS, E SENDS HIM FROM THE PALACE, AND KEEPS HIM IN CONFINEMENT,—WHICH ENDS IN HIS REFORMATION. 8. 伊尹曰,—曰 is the reflection in E's mind. It is better to take it thus than to expand it with Ying-tă,—'E Yin announced to all the ministers in the court, saying,'—. 茲乃不義習與性成,—Gan-kwŏ explains this:—習行不義將成其性, 'the practice of unrighteousness will become his nature.' This is no doubt the meaning, but it gives us no explanation to account for the use of the 與. Ts'ae avoids the same difficulty by expanding:—伊尹指太甲所爲乃不義之事,習惡而性成者也. If we had 而 in the text instead of 與, the whole would be easy. The 'Daily Explanation' tries to bring out the force of the 與 thus:—習爲不善,若天生性成者然, 'he is practising what is not good as if his nature from his birth were so constituted.' Lin Che-k'e treats it substantially in the same way; and I do not see that anything better can be done. 予弗狎于弗順,—'I will not be near the disobedient.' Such is the natural rendering of the words, and such was the view of them taken by Choo He. Ying-tă, however, and Ts'ae, subsequently, thinking this language would be too harsh in E's mouth, softened it down to—'I will not *allow him to be* near the disobedient.' There is no reason why we should strain the text to avoid the very decided expression of his opinion which E gave, and to maintain in him the Chinese ideal of a hero-sage. He spoke evidently under strong provocation. 營于桐宮,—'T'ung' was the place where T'ang's tomb was. It was, probably, in the pres. dis of Yung-ho (滎河), dep. of P'oo-chow (蒲州), in Shan-se. The site or supposed site of the grave there was washed away by the Fun (汾河), under the Yuen dynasty, when a stone coffin was removed to another position, near which, under the Ming dynasty, an imperial tomb was built. [The sub. dep. of Pŏ (亳), in Gan-hwuy, likewise prefers a claim to include the place of T'ang's grave.] From Mencius, V., Pt. I., vi. 5, we are led to infer that T'ung was the name of a city or district;—nothing is said of it as the place where T'ang had been buried. Ts'ae manipulates the text to 營宮于桐, 'built a palace in T'ung;' and Ying-tă had done the same 營於桐墓立宮. But why should we use such violence with the language, when we are not compelled to do so in order to make any meaning out of it? The text leads us to suppose that there was already a palace in T'ung. E Yin determined to build or fit up some apartment in it, where T'ae-këă might reside,—be confined in fact,—till he gave proof of reformation. 密邇先王其訓,—all the commentators take 密邇 as=親近. We get a better meaning, it seems to me, by taking 密 as='secretly,' 'silently.' We do not know what to do with the 其訓. Lin Che-k'e re-

presents E's idea thus:—'I will make him dwell there, to be near the former king, and think of his instructions.' Ts'ae has:—'I will make him be near the grave of T'ang, where thinking mournfully morning and night, he may rouse up the good that is in him:—thus I will instruct him.' My translation is more after Ts'ae's view.

10. 居憂,—Gan-kwŏ has 居憂位, 'dwelt in the place of sorrow.' There T'ae-këă could not help himself, and had to observe all the established customs of mourning.

Concluding Note. [i.] The action of E Yin in dealing with his sovereign has been much canvassed. Mencius was bound on his principles to defend it, and he did not scruple to do so. When Kung-sun Ch'ow asked him whether worthies, being ministers, might indeed banish their vicious sovereigns in this way, he answered, 'If they have the same purpose as E Yin, they may; if they have not the same purpose, it would be usurpation' (VII., Pt. I., xxxi.). This doctrine is startling, but sound. A man in the position of E Yin must be a law to himself, wherever his actions will not clash with the moral laws of God.

[ii.] According to the Shoo, the confinement of T'ae-këă in T'ung took place during the period of mourning, and lasted only to the end of it,—we may say, in round numbers, for three years, as Mencius does. Sze-ma Ts'een gives a different account. We read in the 'Historical Records:'—'When T'ae-këă had been on the throne three years, he proved unintelligent and oppressive, paying no regard to the laws of T'ang, and being guilty of all sorts of disorderly conduct. On this E Yin confined him in the T'ung palace for three years, while he himself administered the government of the empire, and gave audience to the princes. When T'ae-këă had been in T'ung for three years, he became penitent, reproved himself and returned to good, on which E Yin brought him back to the capital, and resigned the government into his hands. The emperor then cultivated his virtue; the princes all signified their allegiance; the people enjoyed tranquillity; and E Yin, in admiration, made the "Instructions to T'ae-këă," in three Parts, in his praise.' We cannot say positively from Mencius that Ts'een's account is incorrect, but we must set it aside, if on no other ground, yet certainly on the authority of the Preface to the Shoo.

THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK V. T'AE KEA. PART ii.

太甲中

惟(一節)三祀、十有二月朔、伊尹以冕服、奉嗣王歸于亳。〇作(二節)書曰、民

1 I On the first day of the 12th month of the 3d year, E Yin took
the imperial cap and robes, and escorted the young king back to

CONTENTS OF THE SECOND PART. The confinement of T'ae-këă in T'ung having produced the desired effect, E Yin brings him back with honour to Pŏ, to undertake the duties of the government, and presents him with a congratulatory address on his reformation. T'ae-këă responds with a proper acknowledgment, and asks the continued assistance and guidance of the minister, who on his part is happy to resume his favourite work of delivering instructions.

The first two parr. form a chapter, describing the emperor's return, and giving the address on his reformation. T'ae Këă's penitent reply, in par. 3, forms a second chapter. The remaining 3 paragraphs, in which E resumes his lessons and counsels, on the example of T'ang, and the duties of T'ae-këă, conclude the part with a third chapter.

Ch. I. THE YOUNG KING IS BROUGHT BACK WITH HONOUR TO PO. E YIN CONGRATULATES HIM AND THE EMPIRE ON HIS REFORMATION.

惟三祀十有二月朔,—this note of time follows from that in the 'Instructions of E,' par. 1. Two years have elapsed from that time. The same question arises.—Is the 12th month the 12th month of the Hea year or of the Shang? I am more inclined to believe that in both passages we have nothing to do with the Hea year. T'ang having died in the eleventh month, T'ae-këă had immediately commenced the formalities of mourning for him,—with no sincerity indeed, but yet nominally. It was now the 26th month since T'ang's death. T'ae-këă was entered into the third year of mourning. At the end of the 24th month it was competent for him to lay aside his sad apparel, array himself in his ordinary robes, and go about all the duties devolving on him. The period of mourning for parents and grandparents is indeed said to be three years; but as the Chinese say that they are three years old, not when they have completed three years of 12 months each, but when they have lived in three years, so T'ae-këă might now, in the 12th month of the 3d year in which he had been on the throne, be considered to have fulfilled the duties of mourning for his grandfather, and take the administration of affairs into his own hands.

Jŏ-keu argues that two years are not enough for all the events that are supposed to have taken place,—the repeated remonstrances with T'ae-këă, his proving himself insensible to advice, his banishment to T'ung, his reformation, and his proving its sincerity. We have not sufficient information to enable us to solve all the difficulties that may be raised; the view of the time which I have followed seems to me more likely then any other;—see the 後案 of Wang Ming-shing, on the one side, and the 尚書廣聽錄 on the other.

冕服,—the distinctive name of the ceremonial bonnet or crown under the Yin or Shang

非后、罔克胥匡以生、后非民、罔以辟四方、皇天眷佑有商、俾嗣王克終厥德、實萬世無疆之休。○三節王拜手稽首曰、予小子不明于德、

2 Pŏ. At the same time, he made the following writing:—"Without the sovereign, the people cannot have that guidance which is necessary to *the comfort of their* lives; without the people, the sovereign could have no sway over the four quarters *of the empire.* Great Heaven has graciously favoured the House of Shang, and granted to you, O young king, at last to become virtuous. This is indeed a blessing that will extend without limit to ten thousand generations."

3 II. The king did obeisance with his face to his hands, and his head to the ground, saying, "I, the little child, was without under-

dynasty was 哻 (see the Record of Rites, 王制, Pt. V., p, 11). Here, however, the general term 冕 is used. Under the Chow dynasty, the emperor had six difft. crowns, with robes appropriate to each. In sacrificing to Heaven, he used one kind of crown and robes, in sacrificing to his ancestors, a different kind; &c., (see the Rites of Chow, 卷二十一, 春官, 司服). Whether the practices under the Shang dyn. were the same, we have no means of knowing. The crown was always in the form of a student's cap, with tassels on which pearls were strung hanging down before and behind, except on the occasion of sacrificing to Heaven, when it is said there were no tassels; on the other occasions the number of pendents and pearls and gems varied, and perhaps the colour. As the text does not say for what particular ceremony T'ae-këă was now arrayed, though I should judge it was either to perform the great solstitial sacrifice to Heaven, or to announce his entering personally on the duties of the government in the ancestral temple, more need not be said on the crown and robes.

2. 民非后…四方, these clauses show how the people and the sovereign are necessary to one another. The only difficulty is with 胥匡以生. Medhurst translates:—'The people have nothing wherewith they may correct each other so as to preserve their lives'; and Gaubil:—'The people cannot live either in peace or in order.' Medhurst's version appears to be the more literal; but we must deal with 胥 here in the same way as with 相 in the clause 官司相規, 'Pun. Expedition of Yin,' par. 3. [In the Record of Rites, 表記, par. 11, we have the passage quoted—太甲曰, 民非后, 無能胥以寧, 后非民無以辟四方.]

皇天……厥德,—the commentators call attention to the way in which it is here taught that T'ae-këă's becoming virtuous was to be ascribed to the influence of Heaven exerted on him. Ts'ae says that 'Heaven secretly drew on his better nature' (陰誘其衷). Shin She-hing (申時行) says:—'In the matter of his thoughts, it was as if Heaven awakened him; in the matter of his actions, it was as if Heaven helped him' (其思也, 若或啟之, 其行也, 若或翼之).

Ch. II. P. 3. T'AE-KEA'S PENITENT REPLY. HE CONFESSES HIS FAULTS IN THE PAST, AND ASKS E YIN TO CONTINUE HIS GUIDANCE TO HIM.

自底不類,—不類=不肖; —see 'Doctrine of the Mean,' iv., 1. The 'Daily Explanation' has:—以自入于不肖, 'and thereby entering among the unworthy.' 欲敗度, 縱敗禮,—these words are quoted in the 左傳, 昭十年. 欲=多欲, 'many desires,' or 'lusts;,

自厎不類、欲敗度、縱敗禮、以速戾于厥躬、天作孽、猶可違、自作孽、不可逭、既往背師保之訓、弗克于厥初、尚賴匡救之德、圖惟厥終。○四節伊尹拜手稽首曰、修厥身、允德協于下、惟明后。○五節先王子惠困窮、民服厥命、

standing of what was virtuous, and was making myself one of the unworthy. By my desires I was setting at nought all rules *of conduct*, and by my self-indulgence I was violating all rules of propriety:—the result must have been speedy ruin to my person. Calamities sent by Heaven may be avoided, but from calamities brought on by one's-self there is no escape. Heretofore I turned my back on the instructions of you, my Tutor and Guardian;—my beginning has been marked by incompetency. May I still rely on your correcting and preserving virtue, keeping this in view that my end may be good!"

4 III. E Yin did obeisance with his face to his hands, and his head
to the ground, and said, "To cultivate his person, and by being
sincerely virtuous, bring *all* below to harmonious concord with
5 him;—this is the work of the intelligent sovereign. The former
king was kind to the distressed and suffering, as if they were his

縱＝縱肆, 'unrestrained indulgence.' Ts'ae says that 度 has reference to the conduct, the ends pursued, and 禮 to the behaviour, the demeanour to others. 天作孽……可逭,—this is twice quoted by Mencius, with 活 instead of 逭;—see Vol. II., p. 15, and p. 175. In the Record of Rites, however, the Bk. 緇衣, par. 16, we find it exactly as in the text. 既往＝已往. It is an adverbial phrase＝'in the past.' 圖惟厥終,—comp. 有終, 罔終, Part i., p. 3.

Ch. III. Pp. 4—6. E Yin resumes his instructions. 4. *Description of an intelligent sovereign.* 伊尹拜手稽首,—see on 'Canon of Shun,' p. 17. This humble obeisance was due from the minister to the sovereign. For the sovereign to pay it to the minister as in the last paragraph, and as we shall see it hereafter often rendered to the duke of Chow, was an act of extreme reverence and condescension.

On 修厥身 She-hing has well said that it implies two things:—'the ordering one's affairs by righteousness' (Bk. II., p. 8), in which there will be no 'setting at nought, through lusts, the rules of conduct;' and 'the ordering one's heart by propriety,' in which case there will be no 'violating the rules of demeanour.' 允德協于下, 'and to have sincere virtue harmonizing in *the sphere* beneath.' The 'Daily Explanation,' paraphrases this:—出乎身而加乎民, 將誠實之德, 孚契于人, 自然人心協和, 無不愛戴. 5. *How T'ang by his kindness and sympathy with the distressed drew the hearts of all the people to himself.* 子惠困窮,

罔有不悅、竝其有邦厥鄰、乃曰、徯我后、后來無罰。○六節王懋乃德、視乃烈祖、無時豫怠。○七節奉先思孝、接下思恭、視遠惟明、聽德惟聰、朕承王之休無斁。

children, and the people submitted to his commands, all with sincere delight. Even in the States of the neighbouring princes the *people* said, 'We are waiting for our sovereign; when our sovereign comes, we shall not suffer the punishments *which we now do*?'

6 "O King, zealously cultivate your virtue. Regard *the example of* your meritorious ancestor. At no time allow yourself in pleasure
7 and idleness. When honouring your ancestors, think how you can prove your filial piety; in receiving your ministers, think how you can show yourself respectful; in looking at what is distant, try to get clear views; have your ears ever open to listen to virtue:—then shall I respond to the excellence of your Majesty with an untiring *devotion to your service*!"

一子 = 'son-ned,' *i.e.*, treated as his children. 竝其有邦厥鄰,乃曰, Gan-kwŏ explains this:—湯俱與鄰並有國,鄰國人乃曰, 'T'ang and his neighbours were equally possessors of kingdoms, but the people of the neighbouring kingdoms said.' Choo He's representation of the construction is the same:—湯與彼皆有土諸侯,而鄰國之人乃曰, 'T'ang and those were all princes possessing States, and yet the people of the neighbouring States said.' They have both caught the meaning. We read 竝其有邦厥鄰 without a stop.—'Compeers *with him were* those possessed of States, his neighbours.' Then 乃曰 = 'but it was said,' *i.e.*, it was said in their States by their people. 徯我后,云云,—see the quotation of this by Mencius, III., Pt. II., v., 4. 6, 7. *E Yin exhorts T'ae-këă to cultivate his virtue after the example of T'ang; calls his attention to several important points in which he might make his profiting appear; and promises his own untiring aid.* 朕承王之休無斁,—I will receive the excellence of the king without satiety.' The paraphrase in the 'Daily Explanation' is:—尹承王之休美,益思左右匡救,而不遺其力矣,其何敢厭斁哉.

THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK V. T'AE-KEA. PART iii.

太甲下

一節 伊尹申誥于王、曰、嗚呼、惟天無親、克敬惟親、民罔常懷、懷于有

1 I. E Yin again made an announcement to the king, saying, "Oh! Heaven has no affections;—only to those who are reverent does it show affection. The people are not constant to those whom they cherish;—they cherish only him who is benevolent. The spirits

CONTENTS OF THE THIRD PART. In the first three paragraphs E Yin dwells on the high and difficult charge to which the emperor is called; points out how good government is to be secured; and concludes by once more exhibiting T'ang as a model. The next five paragraphs contain various counsels and cautions addressed to T'ae-këă. In the last par. a lesson is given at once to sovereigns and ministers.

This portion of the T'ae-këă was perhaps delivered at a later period than the previous one. There is no allusion in it to the emperor's early follies and vices; there is supposed to be an allusion in the close to E's desire to withdraw from public life. In this way we find a reason for its separation from the previous Part. The compiler arranged his documents according to the knowledge which he had of the date of their contents. To the same effect with these remarks are the observations of Ch'in Ta-yew, which we find in the 集說;—'The "Instructions of E" were made before the faults of T'ae-këă had shown themselves, and the minister, wishing to guard against his tendency to self-indulgence, used language stern and severe. The first Part of the "T'ae-këă" was made when the emperor's faults were showing themselves, and then E, not wishing to provoke him, slightly changed his plan, and made his language gentle and insinuating. The second Part was made when T'ae-këă had begun to repent, and E, full of joy and consolation, made his language bland and encouraging. The third Part was made after T'ae-këă had reformed, and then E, anxious lest perhaps the change should not hold out to the last, fashioned his language so as to convey profound and stimulating exhortation. The consummate words of the great minister, now shallow and now deep, are all to be accounted for in this way.'

Ch. 1. Pp. 1—3. THE DIFFICULTY OF RIGHTLY OCCUPYING THE IMPERIAL SEAT; THE RULES OF GOOD GOVERNMENT; THE EXAMPLE OF T'ANG.

1. 惟天無親=天無所親, 'Heaven has none whom it loves.' We may supply 常 before 親, after the analogy of the clauses below,—常懷, 常享; and then the meaning will be that 'Heaven is not invariable in its likings;' and we find this idea expressed very many times in the Shoo and other classical books. There must be a reason, however, why we do not have 常 before 親 in the text, and I conceive it is this.—Heaven stands out to the mind of E as the head of all government, the supreme Power and Authority in the world. To rule, as rule, reverence is due from the ruled; from the ruler we look for justice, not love. He has to do with men not simply as men, but as good men or as bad men, to reward the former and to punish the latter. Hence in the text we have it barely and broadly affirmed that 'Heaven has no affections.' This is not the whole truth, which was held by the ancient

仁、鬼神無常享、
享于克誠、天位
艱哉。○德惟治、二節
否德亂、與治同
道罔不興、與亂
同事罔不亡、終
始慎厥與、惟明三節
明后。○先王惟
時懋敬厥德、克
配上帝、今王嗣

do not always accept the sacrifices which are offered to them;—they accept only the sacrifices of the sincere. A place of difficulty
2 is the Heaven-*conferred* seat! Where there are *those* virtues, good government is realized; where they are not, disorder comes. To maintain the same principles as those who secured good government will surely lead to prosperity; to pursue the course of disorder will surely lead to ruin. He who at last, as at first, is careful as
3 to whom and what he follows is a truly intelligent sovereign.—The former king was always zealous in the reverent cultivation of his

Chinese, about Heaven, as it is not the whole truth which is held by us about God; yet as it is proper for us to speak of God as 'the Lord of hosts that judgeth righteously,' so the affirmation in the text is properly put forth without any qualification. 鬼神無常享,—享 is 'to enjoy,' *i.e.*, to accept the sacrifices and oblations of the worshipper. We can hardly make a distinction between 鬼 and 神. Medhurst calls them here—'the demons and spirits.' Gaubil simply has—'les esprits.' The spirits of dead ancestors, which might be styled 鬼, and all other spirits from the highest to the lowest, which might be called 神, are embraced in the phrase. E's lesson is that the emperor as the subject of Heaven has to be reverent; as the sovereign of the people, he has to be benevolent; as the head of all religious worship, he has to be sincere. If he be not reverent, Heaven will punish him; if he be not benevolent, men will reject him; if he be not sincere, no spirits will regard him. Well might he add—天位艱哉. Compare on 玆惟艱哉, Bk. III., p. 5.

[Chin Tih-sew observes that here for the first time we have the virtues of reverence, benevolence, and sincerity, announced distinctly and in their connection and references,—a step in the development of the doctrine of Yaou and Shun, Yu and T'ang. The observation is correct. In later times, Confucius, Mencius, and others, made much of E's lessons.]

2. 德惟治,—the 德 is to be taken in close connection with the reverence, benevolence, and sincerity of the prec. par. 治 (3d tone) is good government realized. In 與治 and 與亂 the 與 has a verbal force. This appears from the 愼厥與 which follows. Ts'ae observes that the 道 or principled course of good government is spoken of, because though there may be differences of administrations and ordinances, required by diff't. times, a common principle will be found underlying all variations. On the other hand we have only the 事 or courses of disorder, princes who are going to ruin doing so as they are hurried on and away by their several hearts' lusts. 愼厥與,—'be careful of his concurring.' She Lan says ingeniously, but with an over refinement:—'what is intended by 與 is something very subtle;—it is the concurring tendency of the mind.' 惟明明后,—here again is the redoubled adjective, = a superlative. 3. 先王,—this of course is T'ang. 懋敬厥德,—Ts'ae makes this = 'strove to make his virtue reverent,'—with special reference to the reverence towards Heaven mentioned in the first par., and the one of the virtues there specified being adduced here as inclusive of the other two. This seems to be straining the language too much. 克配上帝,—this phrase

有令緒、尚監茲哉。○四節若升高、必自下、若陟遐、必自邇。○五節無輕民事、惟難、六節無安厥位、惟危。○慎終于始。○七節有言逆于汝心、必求諸道、有言遜于汝志、必求諸非道。○八節嗚呼、弗慮胡獲、弗為胡成、一人元良、萬邦以貞。○

virtue, so that he was the fellow of God. Now, O king, you have entered on the inheritance of his excellent line;—fix your inspection on him!

4 II. "*Your course must be* as when in ascending high you begin
from where 'tis low, and when in travelling far you begin from where
5 'tis near. Do not slight the occupations of the people;—think of
their difficulties; do not yield to a feeling of repose on your throne;—
6, 7 think of its perils. Be careful for the end at the beginning. When
you hear words against which your mind sets itself, you must
inquire whether they be not right; when you hear words which
accord with your own mind, you must inquire whether they be
8 not contrary to what is right. Oh! what attainment can be made
without anxious thought? what achievement can be made without
earnest effort? Let the one man be greatly good, and the myriad
regions will be rectified by him.

has two meanings. It is spoken of the *virtue* of a sovereign, so admirable in the present or the past that he can be described as the mate of God, —as a sovereign upon earth, the one correlate of the Supreme Sovereign above. It is spoken also of the *honours* of a departed sovereign, exalted to association with God in the great sacrificial services rendered to him by the reigning emperor. We are to take the phrase here in the first meaning. 配上帝 occurs again and again in the She King; in the Shoo we have it only in the text, though below we shall meet with 配天, 配皇天, in several places. 令緒,—'the excellent line or clue.' Compare 基緒, Part i. p. 2.

Ch. II. Pp. 4—8. Various counsels. 4. *How T'ae-këă's progress in virtue should be persistent and progressive.* Comp. in the 'Doctrine of the Mean,' xv. 1, 君子之道辟如行遠必自邇, 云云. 陟 has commonly the signification of 升, 'to ascend.' We must take it here in the general sense of 'to advance.' 5. *The emperor should sympathize with the people's toils, and think of the perils of his own position.* 無=毋. 民事,—'the affairs of the people,' i.e., their toilsome occupations of husbandry, &c. 惟難,—Ts'ae expands this by 而思其難, 'but think of their toilsomeness.' On this use of 惟, compare 惟幾, 惟康, in the 'Yih and Tseih,' p. 2. 6. *To end right the best plan is to begin right.* 7. *T'ae-këă should judge what he hears not by his own likings or dislikings. Palatable advice is probably bad; unpalatable, good.* Wang Ts'ëaou observes well that this is an expansion of 聽德惟聰, in Part ii., p. 7. Compare Con. Ana., IX., xxiii.,

九節 君罔以辯言亂舊政、臣罔以寵利居成功、邦其永孚于休。

9 III. "When the sovereign will not with disputatious words throw the old rules of government into confusion, and the minister will not for favour and gain continue in an office whose work is done;—then the country will lastingly and surely enjoy happiness."

and Mencius, II., Pt. I., ii., 17. 8. *An appeal to T'ae-këă from the importance of his influence to be anxiously thoughtful, and earnest in his doings.*

Ch. III. P. 9. E YIN EXPRESSES HIS HOPE THAT THE EMPEROR WILL HOLD ON IN THE IMITATION OF T'ANG, AND INTIMATES HIS OWN INTENTION TO WITHDRAW FROM PUBLIC LIFE. 居成功,—'dwell in accomplished service.' The meaning is as in the translation. Ying-tă says:—'That E Yin addressing his sovereign should turn to speak of the duty of a minister, though his words are general, and announce a great principle, shews that he had himself formed the purpose of retiring.' Soo Tung-po says:—'The disorders of the empire arise from division between the sovereign and his ministers. When the sovereign proceeds disputatiously to change the old rules of government, the minister becomes afraid; and when the minister, for the sake of favour and gain, presumes on the service he has done, the sovereign comes to doubt him. It is thus that disorder begins.' See the 集說.

THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK VI. BOTH POSSESSED PURE VIRTUE.

咸有一德

一節 伊尹既復政厥辟、將告歸、乃陳戒于德。○二節 曰、嗚呼、天難諶、命靡常、常厥德、保厥位、厥

1 I. E Yin, having returned the government into the hands of his sovereign, and being about to announce his retirement, set forth admonitions on the subject of virtue.

2 II. He said, "Oh! it is difficult to rely on Heaven;—its appointments are not constant. *But if the sovereign see to it that* his virtue

NAME OF THE BOOK.—咸有一德, 'Both possessed pure virtue.' This is part of a sentence in the Book itself; and as the object of the whole is to inculcate the cherishing and maintaining of virtue pure and unchanging, the words are taken to form the name or title.

The author of the Book was E Yin, excepting of course the first paragraph, which is merely a note by the historical compiler. There is a controversy, as will be seen from the next note but one, as to whom E Yin was addressing, but the style is of a piece with that of the last two Books. The Book comes under the head of 'Instructions.'

CONTENTS. E Yin having returned the government into the hands of T'ae-këă, and wishing to withdraw from public life, addresses some cautions to the emperor on the subject of virtue. This is told us in the first par., forming the first chapter. In four parr. E shows how the possession or loss of the empire depends on the virtue of the sovereign or his want of it, and illustrates his theme by reference to the downfal of Këë and the rise of T'ang. This forms a second chapter. In the next four parr, forming the third chapter, E dwells on the nature and results of pure virtue, and urges the cultivation of it on T'ae-këă. The two last parr., which form the concluding chapter, tell how this virtue will surely be acknowledged, and how the sovereign may find help to it even among the people.

TO WHOM THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THIS BOOK WERE ADDRESSED. There can be no doubt on this point, if we receive the Book, as we now have it, as genuine. The 'Instructions' in it were delivered to T'ae-këă. And this is confirmed by the position of the note on this Book in the Preface to the Shoo, as printed at the beginning of this volume. It follows immediately the note about the 'T'ae-këă.' In the 'Historical Records,' however, the same note appears in a different place. Ts'een places it immediately after the note of 'The Announcements of T'ang,' and before the death of that emperor. This order is followed by all who impugn the genuineness of the present 'old text.' The 'Both possessed pure virtue' must, they say, have been addressed to T'ang:—that the present copies all make it addressed to T'ae-këă is a clear evidence of their being forged.

The note itself is one of those in the Preface which give no account of the occasion on which the Book or Books that they refer to were

德靡常、九有以亡。○三節夏王弗克庸德、慢神虐民、皇天弗保、監于萬方、啟迪有命、眷求一德、俾作神主、惟尹

be constant, he will preserve his throne; if his virtue be not con-
3 stant, the nine provinces will be lost by him. The king of Hea could not maintain the virtue *of his ancestors* unchanged, but contemned the spirits and oppressed the people. Great Heaven no *longer* extended its protection to him. It looked out among the myriad regions to give its guidance to one who might receive its favour, fondly seeking *a possessor of* pure virtue, whom it might

composed. It says nothing but 'E Yin made the BOTH POSSESSED PURE VIRTUE.' It so happens that there is only one sentence in the present text whose genuineness is beyond dispute. All the rest of the Book may be forged, but this one sentence was in the original 'old text.' It is the part of the 3d par.—惟尹躬暨湯,咸有一德, which is quoted in the 'Record of Rites,' the Bk. 緇衣, par. 10, in the form—尹吉 (see on the last Book, Pt. ii., p. 2) 曰,惟尹躬及湯,咸有壹德. If it were proved that 湯 were the honorary, posthumous title of the founder of the Shang dynasty, this quotation would prove that the lessons of the Book were *not* addressed to him. I have said, however, on the name of 'The Speech of T'ang,' that T'ang ought not to be regarded as an honorary title, but as the designation of the emperor in his life. Still, for the minister thus to introduce his sovereign's designation in an address delivered to that sovereign himself would be an instance of unexampled freedom. It does not appear to be straining the point, to conclude from this passage that the 'Both possessed pure virtue' was not addressed to T'ang. That established, we may believe, without much misgiving, that it was addressed to T'ae-këă.

CH. I. P. 1. OCCASION WHEN THE 'BOTH POSSESSED PURE VIRTUE' WAS SPOKEN. These instructions were delivered when E Yin was about to announce his retirement from public life;—in what year, we cannot tell. The returning of the govt. into the hands of T'ae-këă took place B.C. 1750, and E may very soon after have announced his intention to retire from all toils of administration. So far as the language of this par. is concerned, however, years may have elapsed between the two events. Par. 8 below would rather connect the two things closely together, but in opposition to this is a statement in the 左傳,襄,二十一年, that E Yin, though he had kept T'ae-këă in confinement, yet afterwards acted as prime minister to him (尹伊放太甲而相之). Ying-tă supposes that, though E may have declared his wish to withdraw from the court shortly after the reformation of the emperor, T'ae-këă would not receive his resignation, and prevailed on him to continue at the head of affairs. This is not improbable, and it affords a satisfactory solution of the difficulty. 于德='on the subject of virtue.' The 'Daily Explanation' says:—以德之當勉,陳戒于君.

CH. II. Pp. 2—5. THE FAVOUR OF HEAVEN IS NOT TO BE RELIED ON;—IT DEPENDS ON THE VIRTUE OF THE SOVEREIGN. THIS TRUTH ILLUSTRATED BY REFERENCE TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE HEA DYNASTY, AND THE RISE OF THE SHANG. 2. Comp. last Book., Pt. iii., pp. 1, 2. 天難諶,—諶=信, 'to be believed,' 'to be trusted.' We have the same phrase in Pt. V., Bk. XVI., p. 4, where the same assertion is made in p. 6, in the words—天不可信. 靡=無. 九有以亡,—九有, 'the nine possessions,'=九州, 'the nine provinces.' This clause is held to prove that the Shang dynasty continued to retain Yu's division of the empire into nine provinces. 3. *The fall of Këĕ and rise of T'ang,—proving the doctrine just affirmed.* 夏王,—this of course is Këĕ. 弗克庸德,—Gan-kwŏ explains this by 不能常其德, 'could not make his virtue constant.' Lin Che-k'e adopts his language, and the 'Daily Explanation' says more explicitly—弗能有此純常之德, 'could not have

躬暨湯、咸有一德、克享天心、受天明命、以有九有之師、爰革夏正。四節 ○非

make lord of *all* the spirits. *Then* there were I, Yin, and T'ang, both possessed of pure virtue, and able to satisfy the mind of Heaven. He received *in consequence* the bright favour of Heaven, and became master of the multitudes of the nine provinces, and

this pure and constant virtue.' The translation shows that I take a different view of the phrase here. There was no virtue at all about Këĕ; it seems absurd to make E speak of him as if there could have been expected from him virtue of the highest style. 慢神虐民,—comp. last Book, Pt. iii., p. 1. 神 here is equivalent to 鬼神 there. 啟迪有命,—Gan-kwŏ says for this—有天命者開導之, 'to guide on the possessor of the decree of Heaven.' Lin Che-k'e, more correctly and as in the translation, expands—擇其將有天命而開導之. 眷求一德,—一德 is not 'one virtue,' but 'virtue all-one.' Ts'ae says that it means—純一之德,不雜不息之義,卽上所謂常德也, 'virtue pure and one, unmixed, unceasing, what is called above "constant virtue."' It is the 誠, 'the singleness or sincerity,' of the 'Doctrine of the Mean,' by which the three virtues of knowledge, magnanimity, and energy are carried into effect. 神主,='lord of the spirits.' Ts'ae says:—神主,百神之主, 'By 神主, is meant lord of the hundred (=all the) spirits.' It is a name for the emperor as chief of the religion of the empire,—in our phrase, 'Head of the Church' of China. Cheang Kew-shing observes:—'The sovereign is lord of all the spirits. Thus we read in the She King (Pt. III., Bk. II., Ode viii., st. 3). "May you be the lord of all the spirits!" Being lord of the spirits, it follows that he is lord of the people. On the other hand we read in the "Many Regions," (Pt. V., Bk. XVIII., p. 6)—"Heaven on this sought a lord of the people." Being lord of the people, it follows that he is lord of the spirits.' This is to the effect that the 'Head of the Church' is the 'Head of the State' as well, and that either of the designations must be understood as inclusive of the other. The term 主, however, cannot be taken with the same force exactly in both the phrases. The 'lord of the people,' is high above them, their ruler; the 'lord of the spirits' is only the president and director in their worship.

[A passage in the Record of Rites, Bk. 祭法, par. 3, makes this modified meaning of the term 'lord,' as applied to the emperor in his relation to 'spirits,' very plain. It is there said—有天下者祭百神,諸侯在其地則拜之, 'The possessor of the empire sacrifices to all the spirits; the princes only sacrifice to those that are within their territories.' As sacrificing to the spirits, the emperor is their host (主人). In this passage of the 'Laws of Sacrifice,' I know that the hundred 神 are the *shin* of the hills, rivers, forests, valleys, &c., and do not embrace the spirits of heaven or those of men. It was probably this prerogative of the emperor to sacrifice to all of these which first originated the designation of him as 百神之主. But the phrase has now a wider application. Gan-kwŏ says that the 神主 in the text=天地神祇之主, 'lord of the spirits of heaven and the spirits of the earth.]

克享天心,—享 is taken here as=當, 'to be suitable to,' 'to correspond to.' Ying-tă says:—'When one's virtue corresponds to the mind of the spirits, then they accept his offerings (德當神意,神乃享之); hence 享 is to be taken as=當.' This is beating about for a meaning. 受天明命,—there can be no doubt as to the meaning of 明命 here. Compare last Book, Pt. i., p. 2. 爰革夏正,—爰=於是, 'and thereupon.' The dict. calls the char. 引詞, 'a connective conjunction.' T'ang made the year commence in 丑, the last month of winter, instead of the beginning of spring, after the practice of the Hea dyn. Lin Che-k'e says that from the language here we may infer that the alteration of the commencement of the year began with T'ang, and was unknown before the Shang dyn. Whether this practice began with T'ang or not is a

天私我有商、惟天佑于一德、非商求于下民、惟民歸于一德。○五節德惟一、動罔不吉、德二三、動罔不凶、惟吉凶不僭在人、惟天降災祥在德。○六節今嗣王新服厥命、惟新厥德、終始惟一、時乃日新。○七節任官惟賢材、左右

4 proceeded to change Hea's commencement of the year. It was not
that Heaven had any partiality for the ruler of Shang;—Heaven
simply gave its favour to pure virtue. It was not that Shang
sought *the allegiance of* the lower people;—the people simply turned
5 to pure virtue. Where the *sovereign's* virtue is pure, his movements
are all fortunate; where his virtue is wavering and uncertain, his
movements are all unfortunate. Good and evil do not wrongly
befall men, because Heaven sends down misery or happiness according to their conduct.
6 III. Now, O young king, you are newly entering on your *great*
appointment;—you should be making new your virtue. At last
as at first have this as your one object, so shall you make a daily
7 renovation. Let the officers whom you employ be men of virtue
and ability, and let the ministers about you be the right men.

disputed point; but Lin infers more than the text will sustain him in doing.

4, 5. *The rise of T'ang was altogether to be ascribed to his pure consistent virtue; and such virtue is ever the sure way to prosperity.* 德二三,—'virtue two and three.' It is said of a man who is unstable, that 朝二, 夕三, 'in the morning he is for two, and in the evening for three.' He is 'a double-minded man, unstable in all his ways.' 不僭在人, 云云,—compare 天命弗僭, Bk. III., p. 5.

Ch. III. Pp. 6—9. Counsels to T'ae-kea on the duty and the means of realizing in himself this pure and constant virtue.

6. *For the maintenance of virtue a daily progress in it is necessary.* 新服厥命,—'newly *invested* with your appointment.' 惟新厥德,—comp. Bk. II., p. 8. 終始惟一, 時 (= 是 or 於是) 乃日新,—Choo He explains this by:—'This principle (= way of proceeding) must be connectedly kept up without stopping, and there will be a daily renovation. If there be any intermission, this cannot take place.' Chin Tih-sew says:—'Former scholars have observed, that, if men be not daily going forward in their learning, they will be daily going back. So virtue must be daily renewed.' See the 集說.

7. *Right officers and ministers; and how to make them helpful to the sovereign's virtue.* 賢材,—賢 often embraces 材. The 材 or 'ability' being here expressed, we must confine 賢 to the idea of 'virtue.' 左右 = 輔弼大臣;—see on the 'Yih and Tseih.' p. 2, 其弼直, and p. 5, 欽四鄰. 其人,—'*the* men,' = 'the right men.' 爲上……爲民.

惟其人臣、爲上爲德、爲下爲民、其難其慎、惟和惟一。八節 ○德無常師、主善爲師、善無常主、協于克一。九節 ○俾萬

The minister, in relation to *his sovereign* above him, has to promote his virtue; and, in relation to the *people* beneath him, has to seek their good. How hard must it be *to find the proper man*! what careful attention must be required! *Thereafter* there must be harmony *cultivated with him*, and a one-ness of confidence placed in him!

8 "Virtue has no invariable model;—a supreme regard to what is good gives the model of it. What is good has no invariable characteristic to be supremely regarded;—it is found where there

—all the 爲 here are in the low. 3d tone, and have a verbal force, = 'to be for.' Ts'ae says that we have 爲德 instead of 爲君, to show that to be virtuous is the course for the sovereign, and, I may add, that to promote his virtue is the great business of the minister with him. 其難,其愼,惟和惟一,—it is not easy to satisfy the mind as to the connection and meaning of these brief, emphatic expressions. Gan-kwŏ made them all refer to the duty of ministers whose business has just been described. Ying-tă thus expounds his view:—'This passage expands the business of ministers. Since what they have to do is so difficult, let them not deem it easy; and since it demands so much care, let them not make light of it. Ministers are thus warned not to slight their duties or consider them easy. Since their duties are not to be deemed light, they ought harmoniously to serve their sovereign;—the whole body of ministers should have one heart in serving him, and so his government will be good. The 一心 = 一德, so that ministers also are required to have this pure and constant virtue.' In the 語類, Choo He makes 其難其愼 an instruction to the sovereign, while 惟和惟一 are addressed to the ministers. He says:—'The meaning of 其難其愼 is that, since his officers should be thus virtuous and able, and his ministers just the proper men, the sovereign should feel the difficulty in getting them, and the necessity of his being cautiously attentive. The meaning of 惟和惟一 is that, since ministers are charged with such duties, to promote the virtue of their sovereign above them, and the welfare of the people below them, they must be harmonious and united in discharging them.' A third view is that which I have followed in the translation. According to it, each expression contains a counsel to the sovereign in his relation to his officers and ministers. To suppose, with Gan-kwŏ and Ying-tă, that E is speaking here of ministers and for them very much breaks the continuity of his discourse. To suppose, with Choo He, that part is spoken to the sovereign, and part to his ministers, is liable to the same objection, and is like guessing out the meaning rather than reasoning it out. The 'Daily Explanation' thus paraphrases at length the view which I have followed:—人臣之繫于國也,不綦重哉,故其(=人君)方用之也,未能灼知其賢才,則難于任用,而不輕授以官,慎于審察,而必詳核其實,惟恐小人得伺其間也,及其既用之也,已灼知其賢才,則和以待之,猜忌可以盡捐,彼此可以相濟,一以任之,毀譽不得雜乘,初終無所疑貳,惟恐君子不得盡其才也.

8. *How to secure a uniformly virtuous course.* 德無常師,—師 is taken in the sense of 法, 'law,' or 'model.' It might be taken as = 'teacher,' as when it is said that 'Confucius had no regular teacher' (何常師之有, Ana. XIX., xxii.). It is better, however, to understand it here as in the translation. 德 or 'virtue' is employed as the general designation

姓咸曰、大哉王言、又曰、一哉王心、克綏先王之祿、永厎烝民之生。○嗚呼、七世之廟、可以觀德、萬夫之長、

9 is conformity to the uniform decision *of the mind*. *Such virtue* will make *the people* with their myriad surnames all say, 'How great are the words of the king!' and also, 'How single and pure is the king's heart!' It will avail to maintain in tranquillity the *great* possession of the former king, and to secure for ever the *happy* life of the multitudes of the people.

10 IV. "Oh! *to retain a place* in the seven-shrined temple of ancestors is a sufficient witness of virtue. To be acknowledged as chief by the myriad heads of families is a sufficient witness of one's government.

of all good actions. By what model shall a man order his conduct that it shall always be virtuous? No invariable model can be supplied to him. But let him have a chief regard to this point,—that his actions be good, and he will not go far wrong. 主,—as in Ana. I., viii., 2. But what is to be the decisive characteristic of what is good? The answer to this question is in the last clause,—協于克一, 'harmony in attaining to the one.' It is not easy to say precisely what is meant. Ts'ae says the idea is not far different from that of Confucius in his famous saying,—吾道一以貫之 (Ana. IV., xv.) The 一 has reference to the 一德, which is in the title of the Book. Man has a monitor in regard to what is good and what is evil in his own breast. Let him only give a uniform obedience to the voice of this monitor, and his whole conduct will be ordered virtuously. 9. *The happy and great results of such a virtuous course.* 俾=使, 'will cause.' A nominative is to be brought on from the last paragraph. 大哉王言,—the 'words of the king' are those published in his ordinances of State. 克綏先王之祿,—the same nominative is to be supplied to 克 as to 俾. 祿 is the 天祿, 'Heaven-conferred revenues,' of the 'Counsels of Yu,' par. 17.

Ch. IV. Pp. 10, 11. THE CHARACTER OF ONE'S GOVERNMENT AND VIRTUE WILL COMMAND ACKNOWLEDGMENT IN THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE. THE SOVEREIGN SHOULD BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT HELPS TO HIS VIRTUE EVEN FROM THE LOWEST OF THE PEOPLE. 七世之廟,—'the ancestral temple of seven generations.' The emperors had in their ancestral temple the shrines with the spirit-tablets of seven of their ancestors;—see on the 'Doctrine of the Mean,' xix. 4. But in the case of an emperor's possessing great merit, having displayed great virtue and rendered great services to his dynasty, his shrine might remain in addition to the seven regular shrines of the temple. This seems to be the motive presented to T'ae-këă,—that by being greatly virtuous, he might insure to all time a niche—a shrine—in the ancestral temple, and be looked up to by his descendants to the latest period of his dynasty. 萬夫之長,—Lin Che-k'e observes that 萬夫=萬姓 or 萬民, 'the myriad surnames,' or 'the myriads of the people,' and that the whole phrase is equivalent to 天子, or 'emperor.' No doubt this explanation is correct, and I suppose that 夫 is to be taken in the sense of 'husband,' or head of a family. The idea is that when all the people readily submit to the emperor, the excellence of his government may be predicated.

[No little controversy has been raised on this paragraph, and especially on the clause—七世之廟. That the imperial temple of ancestors in the Chow dynasty was fitted up with seven shrines as the rule is acknowledged on all hands; and there is no intimation in the classical books, or in any writings of a high antiquity,—with perhaps one exception, which will be pointed out,—that the practice was different under the dynasties of Shang and Hea. About the middle of the second century of our era, Wei Yuen-shing (韋元成), a great scholar and minister, put forth the view that under the Shang dynasty, the shrines in the imperial temple

可以觀政。○后非民罔使、民非后罔事、無自廣以狹人、匹夫匹婦、不獲自盡、民主罔與成厥功。（十一節）

11 "The sovereign without the people has none whom he can employ; and the people without the sovereign have none whom they can serve. Do not consider yourself so enlarged as to deem others small in comparison. If ordinary men and women do not find the opportunity to give full development to their *virtue*, the people's lord will be without the proper aids to complete his merit."

were only five. Lew Hin and others opposed this opinion; but subsequently it was adopted with some modification by Ch'ing Heuen and Ma Yung; as an opponent to whom Wang Suh put himself forward. The question will not be admitted to be settled yet. The impugners of the present 'old text' hold to the decision of Ch'ing, while Maou K'e-ling has written at great length on the other side in his 廟制折衷.

I have said that there is perhaps one exception to the universal silence in books before our era on there having been any difference in the number of shrines in the early dynasties. That exception is in the 呂氏春秋, in the 13th Bk. of which, and the chapter 諭大, we have the passage—商書曰,五世之廟,可以觀怪,萬夫之長,可以生謀. But I cannot persuade myself that our present text was made by altering this strange quotation.]

11. 后非民......罔事,—comp. last Book, Pt. ii., p. 2. 匹夫匹婦,—comp. Con. Ana., XIV., xviii., 3. 不獲自盡,—'do not obtain to develope themselves to the utmost.' Ts'ae says:—匹夫匹婦,有一不得自盡於上,則善不備, 'Let but one common man and woman not be able to display their virtue completely to the sovereign, then there is one instance of what is good not provided,' *i.e.*, not provided to be an example to him. E Yin's idea was that the emperor could and ought to learn good from all, however far they might be beneath him. It must be allowed that there is a falling off in these two concluding paragraphs. They are but an impotent conclusion to the Book.

CONCLUDING NOTE. [i.] *About E Yin.* E Yin had certainly played a most important part in the overthrow of the Hea dynasty, and the establishment of the Shang. Whether he spent his last years in retirement as he wished to do, or was persuaded to continue to be prime minister to his death, we do not know; but he survived T'ae-këă, and died, according to the preface to the Shoo, and to Sze-ma Ts'een, B.C. 1712, more than 100 years old, in the 8th year of Yuh-ting, T'ae-këă's son and successor. He was buried with imperial honours, and a narrative of the transactions of his life was drawn up by another minister called Kaou Shen, which formed one of the documents of the Shoo, but is unfortunately lost. No credit can be given to the statements in the 'Bamboo Books,' that E was keeping T'ae-këă in confinement, while he reigned in his stead, and that T'ae-këă, having escaped in the 7th year of his imprisonment, put him to death, when Heaven put the emperor in such terror by a dense mist of three days' duration that he invested E's son with his honours and possessions.

[ii.] *About T'ae-këă.* History is silent on the events of T'ae-këă's reign after his reformation. He must have held on, however, in the course of virtue, for he earned for himself the shrine in the ancestral temple, and occupied it with the title of 太宗. His reign ended B.C. 1720.

THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK VII. PWAN-KANG. PART i.

盤庚上

一節 盤庚遷于殷、民不適有居、率籲衆慼、出矢言。

1 I. Pwan-kăng wished to remove to Yin, but the people would not go to dwell there. He therefore appealed to all the discontented, and made the following protestations.

INTRODUCTORY HISTORICAL NOTE. T'ae-kĕă's reign ended B.C. 1720, and Pwan-kăng's commenced B.C. 1400. More than three centuries of the Shang dynasty is thus a blank in history, so far as the documents of the Shoo are concerned. They were filled up by the reigns of 14 emperors, of whom we know from all other sources little more than the names.

Originally there were 7 other Books between the 'Both possessed pure virtue,' and the 'Pwan-kăng;' but hardly a shred of any of them can now be collected.

The names of the intervening emperors, with all the information that can be brought together about them, are as follow:—

[i.] Yuh-ting (沃丁). He was a son of T'ae-kĕă; succeeded to his father, B.C. 1719; died, B.C. 1691. We have seen that E Yin died in his reign, and was buried by him magnificently in Pŏ. Soon after this there was made the lost Book, called 'Yuh-ting.'

[ii.] T'ae-kăng (太庚). He was a brother of Yuh-ting. He died, B.C. 1666.

[iii.] Sëaou-kĕă (小甲). He was a son of T'ae-kăng. He died, B.C. 1649.

[iv.] Yung-ke (雍己). He was a brother of Sëaou-kĕă. He died, B.C. 1637. During his reign, the government became very weak, and many of the princes did not think it worth their while to appear at court.

[v.] T'ae-mow (太戊). He was a brother of Yung-ke. His prime minister was E Chih, the son of E Yin. In his time there occurred at Pŏ an ominous appearance of a mulberry tree and a stalk of grain growing together. According to Ts'een, T'ae-mow in great alarm consulted his minister about it, when Chih replied, 'I have heard that portents do not overcome virtue. May there not be defects about your government? Let your Majesty cultivate your virtue.' This advice was taken. The emperor became greatly virtuous. The strange growth withered away, and the affair was commemorated in a Book, which is now lost, by a worthy minister called Woo Heen. T'ae-mow reposed great confidence in Chih; the dynasty revived; the princes acknowledged their allegiance; and when the emperor died in B.C. 1562, after reigning 75 years, he received, in the ancestral temple, the title of 中宗. [We might be inclined to doubt the length of this reign. Chow-kung mentions it particularly, in Pt. V., Bk. XV., par. 5.]

[vi.] Chung-ting (仲丁). He was the son of T'ae-mow. He transferred the capital from Pŏ to Gaou (囂; Sze-ma Ts'een writes the name 隞), in the pres. dis. of Ho-yin (河陰), dep. of K'ae-fung, Ho-nan.—There was a Book in the Shoo, giving an account of this

removal; but it is lost. His reign was marked by insurrections and incursions of wild tribes, and by 'internal disorders.' It ended B.C. 1549.

[vii.] Wae-jin (外壬). He was a brother of Chung-ting. His reign ended B.C. 1534, amidst a renewal of 'internal disorders.'

[viii.] Ho-tan-këä (河亶甲). He was a brother of Chung-ting and Wae-jin. An overflow of the Ho made him remove the capital in his first year from Gaou to Sëang, a place in the pres. dep. of Chang-tih (彰德), Ho-nan. His reign was a feeble one, and the fortunes of Shang began again to wane. A Book, which is now lost, commemorated the transference of the seat of govt. The addition of Ho (河) to the emperor's name must have been somehow connected with this. He died B.C. 1525.

[ix.] Tsoo-yih (祖乙). He was a son of Tan-këä. He was obliged to remove the capital from Sëang to Kăng (耿), in the pres. dis. of Ho-tsin (河津), in Këang Chow (絳州), Shan-se. The Book of the Shoo commemorating this is lost. Subsequently he made another change from Kăng to 邢, in the pres. dis. of Hing-t'ae (邢臺), dep. Shun-tih, Chihle. [It may be doubted, however, whether 邢 and 耿 were not identical. See Sze-ma Ts'een.] He had for his chief minister Heen (賢), a son of Woo Heen of T'ae-mow's reign, and his govt. displayed a vigour which anew commanded the submission of the princes. He died B.C. 1506.

[x.] Tsoo-sin (祖辛). He was a son of Tsoo-yih. He died B.C. 1490.

[xi.] Yuh-këä (沃甲). He was a brother of Tsoo-sin. He died, B.C. 1465, amid confusion and disorder.

[xii.] Tsoo-ting (祖丁). He was a son of Yuh-këä. He also died in the midst of troubles, B.C. 1433.

[xiii.] Nan-kăng (南庚). He was another son of Yuh-këä. It is the same story;—he died amid troubles, B.C. 1408.

[xiv.] Yang-këä (陽甲). He was a son of Tsoo-ting. The fortunes of the House of Shang seemed to be at a low ebb in his time. He died in B.C. 1401, and was succeeded by his brother Pwan-kăng.

Name of the Book.—盤庚, 'Pwan-kăng.' This was the name of the 17th emperor of the Shang dynasty. It is sometimes written 般庚. He is by some reckoned the 19th emp., two reigns—of Wae-ping and Chung-jin—being interposed between T'ang and T'ae-këä. The 左傳 refers to the Book as the 'Announcement of Pwan-kăng;' and it is properly placed in the division of the Shoo which embraces 'Announcements.' The Book is found both in the old text and the modern. There are many passages in it difficult of interpretation. As edited by Confucius, it was in three Parts, which arrangement is retained in the old text, while Fuh-shang had either forgotten, or did not mark it.

Contents. The whole Book centres round the removal of the capital from the north of the Ho to Yin on the south of it. The emperor saw that the removal was necessary, but he was met by the unwillingness of the people and the opposition of the great families. The first Part relates how he endeavoured to justify the measure. It contains two addresses, to the people and to those in high places respectively, designed to secure their cordial co-operation. The second Part brings before us the removal in progress. They have crossed the river, but there continues to be dissatisfaction, which the emperor endeavours to remove by a long and earnest vindication of his policy. The third Part opens with the removal accomplished. The new city has been founded, and the plan of it laid out. The emperor makes a third appeal to the people and chiefs to forget all their heart-burnings, and co-operate with him in building up in the new capital a great destiny for the dynasty.

The first Part has been divided into 17 paragraphs, which may be be divided again into 2 chapters. The former, parr. 1—4, contains, after an introductory reference to the occasion of its delivery, an address, by Pwan-kang, chiefly to the people, vindicating his measure on the authority of precedents, and the advantages it would secure. The other, parr. 5—17, is an address, to those in high places chiefly, complaining of the manner in which they misrepresented him to the people, and consulted only their own selfishness, and threatening them with his high displeasure, if they did not change their ways.

Ch. I. Pp. 1—4. Occasion of the addresses in this Part. Necessity and duty of removing the capital; the measure vindicated by precedents; advantages to be gained by it. 1. 盤庚遷于殷,—'Pwan-kăng was removing (the past incomplete tense, = wished to remove) to Yin.' The removal must have been from Kăng, or from 邢, if Tsoo-yih made a second change of his capital; and it was probably necessitated by an overflow of the Ho. The site chosen for the new capital was 殷, called 殷亳 in the prefatory note on the Book, which I have there translated—'Pŏ, *the cradle of the* Yin.' Gan-kwŏ says here that '殷 is another name of 亳.' Others say that Pŏ was the name of the territory, and Yin that of a particular place in it. The site of Pwan-kăng's new capital was what is called 'the western Pŏ,' in the pres. dis. of Yen-sze (偃師), dep. of Ho-nan, Ho-nan. This was not the Pŏ where T'ang had his capital, when he commenced his work of punishment among the princes with the chief of Kŏ (Bk. II., p. 6). He had, however, probably dwelt previously in this Yin-pŏ, as intimated in the 9th notice of the preface.

二節曰我王來、既爰宅于茲、重我民、無盡劉、不能胥匡以生、卜稽曰其如台。○三節先王有服、恪謹天命、茲猶不常

2 He said, "Our king came, and fixed on this settlement. He did
so from a deep concern for our people, and not because he would
have them all die, where they cannot *now* help each other to preserve
their lives. I have examined the matter by divination, and obtained
3 the reply—'This is no place for us.' When the former kings had
any business, they reverently obeyed the commands of Heaven. In

[After this removal of Pwan-kăng to Yin, the name of the dynasty appears to have been changed from Shang to Yin. Pwan-kăng and his successors all appear in the 'Kang-muh' as kings of Yin, in contradistinction from his predecessors, who are entered as kings of Shang. It is there stated also that he changed the title of the dynasty.]

適有居,—適=往 or 之, 'to go to.' The 'Daily Explanation' has for the whole—往適安居之地, 'go to the place of tranquil dwelling.' 率籲衆慼,—率=總; 籲 (the dict. says should be without the 竹)=呼; 慼=憂. Gan-kwŏ took 率 as=領, and 籲 as=和. Ying-tă expands his view:—率領和諧衆憂之人, 'He conducted and *tried to* harmonize all the grieving.' The view given in the translation is much to be preferred. The 說文 quotes the passage with 戚 for 慼, which has unnecessarily made Këang Shing and others insist on 衆戚 as meaning—'all his relatives,'='all the high officers.' 出矢言,—矢=誓. Comp. Con. Ana., VI., xxvi.

2. *The necessity and the sanction of a change of capital.* 我王來,—the 王 or king here must be Tsoo-yih. 既爰宅于茲,—既爰='and thereupon.' 爰, however, between 既 and 宅 is perplexing. 于茲=於此, 'here,' referring to Kăng. 重我民.無盡劉—劉=殺, 'to kill,' or 'to be killed.' Keang Shing gives as the meaning of the passage:—'He governed well, and made the people prosperous. Altho' there were the evils of occurring inundations, they did not hurt the people, and they did not all die.' The view of Gan-kwŏ is better than this:—'Tsoo Yih removed here, because he valued the people, and would not have them all die.' *i.e.*, would not have them all die in Sëang (see the preface, not. 25). The meaning given in the translation is that of Ts'ae, as expanded in the 'Daily Explanation.' It is certainly more germane to the argument of the whole Book. 不能胥匡以生,—comp. Bk. V., Pt. ii., p. 2; but there is not the same difficulty with the 胥 here. [But that that passage of the 'T'ae-këă' is guaranteed by its being expressly quoted in the Le Ke, we should certainly have had Jŏ-ken, and all the impugners of the received 'old text,' referring to this paragraph as the original of it, and insisting that here the plagiarist of Tsin stole from the Pwan-kăng.] 卜稽之=稽之於卜. 曰其如台,—this is the answer returned to the divination, but expressed in Pwan-kăng's words. 其如台,—comp. Bk. I., p. 3,—夏罪其如台. Ts'ae explains by:—亦曰,此地無若我何,言耿不可居,決當遷.

3. *Precedents of removal in the histories of former reigns.* 服 is to be taken in the sense of 事, 'business,' 'affair.' The 'Daily Explanation' says:—'The former kings, in great governmental emergencies of the empire,' &c. 茲猶不常寧,—茲, 'this,' = in such a matter as this transference of the capital. 猶 is well expressed by 'especially.' The force of it is to connect the clause closely with the preceding.—'If in all matters they obeyed the will of Heaven, how much more did they do so in a matter like this!' 于今五邦,—'by

寧、不常厥邑、于今五邦、今不承于古、罔知天之斷命、矧曰其克從先王之烈。○四節若顛木之有由蘖、天其永我命于茲新邑、紹復先王之大業、厎綏四方。○五節盤庚斆于民、由乃在位、以常舊

a case like this especially they did not indulge a constant repose, —they did not abide ever in the same city. Up to this time *the capital has been in* five regions. If we do not now follow the practice of the ancients, we shall be refusing to acknowledge that Heaven is making an end of our dynasty here;—how little can it be said of us that we are following the meritorious course of the former
4 kings! As from the stump of a felled tree there are sprouts and shoots, Heaven will perpetuate its decree in our favour in this new city; —the great possession of the former kings will be continued and renewed; tranquillity will be secured to the four quarters *of the empire*."
5 II. Pwan-kang, in making the people, aware of his views, began with those who were in *high* places, and took the constantly recur-

now there have been five regions.' We must understand as in the translation. There is some difficulty in making out the five capitals. They are commonly enumerated as—T'ang's capitals in Shang K'ew and Pŏ, Chung-ting's in Gaou, Ho-tan-këă's in Sëang, Tsoo-yih's in K'ăng. But Shang-k'ew and the Pŏ of T'ang —the Pŏ where he first appears in the Shoo— were identical. If he had previously moved from the 'western Pŏ,' that was anterior to the commencement of the dynasty;—only our capital can be counted to him in the enumeration. Reckoning from T'ang's eastern Pŏ, and including the present change to Yin, or the western Pŏ,—which is the way of many,—we have five capitals; but to include the change which was only in contemplation seems forbidden by the clause which follows—今不承于古. The number of five may be made out by allowing two movements to Tsoo-yih. The point is really of little importance; and to suppose that Pwan-kăng is speaking of five changes which he had made himself, though it is the view of Sze-ma Ts'ëen, is inadmissible. 罔知天之斷命,—the meaning of 斷命 is very much determined by the 永命 in the next par., which is in contrast with it. 矧 corresponds to 猶 above. 猶＝'how much more'; 矧＝'how much less.' The commentators all explain 烈 by 業. We get a much better meaning by taking it as＝功,—as in Bk. IV., p. 1.

4. *How a reviving and prosperity would come with a change of capital.* 若顛木之有由蘖,—蘖 (see the dict. on the form of the character)＝斫木餘, 'the remains of a tree that has been cut down.' This justifies —requires, indeed—the translation which I have given of 顛木, which is simply 'a fallen tree.' 由 is defined by 木生條, 'the sprouts and shoots of a tree;'—see the dict. on this use of the character.

Ch. II. Pp. 5—17. Pwan-kang's address to those in high places. He expostulates with them, and threatens them, because of their opposition to the proposed removal of the capital. 5. Lin Che-k'e and Ts'ae preface this chapter in the following way:—The site of Kăng, being low and liable to inundations, was peculiarly unhappy for the poorer people, who were driven from their homes and

服正法度、曰、無或敢伏小人之攸箴、王命衆悉至于

ring circumstances of former times to lay down the right law for the *present emergency*, saying, "Let none of you dare to suppress the remonstrances of the poorer people." The king ordered all in common to come to his hall.

scattered about. It had advantages, however, for the large and wealthy families, who were therefore unwilling to leave it, and contrived by unsubstantial statements to bring many of the lower orders to resist the proposed movement along with themselves. They could not blind the minds of all, but they came between those who wished to represent the grievances of their situation and the emperor, preventing the interchange of their views. These were the circumstances, which occasioned Pwan-kăng his difficulties, and to deal with which is his object in this chapter. These observations seem to be correct, and by keeping them in mind, we can better understand the whole of the chapter.

斅于民,—斅=教, 'to teach,' or, better, =覺悟, 'to awaken, make aware.'

由乃在位、以常舊服正法度,—this is a difficult passage, as appears from the dift. views that have been taken of it. Gan-kwŏ, taking 由=用, and 乃=汝, supposed the words to be spoken to the people. Ying-tă thus paraphrases his interpretation:—'Pwan-kăng instructing the people, said, "You ought to follow the orders of your superiors, and use the constant practice of former times to rectify the law." He wished to charge the people to remove in obedience to the orders of the ministers.' It is added—"He also cautioned the ministers, saying," &c. This is hardly intelligible, and we cannot admit the interposition of a 曰 after the first clause. Keang Shing, Sun Yen, and other interpreters of the present dynasty, take 由 and 乃 in the same way as Lin and Ts'ae, but view the whole differently. Their interpretation is:—'Pwan-kăng, wishing to make the people aware of his views, would do so by means of those in places of authority, and would use the constant practice of former times to lay down the correct way of proceeding. He therefore said to the officers,' &c. On this construction, the constant practice of former times (常舊服,—服=事, as in par. 3) is not the practice of removing the capital, but that of calling a general assembly of the people to deliberate on such an important measure. 正法度, also, does not mean, as in the translation, to lay down the law of proceeding in what was already determined on, but to consider whether such a proceeding should be taken or not. An insuperable objection to this view is the address which follows, in which no proposition is laid before the assembly, but the ministers and officers simply are sharply spoken to. I append the paraphrase of the 'Daily Explanation':—其(=盤庚)斅于民也、自在位者始、然亦非繩之以法、動之以威、惟以先王舊常遷都之事、以正今日之法度、見已之順天命者、取法乎先王、則人臣之虔職守者、亦當恪遵乎上命、其大意若曰云云.

無或敢伏小人之攸箴,—無=毋; 伏=藏匿, 'to conceal;' 攸=所: 箴=諫, 'to remonstrate.' 箴 primarily denotes 'a sewing needle,' made of course of bamboo; then a pointed stone used for puncturing the flesh in disease. From this second use of the term comes that in the text. 箴言 are 'pungent words,' that probe the conscience.

王命衆悉至于庭,—王, 'the king.' This of course is Pwan-kang; and it might be well to separate this sentence from the rest of the paragraph, and let it stand by itself, as Lin Che-k'e does. I have said that 'the king of course is Pwan-kăng but Keang Shing and others will have it that we are to understand, after K'ang-shing, that the King was Yang-këă Pwan-kăng's brother and predecessor.' They will have it that, at the time to which this first Part refers, Pwan-kăng was acting as prime minister to him, and was carrying out his wishes in advocating the removal of the capital. They admit at the same time that in the second and third parts Pwan-kăng himself is 'King,' so that we must suppose the transference to have been contemplated and agitated for a considerable time. This theory is altogether gratuitous, and I can find no substantial ground for it in the language of any part of the Book. Sun Yen to support it makes 王命、云云, to be the words of Pwan-kăng;—'Do not venture to conceal from the people that the King commands all,' &c. But the 攸箴 forbid such a construction. In the 衆悉 we must understand both the people and the officers and ministers. They were

庭。○六節王若曰、格汝衆、予告汝訓、汝猷黜乃心、無傲從康。○七節古我先王、亦惟圖任舊人共政、王播告之修、不匿厥指、王用丕欽、罔有逸言、民用丕變、今汝聒聒、起

6 The king spoke to this effect:—"Come, all of you; I will announce to you my instructions. Take counsel how to put away your *selfish* thoughts. Do not with haughty *disregard of me* follow after your own ease.

7 "Of old, our former kings had it as a principal object in their plans to employ the men of old families to share in the government. When they wished to proclaim and announce what was to be attended to, those did not conceal the imperial views, and on this account the kings greatly respected them. They did not exceed the truth *in their communications with the people*, and on this account the

gathered to 'the hall,' congregated, I suppose, all about the royal residence. The meeting, however, was not for deliberation. We may suppose that the people would enjoy the *schooling* of the officers.

[If we will not be satisfied without a reason for the change of style from 'Pwan-kăng' to 'the king,' and think that the inartistical manner in which the compiler did his work does not sufficiently account for it, I see no course but to resort to the theory of different documents, which certain critics make so much use of in accounting for the change from one name of the Supreme Being to another in the Book of Genesis!]

6. *Reproof of the insolence and selfishness of the officers.* 王若曰,—若曰 intimates that what follows is not all in the exact words of the king, but the substance of what he said. Others will have it that the 若 is appropriate in the mouth of a minister speaking in the name of the sovereign, as we shall find it several times in the next Part; but even there the 若 = 'substantially thus.' 格爾衆,—the 衆 must be co-extensive with the same term in the last par., embracing officers and people, but the address is at once directed to the officers only. 猷黜乃心,—猷 = 謀; 黜 = 去; 乃 = 汝. 無傲從康,—無 = 毋; 傲, 'haughty,' 'insolent,' as in the 'Yih and Tseih,' p. 8. The whole is paraphrased:—毋得傲上之命,從已之安.

7. *Degeneracy of Pwan-kăng's ministers and officers as compared with those of former times.* 古我先王,—these 'former Kings' are to be taken generally, as intending all the sovereigns of the dyn. from T'ang downwards. 亦惟圖任舊人共政,—亦, 'also,' *i.e.*. in the same way as Pwan-kăng himself; 惟圖, is not 'only planned,' but 惟 may be taken as the copula, or as amalgamating with the meaning of 圖; 舊人 = 世臣舊家之人, 'hereditary ministers and men of old families.' Gan-kwŏ takes 舊人 as = 老成之人, 'old and experienced men;' but the meaning is clearly indicated in par. 14, and other places. 共政 = 共治其政. 王播告之修,不匿厥指,—Gan-kwŏ explains this:—王布告人以所修之政,不匿其指, 'when the kings were publishing (= wished to publish) to the people the government which was to be cultivated, they did not conceal their views.' This must be the meaning of the 修, which, standing alone in the text, is enigmatic. The 'Daily Explanation,' finds a

信險膚、予弗知乃所訟。○八節非予自荒兹德、惟汝含德、不惕予一人、予若觀火、予亦拙謀作乃逸。○九節若網在綱、有條而不紊、若農服田

people became greatly changed. Now, *however*, you keep clamouring, and get the confidence *of the people* by alarming and shallow
8 speeches. I do not know what you keep wrangling about. In this movement I am not myself abandoning my proper virtue, but you conceal the goodness of my intentions, not standing in awe of me, the one man. I see you as clearly as one sees fire; but still by my undecided plans I have produced your error.
9 "When the net has its line, there is order and not confusion; and when the husbandman labours upon the fields, and spends his

great deal of meaning in the clause—不匿厥指, saying it = 'they proclaimed the favour of the sovereign to the people, and reported the remonstrances of the people to the sovereign.' I cannot see more in it than I have expressed in the translation. 罔有逸言,—逸=過; 逸言 are 'words going beyond' the truth. 今汝聒聒,—the 說文 quotes this passage not under 聒, but under 懖, which seems also to have been the reading of Ch'ing K'ang-shing. The meaning of the phrase is given variously. We have—多言之意, 'clamorous' (the 日講 and 集傳); 無知之貌, 'the appearance of stupidity' (Gan-kwŏ); 拒善自用之意, 'self-opinionated, resisting what is good' (Ma Yung and the 說文); 難告之貌 'the appearance of being difficult to be spoken to' (Ch'ing). 起信險膚,—the connection shows that by 險膚 the speeches of the officers are characterized. 險, 'precipitous,' 'hazardous,' = 'alarming.' 膚, 'the skin,' here = 'shallow,' words not more than skin deep. The translation of 起信 is after Lin Che-k'e and Ts'ae. Këang Shing has a different view, and takes 起=造, and 信 (1st tone) = 申, the two together = 'you raise and put forth.' 8. *While reproving the perverse opposition of his ministers, Pwan-kăng acknowledges his own weakness.* The meaning of this par. given in the translation is again after the 集傳. 荒=廢; comp. its use in Pt. III., Bk. III., p. 8. 兹德,—'this virtue,' *i.e.*, the virtue proper to the sovereign, *to love the people*. 含德,—'conceal the virtue,' *i.e.*, the virtue of the emperor proposing the removal of the capital with a view to the benefit of the people. 予若觀火=我視汝情明若觀火, 'I see your feelings and ways as clearly as if I were looking at fire.' 拙謀,—'stupid plans.' 'Stupid' = undecided, not using force of will and appliances to compel obedience. 作乃逸=成汝過失. Gan-kwŏ takes a different view of 惟汝含德, and makes it = 'but you cherish evil thoughts.' Keang Shing agrees with this; but his explanations of 兹德 and 予觀若火 are peculiar. See his comm. *in loc.*

9, 10. *The officers are exhorted to put away their selfishness, and to do real good to the people. The good effects of their doing so are illustrated.*

9. 若網在綱,—'if the net be on the rope.' The rope, going round the mouth or edge of the net, keeps it in order, and affords the means of handling it easily. 有條,—'there are the separate divisions or parts,'—there is order. What the rope is to the net, that the sovereign is to the ministers; and they must allow to him a control over them and

力穡、乃亦有秋。○汝克黜乃心、施實德于民、至于婚友、丕乃敢大言汝有積德。○乃不畏戎毒于遠邇、惰農自安、不昏作勞、不服田畝、越其罔有黍稷。○汝不

10 strength in reaping, there is then the *abundant* autumn. If you can
put away your *selfish* thoughts, you will bestow real good upon the
people, reaching to your relatives and friends, and may boldly venture
to make your words great, and say that you have accumulated
11 virtue. You do not fear the great evils which are far and near.
You are like the husbandman who yields himself to ease, and is not
strong to toil and to labour on his acres, and who in such a case
12 cannot have either rice or millet. You do not use friendly and good

guidance of them. This portion of the par. is understood to have reference to the haughty disregard of him shown by Pwan-kăng's ministers,—their 傲 (par. 6). 若農云云,—服田=服勞于田畝; 力穡=盡力于稼穡. The 'reaping' is to be taken as inclusive of the 'sowing.' This portion is understood to be directed against the officers' seeking their ease,—the 從康 of par 6.

10. 實德,—'real, substantial, virtue.' The meaning is that if they would put away their selfishness (see par. 6), and cordially co-operate with the emperor in promoting the removal to Yin, they would be really benefiting the people. It is not easy to show how the diff't. parts of the paragraph depend on one another. No commentator that I have examined has succeeded in doing so. They all, from Gan-kwŏ downwards, have lost the clue to a fair and consistent interpretation, by making the two clauses—汝克黜乃心, 施實德于民 run on as if they were connected by an *and*, whereas we should take 施實德,云云, as the results that would flow from their putting away their selfishness. The two first clauses must be joined by a 則, and not by 而, or the 及 of a looser style. 至于婚友,—'reaching—which will reach—to relatives and friends.' 婚 properly denotes 'the kindred of the wife'; here it = 'relatives' generally. The great families were opposed to the contemplated movement, as Kăng was sufficiently advantageous to them. Pwan-kăng here tells them that they likewise, as well as the people generally, would be benefited by it. 丕乃敢大言,—'great(=bold) may be your venturing to magnify yourselves and say,' ———. The straits to which the commentators are put by the language here may be seen in Gan-kwŏ and Keang Shing. The placing of a 則 between the two first clauses makes the interpretation much more easy.

11, 12. *Further reproof of those in high places for their self-seeking and disregard of the emperor's wishes.* 11. 乃不畏戎毒于遠邇,—戎=大, 'great;' 毒=害, 'injuries,' 'evils.' Pwan-kăng has reference to the desolation wrought by the overflowing waters, of which the wealthy families hardly seemed to be conscious. Keang Shing says he can get no meaning from the sentence thus construed, and places a stop at 毒, and explains 于遠邇 by 徒計校于遠近, 'you vainly calculate, and compare the distant and the near.' This does not make the meaning more intelligible or the construction more easy. 不昏作勞,—昏=暋, Pt. V. Bk. IX., p. 15, 'to be strong,' 'energetic.' 越 is defined by Ying-tă by 於; but then 於 must be taken as an adverb, =於是, 'thereupon.' Keang Shing gives 卒 for it, = 'the result is.' 12. 汝

和吉言于百姓、惟汝自生毒、乃敗禍姦宄以自災于厥身、乃既先惡于民、乃奉其恫、汝悔身何及、相時憸民、猶胥顧于箴言、其發有逸口、矧予制乃短長之命、汝曷弗告朕、而胥動以浮

words to the people, and are only producing suffering for yourselves. As destroyers and calamities, villains and traitors, the punishment shall come on your persons. You set the example of evil, and must feel its smart,—what will it avail you then to repent? Look at the poor people;—they can still consult together about remonstrances *which they wish to address to me*, but when they begin to speak, you are ready with your extravagant talk:—how much more ought you to have me before your eyes, with whom it is to make your lives long or short! Why do you not report their

不......生毒,—吉=善, 'good.' 和吉言, are 'soothing and good words,' by which the officers might have allayed the excitement of the people, and led them to fall in with the emperor's wish to remove to Yin. 惟汝自生毒 must be = the 自災于厥身 below. Pwan-kăng begins to take a higher tone with the officers, and threatens them. Gan-kwŏ supposes the 百姓 here to be the 百官, 'the various officers,' and the lesson to be administered to the 公卿, or 'high nobles' above them. It is a strange and inadmissible interpretation. 乃敗禍......厥身,—the 'Daily Explanation' has for this:—敗禍姦宄之刑, 亦且災于汝之身矣. The 乃 may be taken either as = 汝, or as a conjunction. 敗禍 are co-ordinate with 姦宄, and are designations applied to the officers, opposing the emperor as they did. Among all the commentators only Sun Yen has attempted to grapple with the difficulty of these terms, and he only partially and unsuccessfully. 乃既......何及.—乃 = 汝; 先惡 = 惡之先, 'the precedents of wickedness;'—so, Ts'ae. 恫 = 痛. 悔身無及,—the 身 occasions a difficulty here. It is to be joined to 何及. Gan-kwŏ says:—悔之而于身無所及, 'you may repent, but that will not avail your persons.' 相時憸民......之命,—相 = 視, 'to look at;' 時 = 是, 'these;' 憸民 = 小民, 'the lower people.' 憸 (the original form of the char. is disputed) properly means 'sharp-mouthed,' = 'litigious,' 'flattering.' This meaning is retained in the phrase, in Pt. V., Bk. XIX., p. 20. It would be inappropriate here, and therefore the signif. of 小民 is accepted in its stead. 猶胥顧 云云,—I have translated after the paraphrase of the 'Daily Explanation.' Ts'ae seems to interpret after Lin Che-k'e, who says:—'Look at those poor people;—they can still regard one another in their remonstrances, fearing lest, in the words which they utter, they should transgress with their mouths, and bring misery on themselves. So are the poor people in awe, with reference to the remonstrances which they would speak, and yet you, with regard to me who have the power of life and death over you in my hands, do not stand in awe of me, but haughtily disregard me, and follow your own

言、恐沈于衆、若火之燎于原、不可嚮邇、其猶可撲滅、則惟爾衆自作弗靖、非予有咎。○十三節遲任有言曰、人惟求舊、器非求舊、惟新。○十四節古

words to me, but go about to excite one another by empty speeches, frightening and involving the multitudes in misery? When a fire is blazing in the plains, so that it cannot be approached, can it still be beaten out? Thus for you to cause dispeace in this way:—it is not I who am to blame.

13 "Ch'e Jin has said, 'In men, we seek individuals of old families;

ease.' You are not equal to the poor people.' Gan-kwŏ took the same view of the passage as Lin. The modern view is more in harmony with the tenor of the whole Book.

汝曷弗告……于衆,—恐=恐動之以禍患, 'frightening and exciting them about the calamity.' 沈=沈陷之於罪惡, 'plunging and sinking them in wickedness.' 若火……撲滅,—in interpreting this sentence, I am obliged to differ from Lin Che-k'e and the 'Daily Explanation.' They understand Pwan-kăng as saying that a blazing fire which could not be approached, might still be beaten out, and he would cause the officers to know that when he arrayed himself in his terrors, they would be consumed before him, and have an end made of all their speeches. But is it true in nature that a fire not approachable can yet be beaten out? There could not be such a thing without appliances of which Pwan-kăng could have no idea. The passage is twice quoted in the 左傳 (隱六年, and 莊十四年,) with 惡之易, before 若火之燎, and the meaning is that prolonged wickedness becomes irremediable. It can't be remedied, and must produce its natural result of ruin. So Pwan-kăng threatens his officers, it would be with them. 則惟爾衆自作弗靖, 非予有咎,—the king's auger does not allow him to bring his meaning out fully. He means to say—'In the same way, when you all of yourselves make this dispeace, and will have to take the consequences, you will have only yourselves to blame. You cannot ascribe your suffering to me.' The 'Daily Explanation' says:—此皆汝等不能安靜以奉上命, 自速其禍耳, 豈予樂用威刑以加汝也.

[Lin Che-k'e observes at the close of this paragraph, that the style of the Pwan-kăng is very full of repetitions, the same thought being brought out again and again, and the same illustrations. He compares 予若觀火, 云云, of par. 8, with 若火之燎, 云云, here, and 若農服田, 云云, of par. 9, with 惰農, 云云, of par. 11, adding that however the style may be in *disjecta membra*, there is yet a unity of thought, and though the language be involved and irritating, difficult to understand, yet a man may by repeated exercises of his mind upon it make out the meaning. I think he is correct in saying that the general meaning may be made out; but the style is very rugged. We have to make our way through it, as. [or rare.] 'O'er bog or steep, through straight, rough, dense.

13, 14. *Pwan-kăng seeks to stimulate his officers by reminding them of their fathers, for whose sakes he would deal justly and even kindly with them.*

13. Who Ch'e Jin was is not known. Ch'ing says he was an ancient historiographer. A Chow Jin (周任) is quoted in the same way in the Analects, XVI, i. 人惟求舊,—舊人 must be taken here as in par. 7. Perhaps Ch'e Jin may have intended 'old, experienced men,'—the wiser for the length of their experience,—but Pwan-kăng applies the

我先王、暨乃祖乃父、胥及逸勤、予敢動用非罰、世選爾勞、予不掩爾善、玆予大享于先王、爾祖其從與享之、作福作災、予亦不敢動

14 in vessels, we do not seek old ones, but new.' Formerly, the kings, my predecessors, and your forefathers and fathers, shared together the ease and labours *of the State*;—how should I dare to lay undeserved inflictions on you? For generations the toils of your *families* have been approved, and I will not conceal your goodness. Now when I offer the great sacrifices to my predecessors, your forefathers are present to share in them. *They observe* the happiness I confer and the sufferings I inflict, and I cannot dare to reward virtue that does not exist.

phrase in that other sense. 14. 胥及逸勤,=相與同其勞逸. The 'Daily Explanation' has it—君臣一德,無事則同享其逸,有事則共任其勤, 'sovereigns and ministers possessed a common virtue. In times of quiet, they enjoyed the ease in common; in times of trouble, they shared the burden of the toil together.' 予敢,云云,—we may take this interrogatively, or supply a 不 before 敢, after the analogy of 予亦不敢 in the last clause. 世選爾勞,—'generations have selected your toils.' The meaning is as in the translation. 玆予......享之,—under the Chow dynasty, as we learn from the 'Rites of Chow,' Bk. XXX. (夏官司馬,第四之三), there was a 'Recorder of merits' (司勳), who entered the names of meritorious ministers and officers among the imperial kindred when alive, and regulated the arrangement of their spirit-tablets at the sacrifices in the ancestral temple, when they were dead. The text shows that the practice of giving a place to worthy ministers at imperial sacrifices had descended from the Shang dynasty. The 從 intimates that the spirits of the ministers were supposed not to be present as principals, but as assessors. 作福作災,云云,—the 亦 is to be explained from the relation of the sentence to the preceding. Ts'ae has expressed it:—作福作災,皆簡在先王與祖之心,='in my rewards and punishments, I seek to be in harmony with the judgment of my predecessors and of your forefathers.' Their judgment is just, and Pwan-kăng wishes that his may *likewise* be so. 動用,—'to move and use;' *i.e.*, he would not of his own motion do anything contrary to what was just.

[Choo He has a note on this passage which is worth referring to. He observes that Pwan-kăng speaks of his predecessors and the forefathers of his ministers, as if they were real existences above them (若有眞物在其上), observing his proceedings from day to day. The meaning, he says, is that Pwan-kăng in his proceedings felt himself, as it were, in the presence of spiritual beings, and no doubts about their justice arose in his mind (質諸鬼神而無疑; see the 'Doct. of the Mean,' xxix. 3). But the common belief of the Yin dynasty venerated spirits (殷俗尙鬼), and therefore he wanted to guide his ministers by what they profoundly believed in. Were there then those beings as real existences after their death? 'The sages,' answers the critical philosopher, 'felt a difficulty in speaking about the spirits of the dead (鬼神之理,聖人蓋難言之). To say that they were really existing, would be wrong, and to say that they were *not* really existing, would also be wrong. The subject, being beyond our *sensible* understanding, may be put on one side.' See the 朱子全書, Bk. xxxiv. Was there

用非德。○十五節予告汝于難、若射之有志、汝無侮老成人、無弱孤有幼、各長于厥居、勉出乃力、聽予一人之作猷。○十六節無有遠邇、用罪伐厥死、用德彰厥善、邦之臧、惟汝衆、邦之不臧、惟予一人有佚罰。○十七節凡爾衆、其惟致告、自今至于後日、各恭爾事、齊乃位、度乃口、罰及爾身弗可悔。

15 "I have announced to you the difficulties *of the present enterprise.*
My will is that of an archer. Do not you despise the old and
experienced, and do not make little of the helpless and young. Seek
every one long continuance in your *new* abode; exert yourselves to
16 listen to the plans of me, the one man. There is *with me* no distinc-
tion of distant and near. The criminal shall die the death; and the
good-doer shall have his virtue displayed. The prosperity of the
country must come from you all. If it fail in prosperity, that must
arise from me, the one man, erring in the application of punish-
17 ment. All of you be sure to make known this announcement. From
this time forward attend respectfully to your business; have *the duties
of* your offices regularly adjusted; bring your mouths under the rule
of law:—lest punishment come upon you, when repentance will be
of no avail."

ever a thinker who more reversed the rule of 'walking by faith and not by sight?']

15. *Pwan-kăng intimates his settled purpose to remove the capital, and summons the officers to co-operate with him.* 予告汝于難,—于難, 'about the difficulties;' *i.e*, the difficulties of the contemplated movement. 若射之有志,—the archer thinks only of hitting his mark. Everything else is forgotten. So was Pwan-kăng bent to carry out his purpose. 汝無(=毋)侮老成人; 無(=毋) 弱孤有幼,—Keang Shing would read the first clause 汝無老侮成人. Such was the reading of K'ang-shing, who says both 老 and 弱 have the meaning of 'despising.' This we might allow, but there is then no proper contrast between 侮 and 孤. 孤有幼=孤與幼, 有 being in the 3d tone, =又 (so, at least Tung-po). There were old people who wished to signify their approbation of the removal, but the officers would not hear them, nor represent their views to the emperor. The young were the greatest

sufferers by remaining at Kăng, but the officers made no account of them. 各長于厥居,—'let every one be long in this abode.' He would have them look forward to a permanent abode in Yin, and labour with him to secure it. 16. *How Pwan-kăng would exercise a strict justice. The great responsibility which he felt to be devolving on himself* 遠邇,—'distant and near'; here spoken with reference to kindred and others, and to the various ties by which officers might think they had a claim on the emperor's regard. 用罪=爲惡, 'the doer of evil'; 用德=爲善, 'the doer of good.' The meaning of 伐厥死 is plain enough, but the terms do not severally correspond with the corresponding clause—彰厥善. 善 and 死 don't match each other. 邦之臧, 云云,—佚=失, 'to mistake,' 'to err.' Compare the whole sentiment with T'ang's in Bk. III., p. 8. It is by no means so noble, and yet the first part of it might call forth the sympathy of the higher classes. 17. *Concluding counsels to the officers to co-operate with himself, and avoid the consequences of continuing to oppose him.* 凡爾衆; 其惟致告,—the 其 has here its strongly hortative force, 致告 'carry out the announcement.' Leu Tsoo-heen observes:—'Only those who were in the hall could hear what he said. He charges them therefore to transmit his words, and make them generally known.' If they 'attended respectfully to their business,' there would be no more 'haughty disregard' of their sovereign; if they 'regularly adjusted the duties of their offices,' they would no longer 'follow their own ease'; if they 'brought their mouths under the control of law,' they would no more give utterance to their 'unsubstantial and exaggerated speeches.'

THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK VII. PWAN-KANG. PART ii.

盤庚中

一節 盤庚作、惟涉河、以民遷、乃話民之弗率、誕告用亶其有衆、咸造、勿褻在王庭、盤庚乃

1 I. Pwan-kăng arose, and crossed the river with the people, moving them to *the new capital*. By and by he addressed himself to those of them who were still dissatisfied, and made a full announcement to their multitudes, to induce a sincere *acquiescence in the measure*. They all attended, and *being charged* to take no liberties in the royal

CONTENTS OF THE SECOND PART. Pwan-kăng has commenced the carrying out of his resolution. They have just crossed, or are about to cross, the river on their way to Yin. But dissatisfaction still exists among a portion of the people, and he calls a great assembly to his hall or tent, and argues at length the wisdom of the movement in which they were engaged. First, he insists on his only acting after the example of former kings, and strives to bring the people to see the measure in its proper light as intended for their good, so that they should entirely sympathize with him in it. This brings us to the 10th par., and may form a chapter by itself. Next, he threatens them with the anger of their forefathers, who would punish them for their disobedience to him, as the founder of his House would punish him, if he did not move from a site now all-unfit to be occupied by the people. This subject forms a second chapter, and brings us to par. 14. In the remaining three parr., he calls them to obedience and sympathy, threatening them with severe punishment, if they continued to murmur at the removal or to resist it.

CH. I. OCCASION OF THE ADDRESS. THE REMOVAL OF THE CAPITAL WAS NOT A NEW THING; IT WAS ALTOGETHER INTENDED FOR THE GOOD OF THE STATE; THE DISSATISFACTION OF THE PEOPLE WAS SHORT-SIGHTED AND BLAME-WORTHY. 1. 盤庚作,惟涉河,以民遷,—Gan-kwŏ and Ch'ing read the first six characters here without a stop, and made the meaning—'Pwan-kăng prepared the vessels, or arranged the measures, for crossing the Ho.' The 惟 ought on this view to have a substantive meaning, which Wang Suh has endeavoured to express,—盤庚爲此思南渡河之事, 'Pwan Kăng did this thing,—the thinking on the south to cross the Ho.' All this is very harsh. It is much better to put a stop at 作, and take that character as='to arise,' 'to put one's-self in motion,' which is a common use of it. 惟涉河 will then have the meaning in the translation, 惟 having the slightest possible independent signification. The clause taken in this way describes a fact,—the

登進厥民。○曰、二節明聽朕言、無荒失朕命。○三節嗚呼、古我前后、罔不惟民之承、保后胥慼、鮮以不浮于天時。○

2 hall, he called them before him, and said, "Listen clearly to my words, and do not disregard my commands.

3 "Oh! of old time my royal predecessors cherished every one and above every thing a respectful care of the people, who again upheld their sovereign with a mutual sympathy. Seldom was it that they were not superior to any *calamitous* time sent by Heaven.

crossing of the river. 乃話民之弗率,—the 說文 defines 話 by 會合善言, 'good words in conference.' Keang Shing accordingly thinks he is justified in taking it in the sense simply of 會合, 'to assemble!' It seems to have been used originally with reference to the speaking of 'good words,' but that force is now lost. We need not even seek to find it in the text. 民之弗率=民之猶弗聽命者. 誕=大, 'great'; 亶=誠 'sincere.' The 'Daily Explanation' puts a stop at 亶, so that 誕告用誠='he made a full announcement with sincerity.' Gan-kwŏ read on to 其有衆, before putting a stop,='he made a great ann., using sincerity with his multitudes.' Keang Shing points in the same way, but takes 誠 actively,='to make sincere;' and I have pointed and translated according to this view. Ma Yung would carry the sentence on to 造, before putting a stop. That character he defines by 爲, 'to make,' so that the meaning is,—'he addressed them that he might bring them all with sincerity to make—get ready—boats to cross the Ho.' This again is too harsh. We must stop at 衆, and then 造 (*ts'aou*, 3d tone)=至. 勿褻在王庭,—this passage has wonderfully exercised the ingenuity of the critics. Keang Shing takes 勿 in the sense of 'flags,' and would change 褻 into 逵, making the meaning 'flags were set up to collect the people in the royal hall.' But this is too violent. Sun Yen makes 勿=末, and 褻=近, and, running the sentence on to what follows, makes out—'Pwan-kăng made the people who were not near to the royal hall come forward that he might consult them.' But the meaning he would give to 褻 cannot be sustained. Letting the text stand as it is, we must supply something equivalent to the 'being charged' of the translation before 勿. Leu Tsoo-heen observes that as they had left the old capital, and had not arrived at the new, we can only understand the king's tent by the 'royal hall' (王庭蓋道路行宮). 登進厥民,—登 and 進 combine their meaning together. Ying tă has well:—延之,使前而告之. Tsoo-heen says that at such a meeting as is indicated, the ministers were in front, and the people behind them, but that here the king called the people—it could only be the chief among them—to the front. I have dropt 厥民 in the translation. 2. 無荒失朕命,—無=毋; 荒失, comp. 荒墜, Pt. III., Bk. III., p. 8.

3. *The kindly sympathy between former emperors and their people, and its happy effects.* 罔不惟民之承='were always and every one the reverent *protectors* of the people.' 承=敬, 'to respect,' 'to have a reverent care of.' The use of the term here is well illustrated by the words of Confucius (Ana. XII., ii.)—使民如承大祭. 保后胥慼,—we must understand this as spoken of the people. The 'Daily Explanation' has:—百姓亦莫不保愛其君. Keang Shing and others would join the 保 to 承, which would not be objectionable in itself; but then to take 后胥慼 as a clause by itself makes the style too jagged. Shing, however, tries to meet this, as we shall see, by adopting the reading 高 instead of 慼. 鮮以

四節 殷降大虐、先王不懷、厥攸作、視民利用遷、汝曷弗念我古后之聞、承汝俾汝、惟喜康共、非汝有咎、比于罰。○五節 予若籲懷茲新邑、亦惟

4 When great calamities were coming down on our empire of
Yin, the former kings did not fondly remain in their place. What
they did was with a view to the people's benefit, and therefore they
moved *their capital*. Why do you not reflect that I, according to
what I have heard of the ancient kings, in my care for you and
actings toward you, am only wishing to rejoice with you in a com-
mon repose? It is not that any guilt attaches to you, so that this
5 movement should be like a punishment. When I call you to cherish
this new city, it is simply on your account, and as an act of great

不浮于天時,—鮮=罕, 'seldom.' Gan-kwŏ takes 浮 in the sense of 行, 'to go,' 'to do.' 'A boat's floating along,' says Ying-tă, 'is its movement on the water, and hence 浮 may be used for "to go."' In this way 浮于天時 is made out to mean—'They acted according to the times of Heaven,' *i.e.*, as we should say, 'the requirements of Providence.' Ts'ae, after Soo Tung-po, takes 浮 as = 勝, 'to overcome,' 'get the better of.' It often means 'to overflow,' 'to go beyond,' and hence this signification is evolved. But why need we feel so much difficulty with the term? If we say that 浮于天時 = 'they floated over—tided over—the times of Heaven,' we are brought to an interpretation substantially the same.

I have said above that Keang Shing reads 高 for 感; he also takes 鮮 in the sense of 'great hills in distinction from little ones' (see the dict.), and makes the whole to mean—'The sovereigns ascertained where the high hills were, and removed to them.' The interpretation is so far-fetched, that we can only laugh at it.

4 *The people could not but approve of the measures of the former kings;—why should they disapprove of the present measure, which was conceived in the same spirit as those?* 殷降大虐,—we think at first that 殷 must be the nominative to 降, but that would give no meaning. 殷 stands absolutely, = 'in our dynasty of Yin.' Then 天 must be understood as the nominative to 降, or that character may be taken passively. The 'Daily Explanation' says:—昔我殷邦,河水爲災,天降大害,云云. 懷 = 安居, 'to dwell at ease. 汝曷弗念我古后之聞......康共,—the interrogation reaches on to 康共, and 古后之聞 is parenthetical. It might be as well perhaps to end the interrogation at 聞.—'Why do you not think of what you have heard about the former kings, my predecessors?' Then, however, we must understand a 我 as the nominative to 承 and 俾. 承汝,—承 as in last par.; 俾汝,—'give to you,' = 'do to you, 'call you to do.' 非汝有過,比于罰,—there is some difficulty here with the 比, which is read with the 3d tone, and = 'to be near to,' 'equivalent to.' The 于 following makes it necessary to tone and interpret it thus. The whole = 'It is not that you have any fault, so that I should be, as it were, punishing you, and banishing you by this removal.' 5. *The movement might be considered as in accordance with the people's wishes.* 予若......汝故,—懷 is here defined by 來, 'to come.' We get a better meaning by taking it in its more common signification of 'to cherish.' Gan-kwŏ, taking 若 = 順, 籲

汝故、以丕從厥志。○（六節）今予將試以汝遷、安定厥邦、汝不憂朕心之攸困、乃咸大不宣乃心、欽念以忱動予一人、爾惟自鞠自苦、若乘舟、汝弗濟、臭厥載、爾忱不

6 accordance with your wishes. My present undertaking to remove with you, is to give repose and stability to the State. You *however*, have no sympathy with the anxieties of my mind; but you all keep a great reserve in declaring your minds, *when you might* respectfully think by your sincerity to move me, the one man. You only exhaust and distress yourselves. The case is like that of sailing in a boat;—if you do not cross the stream *at the proper time*, you will destroy all its cargo. Your sincerity does not respond to

=和, and 懷=歸, makes the meaning—'I turn to this new city, in accordance with right principles, and to harmonize you all.' He would then put a stop at 汝, and join the 故 to the last clause,—'I wish to benefit you, and therefore I boldly follow the first impulses of my will, and remove to it.' No one will be found now to advocate such a construction of the text. It is not more objectionable, however, than that proposed by Keang Shing, who would put a stop at 以, reading 亦惟汝故以, as if 以 were =已, (comp. Mencius, I., Pt. I., vii. 2). He then takes 丕 as=不, and the meaning is—'I, in accordance with reason, call you to come to this new city, simply and solely for your good. I cannot follow your *wayward* wishes.' The construction of Lin Che-k'e, Ts'ae and others, which I have followed, is much more easy, and the meaning which it gives is in harmony with the whole address. If it be asked how the removal contrary to their wishes could be represented as an act of great accordance with the peo., it may be answered with Yuen Hwang (袁黃), 'To follow the people's temporary wishes would have been a small act of accordance with them; to gratify their desire for the benefit of permanent establishment was an act of great accordance' (從民一時之欲者,其從小;從民永建之利者,其從大,故曰丕從).

6. *The people are reproved for their want of sympathy, and the folly and fruitlessness of their opposition to the movement pointed out.* 今予將試,='my present experiment,' 'my present undertaking.' 汝不憂朕心之攸困=不憂我憂, 'you do not sorrow with my sorrow,' *i.e.*, you do not enter at all into my trouble of mind about the calamities which threaten us in the old capital. 咸大不宣乃(=汝)心,—'you all greatly do not declare your minds.' 欽念以忱動予一人,—these two clauses are to be read closely together. 欽念=敬想, 'reverently thinking.' 自鞠,—鞠=窮. 汝弗濟,—we must supply 以時 before 濟. 臭厥載,—臭=敗壞, 'to ruin;' comp. Con. Ana., X., viii. 2. The removal from Kăng to Yin was like crossing a stream in a boat. If they delayed, the calamity of inundation would be upon them. 汝忱不屬,—屬 is read *chuh*, 'to be connected with.' It seems most natural to understand the meaning to be as in the translation. From this to the end, the 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases:—汝從上之誠,間斷不屬,則亦焉能有濟乎,惟相與及于沈溺而已,利害昭然如此,爾民曾不稽察,以早決從遷,

屬、惟胥以沈、不其或稽、自怒曷瘳。○七節汝不謀長、以思乃災、汝誕勸憂、今其有今罔後、汝何生在上。○八節今予命汝一、無起穢以自臭、恐人倚乃身、迂乃心。○九節予迓

mine, and we are in danger of going together to destruction. You notwithstanding will not examine the matter:—though you anger yourselves, what cure will that bring?

7 "You do not consult for a distant day, nor think of the calamity that must befal you. You greatly encourage one another in what must prove to your sorrow. Now you have the present, but you may not have the future. What deliverance can you look for from

8 above? Now I charge you to have but one mind. Do not let wicked thoughts arise to ruin yourselves. I am afraid that men bend your persons, and pervert your minds."

但自生怨疾忿怒，亦曷救于沈溺之苦哉，予不能爲汝解已. Gan-kwŏ's interpretation was rather different. He says:—汝忠誠不屬逮古，苟不欲徙，相與沈溺，不考之先王，禍至自怒，何瘳差乎.

Keang Shing reads 迪 (=道) for 稽, and 怨 for 怒, and interprets:—爾衷誠不連屬于我同謀共濟，既臭厥載，惟相與沈水，不其有生道矣 (='you have no way of life'), 雖自怨恚，何瘉乎.

7, 8. *Pwan-kăng reproves the short-sightedness of the people, and warns them against being misled.* 7. 汝不謀長以思乃災=汝不爲長遠之謀，以思不遷之禍, 'you do not adopt any far-reaching counsels to think about the calamity that must result from your not removing.' 勸憂=以憂自勸, 'you advise one another about what will prove to your sorrow.' Ts'ae, after Lin Che-k'e, refers to the case adduced by Mencius (IV., Pt. I., viii.) of those princes who 安其危而利其災，樂其所以亡, as an instance of 勸憂. 今其有今罔後,—this does not mean, as Gan-kwŏ supposed, 'you have no plans for the future,' but 死亡無日, 'your death will soon happen' (see Keang Shing, *in loc.*). 汝何生在上,—for 在上, Gan-kwŏ said 在人上, 'among men.'; Lin Che-k'e, in the same way, 在生民上; Keang Shing says 在地上, 'upon the earth.' Ts'ae alone, and I think correctly, makes 上, 'above,'= 天 'heaven,' referring to 予迓續乃命于天, which passage and the text, he says, explain each other (相首尾之辭). 8. 命汝一=命汝專一乃心，從我遷徙, 'I charge you to have but one heart to follow me in the proposed movement.' 無(=毋)起穢以自臭,—穢 is explained in the dict., with ref. to this passage, simply by 惡, 'wickedness.' It stands related to 臭, which denotes the fetid odour of articles in a state of decomposition. Pwan-kăng chooses such terms

續乃命于天、予豈汝威、用奉畜汝衆。○ 十節 予念我先神后之勞爾先、予丕克羞爾、用懷爾然。○ 十一節 失于政、陳于兹、高后丕乃崇降罪疾、曰

9 "My measures are forecast to prolong your lease of life from
Heaven. Do I force you by my majesty? My object is to support
10 and nourish you all. I think of the toils of my predecessors, *who
are now* the spiritual sovereigns, for your ancestors; I would in the
same way greatly nourish you, and cherish you.
11 II. "Were I to err in my government, and remain long here, my
High sovereign, *the founder of our House*, would send down great
punishment for my crime, and say, 'Why do you oppress my peo-

to show his contempt for the injurious speeches by which the people were led astray. 倚=偏· 迂=曲·

9, 10. *Pwan-kăng, like his predecessors, had but one object in his measures,—the good of the people.* 9. 迓=迎, 'to meet.' 予迓續乃命于天,—'I am going forward to a continuance (prolongation) of your lives from heaven'; *i.e.*, by removing them from Kăng to Yin, he would prolong their lives and prosperity. 用奉畜汝衆,—畜=養, 'to nourish.' 奉畜, 'to bear up and nourish,'= to nourish with all kindly and respectful care. 用 is used with reference to the removal which Pwan-kăng had in his mind, and='I am using this—my object in it is—to,' &c. 10. 我先神后,—'my predecessors, the spirit sovereigns.' I think the meaning is as I have given it in the translation. From the last Part, p. 14, and the parr. which follow here, we see how Pwan-kăng thought of his ancestors as still sovereigns, and their ministers as still ministers, in the world of spirits. 我先后之勞爾先,—the 'Daily Explan.' takes 勞 act.='to make to toil' (我思我先后之勞爾先人,而先人不以爲勞,而勇于趨利). Lin Che-k'e takes 勞爾先 as='toiled with your ancestors' (我先后與爾先祖相與勤勞). I venture to let the view of the meaning, which first occurred to me, stand as in the translation. 羞=養, or the 畜 of the last par. Keang Shing reads 不克 instead of 丕克, and makes the 然 at the close stand by itself, connecting the whole with the next par.—'I think how my predecessors removed their capital, and escaped from the evils threatening them. And I cannot get you to go to this land of enjoyment, where I could give you repose. If indeed it prove so, I shall be failing in my government,' &c.

Ch. II. Pp. 11—14. Spiritual sanctions. How former emperors and the people's forefathers would punish from heaven both emperor and people, if they did not remove to Yin. 11. 陳于兹,—陳=久, 'long.' 陳 and 塵, it is said, were anciently interchanged, and as 'dust' accumulated on any thing shows it must have been for some time undisturbed in its place, there grew up the meaning of 'long,' 'long continuance.' However the meaning arose, we must acknowledge it in this passage. 高后,—Lin Che-k'e insists that this phrase here should be taken in the plural, and with the same general reference as 先后 before and after. His reasoning on the subject is not without weight, but I prefer, on the whole, with Ts'ae to understand the 'high sovereign' as being T'ang. 崇=大, 'great,' 'greatly.' 罪疾,—'the pain of—suffering for—crime.' 曷虐朕民,—not that Pwan-kăng oppressed the people; but his sin of *omission* in not removing them from Kăng would be reckoned to him

曷虐朕民。○十二節汝萬民乃不生生、暨予一人猷同心、先后丕降與汝罪疾、曰曷不暨朕幼孫有比、故有爽德、自上其罰汝、汝罔能迪。十三節○古我先后、既勞乃祖乃父、汝共作我畜民、汝有戕則

12 ple?' If you, the myriads of the people, do not attend to the perpetuation of your lives, and cherish one mind with me, the one man, in my plans, my predecessors will send down on you great punishment for your crime, and say, 'Why do you not agree with our young grandson, but so go on to forfeit your virtue?' When they
13 punish you from above, you will have no way of escape. Of old, my royal predecessors toiled for your ancestors and fathers. You are equally the people whom I nourish; but your conduct is in-

as a sin of *commission*. 12. 不生生,—Wang Suh and Gan-kwŏ both explained 生生 by 進進, = 'an earnest joyful alacrity,' *i.e.*, in adopting the proposal to transfer the capital. Che-k'e adopted the explanation of Soo Shih as being preferable, in which he was foll. by Ts'ae:—we have in the 集傳;—樂生興事, 其生也厚, 是謂生生, 'a joyous life, with vigorous enterprises,—a life strong and rich; this is what is meant by 生生.' Much better than either of those views is that in the 'Daily Explanation,' which I have followed;—生生者, 生養不窮之意. 暨予一人猷,—hitherto we have had 暨 = 及, 'and,' a conjunction simply; here and below, it = 與. Keang Shing reads 繇 for 猷, and takes it in the sense of 從, but I cannot construe the sentence so. 丕降與爾罪疾,—here the use of 與, where we should expect 于, is strange. 朕幼孫,—'our young grandson.' This of course is Pwan-káng. 有比,—比, = 合 or 同. Këang Shing takes it in the sense of 下順, which also gives a good meaning. 故有爽德,—this clause is joined with the preceding, in the 'Daily Explanation,' which also takes 爽 in the sense of 失. Gan-kwŏ joined the clause with what follows, and took 爽 as = 明.—'Therefore he who has the brilliant virtue (*i.e.*, T'ang) from above will punish,' &c. This is inadmissible. Keang Shing, following 賈逵 in an explanation of the same phrase in the 國語, gives it by 貳德, which comes to much the same with 失德. 汝罔能迪,—迪 = 道. Ts'ae says:—汝無道以自免也, 'you will have no way to make your escape.' 13. 故我先后……畜民,—see on parr. 10 and 9. 汝有戕, 則在乃心,—I hardly know what to make of this passage. The 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases it:—汝不法汝祖父而從我以遷, 是卽戕害生民矣. 若有戕害在汝之心, 我先王, 云云, 'you do not imitate your ancestors by falling into my view of removing. In this you prove yourselves hurtful to the life of the people, and since you have such an injurious object in your hearts, my

在乃心、我先后綏乃祖乃父、乃祖乃父乃斷棄汝、不救乃死。○十四節茲予有亂政同位、具乃貝玉、乃祖乃父丕乃告我高后曰、作丕刑于朕孫、迪高后丕乃崇降弗祥。○嗚

jurious,—it is cherished in your hearts. Whereas my royal pre-
decessors made happy your ancestors and fathers, your ancestors
and fathers will cut you off and abandon you, and not save you
14 from death. Here are those ministers of my government, who share
with me the offices *of the State*;—and yet only think of hoarding
up cowries and gems! Your ancestors and fathers urgently repre-
sent to my High sovereign, saying, 'Execute great punishments
on our descendants.' So they intimate to my High sovereign
that he should send down great calamities.

predecessors,' &c. Keang Shing would take 在=察, as in the Canon. of Shun, par. 5,=' What sort of mind does your resistance to my commands betoken? But if you occasion injury to any, my predecessors will examine your hearts. I am afraid they will punish you.'

As much difficulty is found with what follows,—我先后綏乃祖乃父, 云云, The 'Daily Explanation' continues the paraphrase which I have just quoted:—'My predecessors, thinking of the great and real toils of your forefathers, will soothe them till there is awakened the thought of punishing you' (必安慰汝祖父, 致其用罰之意). Keang Shing takes 綏=妥=止, 'to stop,' and says:—'My predecessors will stop your forefathers, and require them not to save you.' The view which I take will be seen in the translation. Gan-kwŏ interpreted 綏 differently, but his view of the argument, so to speak, was similar. He says:—'My predecessors reposed in the loyalty of your forefathers; and now that you are disloyal, your forefathers will cast away your lives, and not save you from death.' 14. Ts'ae observes on this par. that 'former scholars had taken it as addressed in reproof to P'wan-kăng's ministers, but that, on looking closely at the style, we see that it is a reproof of the ministers indeed, but spoken not directly to them, but of them to the people.' Ts'ae is right in saying that the first portion—茲予有亂政同位, 具乃貝玉, is to be understood as spoken about the ministers, but I do not see my way to interpret 乃祖乃父, 'their ancestors and their fathers,' as he does. Here is the difficulty;—why should the ancestors of the people ask their descendants to be punished for the evil conduct of the ministers? A reason can be given, and we may suppose that it was indicated by the tone of voice, though it was not expressed in words. It was that the people by listening to the speeches of such men, and in obedience to them disobeying their sovereign, greatly aggravated their guilt. 亂=治. 同位=共天位. 具=多取而兼有, 'amassing.' 貝玉,—貝=海介蟲, 'a shelled insect of the sea.' Ying-tă says that 'anciently they used the shell as money.' The text is a proof that such a medium of exchange was known in the Shang dynasty. 'Amassing cowries and gems' is a description of the selfish covetousness of the ministers.

十五 呼、今予告汝不易、永敬大恤、無胥絕遠、汝分猷念以相從、各設中于乃心。○ 十六節 乃有不吉不迪、顛越不恭、暫遇姦宄、我乃劓殄滅之、無遺育、無俾易種于茲新邑。○ 十七節 往哉生生、今予將試以汝遷、永建乃家。

15 III. "Ah! I have now announced to you my unchangeable purpose:
—do you perpetually respect *my* great anxiety; let us not get alienated
and removed from one another; share in my plans and thoughts,
and be prepared to obey me; let every one of you set up the true
16 rule of conduct in his heart. If there be bad and unprincipled
men, precipitously or carelessly disrespectful *to my orders*, and
taking advantage of this brief season to play the part of villains or
traitors, I will cut off their noses, or utterly exterminate them.
I will leave none of their children. I will not let them perpetuate
their seed in this new city.
17 "Go! preserve and continue your lives. I will now transfer you
to the new capital, and there for ever establish your families."

Ch. III. Pp. 15—17. Pwan-kang announces his settled purpose to proceed to Yin, and summons all to sympathizing co-operation with him, while recusants are threatened with punishment and death.

15 告汝不易,—Wang Suh and Gan-kwŏ read 易 in the 3d tone, and interpreted—'I have announced to you what is not easy,' so that the meaning is the same as that of the first clause, p. 16, Pt. i. Ts'ae adopts this view: but that in the transl., which was originally proposed by K'ang-shing, is followed by Lin Che-k'e and Keang Shing. 大恤=大憂, 'the great sorrow.' Pwan-kăng thus characterizes the movement which had occasioned him so much anxiety. 汝分猷念,—Këang Shing reads 比 for 分; but the meaning is the same. 設中于乃心,—'set up the middle in your hearts.' 中=大中至正之則, 'the great exact, and perfectly correct rule.' 16. 乃有不吉不迪,—吉=善; 迪=道; 不吉不迪, are 'men without goodness or principle.' 顛越不恭,—Ts'ae explains these terms by—'overthrowing, transgressing, or not respecting *my commands*;' but we may as well take 越 here as in 無越厥命, V., Pt. i., 5. 暫遇姦宄,—Lin Che-k'e says that the two words 暫遇 are not in harmony with the rest of the sentence, and unintelligible to him; and he will therefore say nothing about them. Ying-tă, giving Gan-kwŏ's view of them, says—'they mean that such persons plundered men whenever they met them; that they did so without intermission' (謂逢人卽刼, 爲之無已). I have done the best with them I could. [Keang Shing puts them out of the text, as an addition by the compiler of the present 'old text.' He reduces the whole par., indeed, to small dimensions,—其有顚越不共, 則劓殄, 云云. His reason

for doing so is that so much is found quoted in the 左傳, 哀十一年. But because only so much is quoted, it is absurd to conclude that there never was any more.] 我乃劓, 云云,—we may compare this with the conclusion of 'The Speech at Kan,' and of 'The Speech of T'ang.' 'Cutting off the nose' was one of the ancient regular punishments;—see on the 'Canon of Shun,' p. 11. 易種,—易=移. 17. 往哉,—comp. 'Can. of Shun,' p. 17, *et al.* 生生,—see p. 12. 今予, 云云,—see p. 6.

THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK VII. PWAN-KANG. PART iii.

盤庚下

盤庚既遷、奠厥攸居、乃正厥位、綏爰有衆。○曰、無戲怠、懋建大

1 1. Pwan-kang having completed the removal, and settled the places
of residence, proceeded to adjust their several positions, and then
2 he soothed and comforted the multitudes, saying to them, "Do not
play or be idle, but exert yourselves to build here a great destiny
for us.

CONTENTS OF THE THIRD PART. The removal has been accomplished. Emperor, officers, and people are all at Yin, when he once more addresses them. First, in 7 parr., he goes over much the same ground with the people as he had done before, justifying the measure which he had taken; and then, in the remaining 6 parr. he charges all the chiefs and officers to labour with him in a common sympathy for the good of the people.

Ch. I. Pp. 1—7. OCCASION OF THE ADDRESS. THERE SHOULD BE ENTIRE CONFIDENCE BETWEEN SOVEREIGN AND PEOPLE. THE REMOVAL OF THE CAPITAL WAS IN ACCORDANCE WITH FORMER PRECEDENTS; REQUIRED FOR THE GOOD OF THE PEOPLE; APPROVED BY GOD. 1. *Occasion of the address.* 奠厥攸居, 乃正厥位,—Ch'ing supposed that the former of these clauses described the settlement of *the people*, and the latter the laying out the official residences and public buildings,—such as the ancestral temple, the court, &c. Gan-kwŏ takes the second clause in the same way, and naturally extends the former to the settlement of the officers as well as of the people. Lin Che-k'e argues against this view of the second clause, and says that Pwan-kăng would have had the city laid out, before moving from Kăng, as Chow-kung did afterwards when he wished to make Lŏ the capital of the Chow rule. To my mind the style corroborates this reasoning. The parties interested in 'the dwellings' (攸居) are the same as those concerned in the 'positions' (厥位); but the 乃 intimates an interest of a diff't. kind. I am prepared therefore to agree farther with Lin Che-k'e in taking 正厥位 of the arrangements made for the positions of the various classes at a public assembly, where Pwan-kăng gave the address that follows. Woo Ch'ing follows this view. Ts'ae, dissatisfied with that of Gan-kwŏ and Ch'ing, makes the positions to be those of 'sovereign, ministers, high, and low;' but the relations of all these were determined before. 綏爰有衆,—both Gan-kwŏ and Ch'ing again agree in def. 爰 by 于, and explain the clause by 安於有衆, and 安隱于其衆. The construction would be easier, but the symmetry not so good, without the 爰. 2. *The great object to be kept in view by them all at their present crisis.* 無=毋. The comment of Woo Ch'ing on this par. is very good:—

命。○今[三節]予其敷心腹腎腸、歷告爾百姓于朕志、罔罪爾衆、爾無共怒、協比讒言予一人。○古[四節]我先王、將多于前功、適于山、用降我凶

3 "Now I have disclosed my heart and belly, my reins and bowels, and have fully declared to you, my people, all my mind. I will not treat any of you as criminals; and do not you *any more* help one another to be angry, and form parties to defame me, the one man.

4 "Of old, my royal predecessor, that his merit might exceed that of those who had gone before him, proceeded to the hill-site. Thereby he removed our evils, and accomplished admirable good for our country.

'When Pwan-kăng tells them "not to play," he requires that they should *reverently* attend to their duties (欲其敬事); when he tells them "not to be idle," he requires them to attend *diligently* to them. By "a great destiny" he intends the destiny of themselves and of the kingdom; and he speaks of "building" this, just as Mencius speaks of "establishing it" (猶孟子言立命; see Men. VII., Pt. I., i., 3). Our destiny depends, indeed, on Heaven, but the establishing it is our own work, by which the people may be made to have the enjoyment of their life, and the fortunes of the kingdom be prolonged. At that time a disregard of the emperor and a seeking of their ease, with an addiction to sport and idleness, were characteristics of the Yin people. Before the removal of the capital, they were afraid of the trouble; after the removal, they thought they had done enough, saying now their lives would be perpetuated, and they need not exert themselves any more. It was to meet all this that the emperor cautioned them as in the text.'

3. *The openness of Pwan-kăng with the people and his kindness should make them respond to him with entire confidence.* 今予其敷,—the 其 is strongly intensive. 敷=布, or 布露. 歷告=盡告. I think the verbs here should be translated in the present complete tense, with reference to all that the emp. had said to them. 百姓,—'the people;' including also the 'various officers,' says Ts'ae, 'and their clans.'

[The reading of the first part of this par. adopted by Kĕang Shing is peculiar, and he is put to great straits to make any sense of it. What he does make is not in harmony with the tenor of the Book. He has:—今我其敷優臤,揚歷告爾,云云.] 罔罪爾衆,—Medhurst translates—'not that I would blame you all;' which is very different from the meaning. Pwan-kăng promises to forget all the past, and goes on to hope that they will not do as they had done. 協比=合同附和.

4. *What advantages T'ang had secured by fixing his capital in a high situation.* 古我先王,—'the former king' must be T'ang. The characterizing him as 古, 'ancient' is in favour of this view, and from his time the emperors had been obliged to leave one capital after another, in consequence of their low situation exposing them to inundations. We might have expected that it would have been more clearly indicated that the hill-site of T'ang was that to which they were now returned;—but we must take the Book as it is. Those early settlements could not have been built of very permanent materials and structure. 將多于前功,—將=欲, 'to wish.' 將, as the sign of the future, indicates also the purpose out of which that future grows. One of the definitions of it in the dict. is—將,有其意也. 用降我凶德—用='thereby;' 降=下. Hwang Too, more intelligibly, defines it here by 減少, 'to diminish.' 我凶德='our suffering condition,' referring to the evils of a low situation, exposed to inundation. Lin Che-k'e would make the meaning—'removed our evil habits,' arguing from the Mencian doctrine that want and calamities are the parents of wickedness (see

德嘉績于朕邦。○五節今我民用蕩析離居、罔有定極、爾謂朕曷震動萬民以遷。○六節肆上帝將復我高祖之德、亂越我家、朕及篤敬、恭承民命、用永地于新邑。○七節肆予沖人、非廢厥謀、弔由靈、

5 Now you, my people, were by your position dissipated and separated,
and obliged to leave your dwellings, so that you had no abiding
place. And yet you asked why I was troubling your myriads by
6 removing you here. But God being about to restore the virtue of
my High ancestor, and secure the *good* government of our empire, I
with the sincere and respectful *of my ministers* felt a reverent care for
the lives of the people, and have made a lasting settlement in this
new city.
7 "I, a youth, did not slight your plans;—I *only* used what were

Men. Bk. VI., Pt. I., vii.), where as T'ang removing the people to a location which required industry and rewarded it, greatly improved their moral tone. 嘉績,—another reading is 綏績.

It will be seen that Pwan-kăng throws himself and his people a long way back, to identify themselves with their fathers in the time of T'ang, nearly 400 years before.

5. *How Pwan-kăng had emulated T'ang's proceeding, against the general sentiment, but having the approval of some, and, as he thought, the sanction of God.* 用=以; 以其居處, 'in consequence of their position.' 極=止. 罔有定極, 'had no fixed place of rest.' 爾謂云云,—we must understand, as preliminary to this, something equivalent to —'a removal was urgently called for.' The 'Daily Explanation' has—乃陷于凶德,而宜急圖嘉績之時. [Keang Shing reads 今 before 爾, and 惠 for 謂, making the interpretation still more difficult.] 6 肆上帝云云,—肆, as 'an introductory particle indicating a change in the thought' (更端辭), is defined in the dict. by 故, 'therefore,' and 今, 'now.' Neither of these terms, however, expresses exactly what seems to be its force here. 'But' comes nearer to it, and Ts'ae indeed explains it by 乃. Pwan-kăng evidently ascribes the movement to an influence exerted by God on the mind of himself and some of his ministers. 亂越我家,—亂=治; 越=及; 家=國家. The meaning of the clause is as in the transl. The only critic who takes a difft. view is Lin Che-k'e, who would retain the common meaning of 亂, 'to confound.' He says:—'God, being about to restore the virtue of T'ang, and make the empire flourish anew under his descendant, brought about the disorder and calamities in Kăng, to lead Pwan-kăng to move to Yin;' and then he goes on to speak of the uses of adversity. This is too ingenious. 朕及篤敬,—we can only understand that the emperor is speaking here of some of his ministers who were of the same mind with himself. Ts'ae says:—我與一二篤敬之臣. Keang Shing would make 及=汲汲, so that the discourse is only of Pwan-kăng, himself.—'I roused to earnest reverence,' &c. 7. *Forgetting their past differences, the emperor is willing to suppose there had been a substantial agreement between the people and himself.* The paragraph is hardly intelligible. Ch'in Leih has said:—'Choo He doubted the

各非敢違卜、用宏茲賁。○嗚呼、八節邦伯師長、百執事之人、尚皆隱哉。○予其九節懋簡相爾、念敬我眾。

the best of them. And you did not presumptuously oppose the decision of the tortoise:—so we are *here* to enlarge our great inheritance.
8 II. "Ah! ye chiefs of regions, ye heads of departments, all ye, the hundreds of officers, would that ye were animated by a true
9 sympathy! I will exert myself in the selection and guiding of you;

genuineness of this Part from 多于前功 (in par. 4), and there are passages like 弔由靈, 宏茲賁 here, which are truly difficult to understand. Our best plan is to be content with what the early scholars said about them.' Such a course might be our best plan; but no one whose judgment is worth anything will be content to take it. 予沖人,—幼少在位曰沖, 'a youth on the throne is called 沖.' In the 5th Part of the Shoo we shall find the phrase 沖人 employed several times by the emperors as a humble designation of themselves. This is the first instance of its occurrence. Pwan-kăng was not 'a youth' at this time, but he is pleased to speak as if he were. 弔 (also 迅)=至; 由=用; 靈=善. Ying-tă says:—'On occasion of any great matter, the rule was to consult with all about it. Pwan-kăng did so, and therefore he says, "I did not neglect consulting with you." But in such a case there could not but be different views, and he therefore followed what he considered the best' (故至極用其善者. One hardly knows the exact force of 至極. Perhaps it='in the extremity'). It would appear that the emperor submitted the conclusion to which he came to the decision of the tortoise, and when the divination approved of the transference of the capital, the people ceased their opposition. 用宏茲賁,—宏 and 賁 (read *fun*) have both the meaning of 大 'great;' but the former is a verb,='to enlarge,' and the latter=a concrete noun,—'great inheritance.' Such is the view of the par. given by the early scholars. Tung-po took another view of the last term, which he read *pe*:—see the 附錄, and a note by the editors of Yung-ching's Shoo. Keang Shing, as usual, strikes out a path here for himself, and with more than his usual ingenuity. I am not sure but it would be well to interpret the par. after him—'I did not slight your plans; but as the best rule felt it right to follow the intelligent tortoise. And you, did not venture to resist the divination,' &c.

Ch. II. Pp. 8—13. CHARGE TO THE NOBLES AND OFFICERS TO SYMPATHIZE WITH HIMSELF, AND SEEK THE GOOD OF THE PEOPLE. 8. By 邦伯 Lin Che-k'e and Ts'ae understand 邦之諸侯, 'the princes of regions;' by 師長,眾官之長, 'the heads of all the officers,' the six high nobles (六卿 and 公卿); and by 百執事之人, 'all the officers,' subordinate to these last. Gan-kwŏ and Ying-tă differed only in their view of 邦伯, by which they understood all the princes of the nine provinces, and two superior princes who exercised a control over them. But the institution of those two princes belonged to the next, or Chow dynasty. And we can hardly suppose that the princes of all the provinces were collected on this occasion. The 邦伯 must be restricted to those within the imperial domain,—the 甸服. Much more must we restrict the 師長, which we should otherwise be inclined to understand according to Yu's use of the terms in the 'Yih and Tseih,' p. 8. 隱=痛, 'to feel pained,'=to look with sympathy upon the condition of the people. [Keang Shing for 隱 read 乘, which he explains by 治職.] 9. 簡=擇, 'to select'; 相=導, 'to lead.' Others take 簡=閱, 'to examine,' and 相=視, 'to see;' giving the meaning,—'I will assiduously examine, and see whether you think reverently of my people.' This meaning is as

十節 朕不肩好貨敢恭生生、鞠人謀人之保居、敘欽。〇十一節 今我既羞告爾于朕志、若否、罔有弗欽。〇十二節 無總于貨寶、生生自庸、〇十三節 式敷民德、永肩一心。

10 —do ye think reverently of my multitudes. I will not employ those
who are fond of wealth; but those who are rigorously yet reverently
labouring for the lives and increase of the people, nourishing them
and planning for their enduring settlement, I will use and respect.
11 "I have now brought forward and announced to you my mind,
whom I approve and whom I disallow;—let none of you but reve-
12 rence *my will.* Do not seek to accumulate wealth and precious
things; *but* in fostering the life of the people seek to find your merit.
13 Reverently display your virtue in behalf of the people. For ever
maintain *this* one heart."

good as that in the translation. 10. 肩, 'to bear on the shoulder,' is here taken as = 任, 'to employ.' The whole par. is very difficult. Ts'ae acknowledges that he does not understand 鞠人, 謀人, adding that some take 鞠 in the sense of 養, 'to nourish.' Such was the view of K'ang-hing. I have translated after the 'Daily Explanation.' Other views may be seen in Woo Ch'ing and Keang Shing. 叙 = 次叙, 'to arrange,' = to give employment and emolument to according to their qualities. 欽, 'to respect,' = to treat with reverent politeness. 11. 羞 = 進, 'to bring forward.' 若否,—若 = 若者, 'those whom I approve,'—those characterized in the prec. par., as 'labouring for the lives and comfort of the people.' 否 = 否者,—those whom I disallow,'—'those who were fond of wealth.' Keang Shing takes the two characters differently.—'I have shown you my thoughts. Whether you approve of them or disapprove, reverence my will.' 12. 無總于貨寶,—無 = 毋; 總 = 聚; 貨寶 = the 貝玉, of last Part, p. 14. 庸 denotes 民功, 'service done to the people.' Woo Ch'ing, says:—以民之生生爲已責. 13. 式 = 敬, 'to reverence,' 'reverently,' 民德爲民之德. 肩, 'to, bear on the shoulder,' = 'to bear about with one,' 'to maintain.'

Concluding Note. History tells us nothing special of Pwan-kăng after his transference of his capital to Yin. It is only said that he revived the government of T'ang, and the dynasty of Shang prospered again. He reigned 28 years, and died b.c. 1373.

BOOK VIII. THE CHARGE TO YUE. PART i.

說命上

一節 王宅憂、亮陰三祀、既免喪、其惟弗言、群臣咸諫于王曰、嗚呼、知之曰明哲、明哲實作則、天子惟君萬邦、百官承式、王言惟作命、不言、臣下罔攸稟令。

1 I. The king passed the season of sorrow in the mourning shed for three years, and when he had ceased mourning, he still did not speak. The ministers all remonstrated with him, saying, "The man of *quick* knowledge is said to be intelligent; and the intelligent man forms a model. The emperor rules over the myriad regions, and all the officers depend on and reverence him. When the king speaks, *his words* form the commands *for them;* if he do not speak,

INTRODUCTORY HISTORICAL NOTE. Pwan-kăng's reign ended B.C. 1373. Between him and Woo-ting, some events of whose time are commemorated in this and the following Book, there intervened a space of 50 years, occupied by the reigns of Seaou-sin (小辛) and Seaou-yih (小乙), both brothers of Pwan-kăng and Yang-kĕă, so that we have the remarkable fact of four brothers occupying the throne in succession. Seaou-sin and Seaou-yih are all but nameless sovereigns. Sze-ma Ts'een tells us that the fortunes of the house of T'ang began again to wane under the former, who died B.C. 1352. Of Seaou-yih nothing at all is chronicled, but we are told that in his 26th year Tan-foo (亶父) removed from (豳) to K'e (岐), and gave his settlement the name of Chow. The dynasty which was to supplant that of Shang (or Yin) is already looming in the distance. Seaou-yih died B.C. 1324, and the next year was the first of Woo-ting (武丁), who earned a place for himself in the 'seven-shrined temple,' under the title of 'The High and Venerable' (高宗), and arrested for a time the downfal of his House.

Name of the Book.—說命, 'The Charge to Yuĕ.' This is the first of the 'Charges' which form one of the divisions of the Shoo. They relate the designation by the emperor of some officer to a particular charge or fief, with the address delivered to him on the occasion. Here the charge is to Yuĕ on his appointment to be prime minister. The name, however, is not happily chosen. It does very well for the first Part of the Book, but in the other two Parts Yuĕ is the principal speaker, and not the king. They would be classified properly among the 'Counsels.' Yuĕ was a recluse, living in obscurity,—on account, we may suppose, of the disorder of the times. Woo-ting's attention was drawn to him in the manner related in the Book, and he was discovered in Foo Yen, or the crags of Foo, from which he was afterwards known as Foo Yuĕ, as if Foo had been his surname. The Book is only found in the 'old text.' It has been alleged against its genuineness that Sze-ma Ts'een does not say anything about its composition. But this can only be an omission. Ts'een gives several particulars about Yuĕ; the Preface to the Shoo, and many references in other books, leave no doubt as to the fact of there having originally been a 'Charge to Yuĕ.'

Contents. The first Part tells us how the emperor was led to meet with Yuĕ, and appointed him his prime minister, with the charge, which he then delivered to him, and Yue's response to it. In the second Part, Yuĕ appears counselling the emperor on a variety of points, and the king responds admiringly. In the third Part, the king presents himself first as a pupil at the feet of Yuĕ, and is lectured on the subject of study, or enlarging his knowledge. Finally, the emperor says he looks to Yuĕ to be another E Yin, to make him another T'ang.

Contents of the first Part. The whole is edited in 11 paragraphs. The first three form a chapter, relating the peculiar circumstances in which Woo-ting found Yuĕ. The next 7 parr. relate the elevation of Yuĕ to the premiership, and the charge which was then given him. The last par. contains Yuĕ's dutiful reply, and expresses his confidence in the emperor's wisdom.

Ch. I. Pp. 1—3. Occasion of the charge. Woo-ting excites the surprise of his ministers by his protracted silence, which leads them to remonstrate with him. He explains the reason, telling them of a dream in which a sage minister was presented to him, who is found and proves to be Yue. 1. 王宅憂亮陰三祀,—宅 憂=居 喪, 'to occupy—to abide—during mourning.' 亮 陰,—this is a phrase which has occasioned much speculation as to its meaning. The characters are variously written. In Pt. V., Bk. XV., p. 5, they are the same as here. In the Analects, XIV., xiii., we have 諒陰; and in other places we have 諒 闇. However we write them, the first should be pronounced in the low. 1st tone, and the second is read *an* or *gan*, up. 1st tone. As to the mean.. Choo He, on the Analects, says he does not know it. Gan-kwŏ made it out to be 信 默,—'trusting the premier, and silent himself.' In this sense we should have to read 陰 in the usual way; but the explanation is most unlikely. We are indebted to Ch'ing for the view that we are to understand by the phrase the 凶 廬, or what is called in the 儀禮, 喪 服, Pt. I., 倚 廬, the mourning shed which the emperor was supposed to occupy during the period of mourning. Here Woo-ting spent the prescribed period of 'three years,' or 25 months, 'without speaking' (see the pass. in the next Part, Bk, XV.). Not that we are to suppose he preserved an absolute silence; but he abstained from speaking of governmental matters, and left them in the hands of his prime minister.

At the end of this time, he *still* kept silence. We must understand 其 惟 不 言 in this way. The 'Daily Explanation' has:—及大祥後,喪服已除,猶未發號施令,裁決庶務. 知之=有先知之德, 'he who has the ability of earlier apprehension.' There was probably a reference in the minds of the speakers to the language of E Yin about the duty of 'those who are first informed, and first apprehend principles,' to instruct and enlighten others. They compliment the emperor with being such a man, 'knowing,' says Kin Le-ts'ëang, 'his extraordinary natural gifts' (天資之不凡). 明 哲,—Shin She-hing (申時行) explains 'the man of brightness (明者) as one whose large comprehension embraces all principles (方寸虛靈,無一理之不具), and the man of wisdom, (哲 者) as one who has examined the minute and knows the displayed, as if a light were thrown on every principle' (察微知著,無一理之不燭). 百官承式,—Ts'ae seems to take 式 as a noun= 'rules,' gov. by 承 'to receive.' It is better to take 承 absolutely. The officers represent themselves as receiving every thing from the emperor. Then 式=敬, 'to respect,' 'to reverence. The 'Daily Explanation' says:—百官之所仰承而欽式者. 稟 (*pin*; 2d tone)=受 命, 'to receive commands.' [The question of Tsze-chang in the Analects, in which he quotes the Shoo as saying that 'Kaou-tsung, while mourning in the usual imperial fashion, was for three years without speaking,' was founded probably, not on the text, but on Pt. V., Bk. XV., p. 5.]

二節 王庸作書以誥曰、以台正于四方、台恐德弗類、茲故弗言、恭默思道、夢帝賚予良弼、其代予言。○ 三節 乃審厥象、俾以形旁求于天下、

2 the ministers have no way to receive their orders." The king on
this made a writing, and informed them, saying, "As it is mine to
secure what is right in the four quarters *of the empire*, I have
been afraid that my virtue is not equal *to that of my predecessors*,
and therefore have not spoken. *But* while I was respectfully
and silently thinking of the *right* way, I dreamt that God gave me
3 a good assistant, who should speak for me." He then minutely
described the appearance of the person, and caused search to be

2. 王庸作書以誥,—庸＝用. It emphasizes the 作;—see on Bk. V., Pt. i., p. 4. 正于四方,—comp. 表正萬邦, Bk. II., p. 2. 德弗類,—Gan-kwŏ makes 類＝善, 'good.' It is better to take it as in the translation. Ts'ae says:—恐德不類于前人. 思道,—'thinking of the way.' By 道 we are to understand 'the principles and course of good govt.' (治道). 賚＝與, 'to give. 弼,—see the 'Yih and Tseih,' parr. 2 and 4.

3. 審厥象,—審, 'to discriminate.' Woo-ting brought back the dream to his mind, till he could distinguish and make out the lineaments and form of the man whom he had seen. The 'Daily Explanation' says:—乃追夢中之所見而諦審其象,繪畫成形. 旁求＝遍求, 'to search everywhere,' on all 'sides.' 說 (read *Yuĕ*) 築云云,—Ts'ae takes 築 as＝居, 'to dwell,' and is foll. by the 'Daily Explanation;'—I know not upon what authority. We ought not to depart from its common signification, sanctioned as that is by Mencius, who tells us that 'Yuĕ was called to office from the midst of his building frames' (傅說舉於版築之閒; Men., VI., Pt. II., xv.). 傅巖之野,—Mih-tsze (尙賢,下篇) speaks of 'the city (? wall) of Foo-yen' (傅巖之城). Gan-kwŏ calls the place—'the crag of the Foo family' (傅氏之巖), and says that the public road went by it, and was injured by a mountain stream. It devolved on a convict in the place to repair it, when Yuĕ, who was living a recluse life in that quarter, and was in great poverty, undertook to do the work, 'in order to get food' (以供食). Sze-ma Ts'een for 傅巖 has 傅險. Whether we call the place Foo-yen, or 'the crag of Foo,' it is agreed that it was 25 *le* north-east from the pres. dis. city of P'ing-luh (平陸; lat, 34° 47', N., lon. 5°25', W.), in Kĕae Chow (解州), Shan-se. Mih-tsze tells us that Yuĕ wore coarse clothes of hair cloth, with a rope for a girdle; and Seun-tsze says that 'his person was like a fish standing up' (傅說之狀,身如植鰭, *lit.*, 'like a perpendicular dorsal fin,' but see the gloss *in loc.* 荀子,非相篇). These are merely the stories floating about in the Chow dynasty.

[As we might expect, this dream of Woo-ting has given rise to no little speculation among Chinese critics. Some have said that the emperor in his wanderings through the empire, to which he alludes at the commencement of Part iii., had become acquainted with the worth and ability of Yuĕ, and knew very well where to find him, so that his telling the courtiers about a dream, and sending through the country to look for Yuĕ, was only an expedient to make them readily acquiesce in his elevation of him to the highest dignity. This view, however, is rejected, as it would subject Woo-ting to a charge of hypocrisy and falsehood.

築傅巖之野、惟肖。四節○爰立作相、王置諸其左右。五節○命

made for him by means of a figure throughout the empire. Yuĕ, a builder in the country of Foo-yen, was found like.

4 II. On this the king raised and made him his prime minister, keeping him also at his side.

Choo He observes that, according to the account in the Shoo, God did really appear to Woo-ting in his dream, and say to him—'I give you a good assistant.' But now people, when they speak of God, intend only the idea of Rule and Government, and say that He has no form, which, it is to be feared, is not a correct mode of expression. If we should say, on the other hand, that the common representations of God as like the 'Great God, Yuh-hwang' are right, this also would be improper. What are we to say in the matter? He leaves this question unanswered. See 朱子全書, Bk. XXXIV.]

[It may be as well here to refer to a passage in the 國語, 楚語, 上, where we find a great deal of what we have in the 'Charge to Yuĕ.' A minister of king Ling of Ts'oo (靈王, B.C. 539-528), remonstrating with him, says:—昔殷武丁能聳其德,至於神明,以入於河,自河徂亳,於是乎三年默以思道,卿士患之曰,王言以出令也,若不言,是無所稟令也,武丁於是作書曰,以余正四方,余恐德之不類,茲故不言,如是而又使以象夢求四方之賢聖,得傅說以來,升以爲公,而使朝夕規諫,曰,若金用女作礪,若津水用女作舟,若天旱用女作霖雨,啟乃心沃朕心,若藥不瞑眩,厥疾不瘳,若跣不視地,厥足用傷.若武丁之神明也........使朝夕規誨箴諫,曰,必交修余,無余棄也,云云.
The above passage contains most of the 1st Part, and some sentences of the third. It is not quoted as from the Shoo, but there can be no doubt it really was taken from the classic, known both to king Ling and his minister. The historical portions are condensed, and brought together to serve the purpose of the speaker. The whole appears, as it would naturally do, if drawn—not quoted—from our present text. To contend that the text was plagiarized and 'made up' from the 國語 is a strange turning of the tables. Even if it were so, we still have in it so much of the original 'Charge to Yuĕ.']

Ch. II. Pp. 4—10. The elevation of Yue, and the emperor's charge to him. 4. I have translated 相 by 'prime minister,' though I am not sure that the term had, in the Yin dynasty, more than the general meaning of 'assistant.' The proper name for prime minister was then 冢宰;—see Ana., XIV., xliii. It was to this office that Yuĕ was raised—總百官, as it is expressed in Pt. ii., p. 1. Yuĕ became to Woo-ting what E Yin had been to T'ang. 王置諸(=於)左右,—'in these words,' says Ts'ae, 'is intimated Yue's appointment to be "tutor and guardian" as well as prime minister' (以冢宰兼師保也). I do not know, however, that we should find any appointment to offices in the language,—anything more than the emperor's wish that Yuĕ should always act as his most intimate counsellor. We find in Ma Twanlin (Bk. XXIX., 職官,宰相) that T'ang appointed two 相;—E Yin and Chung Hwuy, the Seang of the right and left respectfully, and that Yuĕ was called to discharge both of their offices. But we cannot pronounce positively, it seems to me, on the offices of so early a time. 爰, at the beginning of the par., =於是, 'on this,' 'hereupon.' Sze-ma Ts'een says that Woo-ting conferred with Yuĕ, and made proof of him, finding that he was really a sage, before he raised him to these dignities; and Ts'ae says that not to have done so would have been unreasonable. We can well suppose that the emperor entered at once into conference with the strange man, but the Shoo leads us to think only of the dream as the cause of Yuĕ's

之曰、朝夕納誨、以輔台德。○（六節）若金、用汝作礪、若濟巨川、用汝作舟楫、若歲大旱、用汝作霖雨。○（七節）啟乃心、沃朕心。○（八節）若藥弗瞑眩、厥疾弗瘳、若跣弗視地、厥足用傷。○（九節）惟暨乃僚、罔不同心、以匡乃辟、俾率先王、迪我

5 He charged him, saying, "Morning and evening present your
6 instructions to aid my virtue. Suppose me a weapon of steel;—I
will use you for a whetstone. Suppose me crossing a great stream;
—I will use you for a boat with its oars. Suppose me in a year
7 of great drought;—I will use you as a copious rain. Open your
8 mind, and enrich my mind. *Be you* like medicine, which, if it do
not distress the patient, will not cure his sickness. *Think of me* as
one walking *barefoot*, whose feet are sure to be wounded, if he do
not see the ground.
6 "Do you and your companions cherish all the same mind to
assist your Sovereign, that I may follow my royal predecessors, and
tread in the steps of my High ancestor, to give repose to the

elevation. 5. 納誨,—納＝進, 'to present,' 'to bring forward;' 誨, 'instructions,'—including both teachings and remonstrances. 'The emperor,' says Wang Yen, 'speaks here of instructions and not of remonstrances, in his humility, showing his anxiety to be taught.' 6. *Various illustrations of the advantages of Yuĕ's teaching.* 若金, and the other commencements of the clauses, are descriptive of the emperor himself. 霖雨,—'a copious rain.' 霖 is defined as 'rain continuous for at least three days,' 'rain unceasing.' The three clauses rise, it is said, in intensity of meaning, one above the other. The first shows how Yuĕ would help the king to accomplish himself (成器); the second has reference to the overcoming of difficulties; the third to the dispensing benefits to the people. 7. 沃朕心,—'to enrich my mind.' The figure of a copious rain is here continued. The 說文 defines 沃 by 灌溉, 'to moisten,' 'to irrigate.' 8. *Illustrations of the advantages of Yuĕ's remonstrances.* 若藥 and 若跣 are here also descriptive of the emperor;—in the first place as under medical treatment, and in the second place, as walking in a thoughtless and unguarded manner, needing to be warned of his danger. 若藥......瘳,—see Men., III., Pt. I., i., 5. 瞑 (read *mëen*, 3d tone.' Keang Shing edits 眄) are understood to be descriptive of the violent operation of medicine. So decided, and regardless of their immediate effect on himself, would Woo-ting have Yuĕ's words to be. 跣 is defined in the 說文—足親地, 'the foot close to the ground,' *i.e.*, 'barefoot.' This illustration requires Yuĕ to point out boldly whatever dangers the emp. might be heedlessly going into. 9. *Yuĕ must get all under him to have the same mind with himself.* 惟暨乃僚,—we must understand 汝 before 暨, and then the clause ＝ 'you and your associates.' Whether we take 暨 as＝及 or＝與, it stands awkwardly at the beginning of the

高后、以康兆民。○十節嗚呼、欽予時命、其惟有終。○說十一節復于王曰、惟木從繩則正、后從諫則聖、后克聖、臣不命其承、疇敢不祗若王之休命。

10 millions of the people. Oh! respect this charge of mine;—so shall
you bring your work to *a good* end."
11 III. Yuě replied to the king, saying, "Wood by the use of the line
is made straight; and the sovereign who follows reproof becomes
sage. When the sovereign can *thus* make himself sage, his ministers,
without being charged, anticipate his orders;—who would dare
not to act in respectful compliance with this excellent charge of your
Majesty?"

clause. 以匡乃辟,—匡 may be taken as in the translation, or as＝救 or 正, 'to save,' or 'to correct,' 'to keep right.' The 先王 are all former wise kings of the Shang dyn.; 高后 is specially T'ang. 率 is 循其道, 'to follow their path;' 迪 is 蹈其迹, 'to tread in his footsteps.' 10. 時命＝是命. 其惟有終,—有終, see Bk. II., p. 9; Bk. V., Pt. i., p. 3; *et al.* Ts'ae takes 惟 in the sense of 思, 'to think.'—'Respect this charge, thinking from the first upon the issue.'

Ch. III. The dutiful reply of Yue to the above Charge. 說復于王,—復, see on Men., I., Pt. I., vii., 10. 后克聖,—Medhurst translates this—'When the sovereign is a sage;' but we must lay stress on the 克, and connect the clause with the preceding. When ministers see that the sovereign yields himself to be moulded by them,—is like wood in the hands of the carpenter,—they are encouraged to all assiduity in doing their duty. 臣不命其承,—the 'Daily Explanation' expands this:—凡爲臣者,爭欲仰承德意,進獻讜言,雖不命之言,猶且先意承之. 若王之休命,—若＝'such an'; 'an excellent charge like yours.'

THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK VIII. THE CHARGE TO YUE. PART ii.

說命中

惟[一節]說命總百官。○乃[二節]進于王曰、嗚呼、明王奉若天道、建邦設都、樹后王君公、承以大

1 I. Yuě having received charge to take the presidency of all the
2 officers, he presented himself before the king, and said, "Oh! intelligent kings act in reverent accordance with the ways of Heaven. The founding of States, and setting up of capitals; the appointing of sovereign kings, of princes and dukes, with their great officers

CONTENTS OF THE SECOND PART. It has already been observed that this Part should be called 'The Counsels of Yuě.' In answer to the charge which he had received, Yuě presents his advice on various points, all connected with the duty of the sovereign, and the successful conducting of government. In the two last parr., the emperor and the minister give expression to their confidence and complacency in each other.

Ch. I. Pp. 1—11. THE COUNSELS OF YUE. 1, 2. *Occasion of the counsels. All government is not for the gratification and glory of the governing, but for the good of the people.* 1. 總百官,—總＝將領, 'to take the lead of.' Lin Che-k'e understands the phrase as denoting that Yuě continued to act as the representative of the emperor, doing everything for him, as the prime minister did during the period of mourning. Perhaps it was so, Woo-ting had said that his 'good assistant' should speak for him.

2. 進于王,—進 may be taken as in the translation, or we may understand 誨 as the object of the verb. With regard to what follows—嗚呼, 明王, 云云, there is considerable difficulty. 明王 would seem to be the subject of all the verbs that follow,—奉若, 建, 設, and 樹. 后王, 'sovereign king,' is understood to be a designation of the emperor (天子), and 君公 to stand for 諸侯 all the feudal princes under him. In this way, 明王 must be taken as singular, and to have reference to the first sovereign, the founder of the Chinese empire. This was the view of Gaubil. He translates:—'Le roi intelligent, qui autrefois se conforma avec respect a la loi du ciel, fonda l'empire et etablit une cour. Il assigna des lieux on devoient resider le roi, les grands vassaux, et les grands officiers. Ce prince intelligent ne s'occupa pas des plaisirs; il n'eut que le gouvernement du peuple en vue.' To this translation he appends the following note:—'Here Yuě speaks of the first king of China, but what follows does not give us any light on the time when he reigned. One might still translate, it appears to me, in the plural, and say—the intelligent kings, the

夫師長、不惟逸豫、惟以亂民。○三節惟天聰明、惟聖時憲、惟臣欽若、惟民從乂。○四節惟

and heads of departments:—were not designed to minister to the idleness and the pleasures *of one*, but for the good government of the people.

3 "It is Heaven which is all-intelligent and observing. Let the sage *king* take it as his pattern:—then his ministers will reverently accord with him; and the people will consequently be well governed.

founders of the empire. Yuĕ spoke of the first king as of a known personage. In the commentaries on the Yih-king, Confucius speaks of Fo-he as the first king; and on this subject the authority of Confucius is preferable to that of others.'

I have not attempted to turn Gaubil's French version of the text into English, that the reader may see it as from his own hand. An intelligent comparison of it with the original will show that it gives the meaning of hardly a single phrase correctly. Several of the renderings are made in order to harmonize the whole with his view that 明王 is in the singular, and denotes the founder of the Chinese empire; but independently of this, the translation is inadmissible. Medhurst takes 明王 indefinitely, and renders it by 'an intelligent king.' His version is better than Gaubil's in the several phrases; but upon the whole it is not satisfactory.

For myself, I must construe the paragraph differently from any critic, native or foreign, that I have read. 明王 cannot be, as Gaubil supposes, 'the intelligent king,'—*the founder of the Chinese State*;—it must be translated—'intelligent kings,' or 'an intelligent king.' 后王 is to be understood, with Ts'ae and other scholars, as denoting 'the emperor,' or 'emperors.' To speak of intelligent kings as appointing emperors (明王樹后王) is absurd, and therefore 明王 cannot be the nominative to 建 and the other verbs. I put a stop at 道; and take 建邦, &c., as clauses in the nominative, the verb of which they are the subject being found in 不惟逸豫. By whom States were founded, and capitals set up, emperors, princes, and dukes, appointed, with all sustaining office under them is indicated in the phrase 天道, and the term 天, with which the next par. commences. It was by Heaven or God, constituting such a social order with a view to the benefit of the people. This construction may appear rather harsh, but it gives a consistent meaning to the whole paragraph, which we fail to get from any other interpretation. It is confirmed in so far by a passage in Mih-tsze (尙同中), where he seems to be partly quoting, and partly commenting on, the text. He says:—先王之書,相年之道,曰,夫建國設都,乃作后王君公,否用泰也,輕(for 卿)大夫師長,否用佚也,維辯使治天均,則此語古者上帝鬼神之建設國都,立正長也,非高其爵,厚其祿,富貴佚而錯之也,將以爲萬民興利除害,云云.

3. *The imitation of Heaven by the supreme earthly power is the first step, and surely leads, to good government.* 惟天聰明,—see the 'Counsels of Kaou-yaou.' p. 8. 時憲,—時=是; 憲法, 'to imitate.' 欽若,—see 'Can. of Yaou,' p. 3. The four clauses of this par. are like pearls, lying side by side. We must take them, and string them together in the manner indicated in the translation. But how is 'the sage king' to imitate Heaven, all-intelligent and observing? The commentators labour to answer this question. The 'Daily Explanation,' for instance, says:—'Heaven aloft on high, without prepossession, entirely just, most spiritual and intelligent, needs not to hearken, and yet hears every thing; needs not to look, and yet sees every thing. The excellences and defects of govt., the happiness and suffering of the people, do not escape its observation. And not only this.—Of all that is done in darkness and in privacy, where there are neither ears nor eyes, nothing escapes its notice. Such is the intelligence and observation of Heaven;—it is for the wise sovereign to take this for his pattern. When his likings and dislikings are free from the becloudings of

口起羞、惟甲冑起戎、惟衣裳在笥、惟干戈省厥躬、王惟戒茲、允茲克明、乃罔不休。○五節惟治亂在庶官、官不及私昵、惟其能、爵罔及惡德、惟其賢。

4 "It is the mouth which gives occasion for shame; they are the coat of mail and helmet which give occasion to war. The upper robes and lower garments *for reward should not be lightly taken from* their chests; before shield and spear are used, one should examine himself. If your Majesty will be cautious in these things, and, believing this about them, attain to their intelligent *use, your government* will in every thing be excellent.

5 "Good government and bad depend upon the various officers. Offices may not be given to men because they are favourites, but only to men of ability. Dignities may not be conferred on men of evil practices, but only on men of worth.

partiality, and his rewards and punishments are all in accordance with right,—like the all-seeing and all-hearing of Heaven; then he can give the law to the empire,' &c. All this is not without truth and force; but Yuĕ's lesson is too vaguely expressed to be of much practical use. Gaubil, however, observes justly that those who have affirmed that the ancient Chinese only understood by Heaven the material heavens have not paid sufficient attention to such passages as the present.

4. *Instances of things in which the endeavour to imitate Heaven will be seen; and the happy effect of doing so.* From the commencement of this par. to 厥躬, is found in the Le Ke, Bk. 緇衣, p. 16, quoted as from the 兌 (evidently for 說)命. Choo He says that the clauses beginning with 惟 are independent of one another. Lin Che-k'e, on the other hand, finds in the third clause the complement of the first, and in the 4th that of the second. It is not worth our while to enter on this question. The tongue is man's glory, but very easily abused; and then it turns out to his shame. The coat of mail and helmet are weapons of defence, but the confidence of strength often leads to insolence and quarrels. The robes in the imperial stores are intended to reward the good and meritorious; but, if distributed carelessly, they are productive of evil effects. Shield and spear are the weapons with which one goes to punish offenders;—but woe to him who undertakes this duty, while his heart condemns himself! The four things are of great importance and easily offended in; and Yuĕ therefore calls the attention of Woo-ting to them. 起戎,—戎=兵, 'an offensive weapon.' 衣裳,—see the 'Yih and Tseih,' p. 4. 笥 is defined as 'an article of furniture for holding food or clothes' (飯及衣之器). Its figure was square, We may translate it by 'chest.' 戒茲, 允茲,—the former of these 茲 seems to = 'these,' the things, namely which had been spoken of; the latter = 'this,' and indicates what had been said or implied about the mouth, &c.

5. *How the imitation of Heaven should be seen in conferring offices and dignities.* Ying-tă says: 'The performance of duties is called 官; the receiving of rank is called 爵' (治其事謂之官, 受其位謂之爵). We are not to think, however, here of the different dignities among the feudal princes, but of the ranks among the officers in the imperial domain. 私昵,—昵=近, or 親近, 'near to,' 'familiar with.' 私昵, are the emperor's 'private intimates,' his favourites. 惡德=包藏凶惡之人, 'men who cherish all evil in their bosoms.'

六節 慮善以動、動惟厥時。○七節 有其善、喪厥善。矜其能、喪厥功。○八節 惟事事、乃其有備、有備無患。○九節 無啟寵納侮、無恥過作非。○十節 惟厥攸居、政事惟醇。○十一節 黷于祭祀、時謂弗

6 "Anxious thought about what will be good should precede your movements. Your movements also should have respect to the time for them.

7 "The indulged consciousness of goodness is the way to lose that goodness. Boasting of ability is the way to lose the merit it might produce.

8 "For all affairs let there be adequate preparation. With preparation there will be no calamities.

9 "Do not open the door for favourites, from whom you will receive contempt. Do not be ashamed of mistakes, and thus make them crimes.

10 "Let your mind rest in its proper objects, and the affairs of your government will be pure.

11 "Officiousness in sacrifices is called irreverence; ceremonies when

The clause—爵罔及惡德 is found, like most of the last par., in the Le Ke, Bk. 緇衣, quoted in the same way from the 兌命.

6. *How the same should be seen in thoughtful and timely action.* 善 is here defined by 當乎理, 'that which is agreeable to right reason or principle.' 7. *And in repressing all prideful thoughts.* 有其善=自有其善, 'having his goodness to one's-self,' thinking of it, resting in it.

8. *And in preparation for all undertakings, and against emergencies.* On 事事 Gan-kwŏ says 非一事, 'not in one affair merely,' = 'in all affairs.' Ts'ae seems to take the first char. as a verb—惟事其事,乃其有備, 'in doing his affairs there should be preparation.' This par. would seem to have been at one time somewhat different. In the 左傳,襄,十一年, we find—書曰,居安思危,思則有備,有備則無患. This quotation, however, may be from some other Book of the Shoo, among those that are lost.

9. *And in avoiding favouritism and persistence in mistakes.* 無(=毋)啟寵,—'do not open favouritism.' The 'contempt,' it is understood, will be from the favourites themselves, bred to it by the familiarity to which they are admitted. 無心失理謂之過, 有心背理謂之非, 'an unintentional failure to do what is right is called *a mistake*; an intentional violation of what is right is called *a crime*.' In the 左傳,定元年, we read—啟寵納侮,其此之謂矣. 10. *And in the keeping of the heart.* 惟厥攸(=所)居,—居=止. The clause is quite elliptical, and =惟居其所止. Comp. 'The Great Learning,' Comm., ch. 3. 醇=粹清, 'pure and clear,' = unmixed. There will be no evil thoughts and bad objects to disturb the govt. 11. *On the service of spirits.* 黷

欽、禮煩則亂、事神則難。○王十二節曰、旨哉、說乃言惟服、乃不良于言、予罔聞于行。十三節說拜稽首曰、非知之艱、行之惟艱、王忱不艱、允協于先王成德、惟說不言有厥咎。

burdensome lead to disorder. To serve the spirits *in this way* is difficult."

12 11. The king said, "Excellent! Your words, O Yuĕ, should indeed be carried out in the conduct. If you were not so good in counsel,
13 I should not have heard these things for my practice." Yuĕ did obeisance with his head to the ground, and said, "It is not the knowing that is difficult, but the doing. If your Majesty know this, however, there will not be the difficulty, and you will become really equal in complete virtue to the former king. Wherein I, Yuĕ, do not express myself, the blame rests with me."

于祭祀,—黷, means 'to soil,' 'dirty.' The phrase 褻黷 is used, with reference to spiritual beings, in the sense of 'to defile,' 'to profane.' Wherein the profanity which Yuĕ wanted to guard the emperor against consisted, we cannot say precisely. One meaning of 黷, given in the dict., is 數, 'frequently,' 'forwardly.' Now from the next Bk. we shall see that Woo-ting was prone to be officious in the worship of the spirits of the departed, and we have seen how later times charge the Shang dynasty with being superstitious. Officiousness —sacrificing unnecessarily to certain spirits, and at unnecessary times,—and the attempt to please them by the multitude of observances, would seem therefore to be the things here condemned by Yuĕ. 時=是. The last clause—事神則難 would seem to be co-ordinate with the preceding. All the critics, however, understand it as in the translation. [This par., with some alterations and additions, appears in the Le-ke, Bk. 緇衣, p. 25, referred to already under p. 5. We have:—兌命曰,爵無及惡德,民立而正事,純而祭祀,是爲不敬,事煩則亂,事神則難.]

Ch. II. Pp. 12, 13. THE COMPLACENCY OF WOO-TING AND YUE IN EACH OTHER. 12. 旨哉,—旨=美, 'admirable.' Ts'ae says that the ancients, in eating and drinking, when any thing particularly pleased their palate, pronounced it 旨; and Woo-ting thus characterizes Yuĕ's words as if they had a flavour. 乃(=汝)言惟服,—服=行, 'to practise.' 13. 王忱不艱=王忱信之,亦不爲難, 'if your Majesty sincerely believes this,—the difficulty of action, —it likewise will not prove to be a difficulty.' In the conclusion of the first Part, Yuĕ says that the sovereign's giving heed to his advisers would encourage them to do their duty. His concluding words here show how the ready ear the emperor yielded to his lessons was spurring him on.

說命下

一節 王曰、來汝說、台小子舊學于甘盤、既乃遯于荒野、入宅于河、自河徂亳、暨厥終罔顯。

1 I. The king said, "Come, O Yuĕ. I, the little one, first learned with Kan Pwan. Afterwards, I lived concealed in the rude country, and then I went to *the inside of* the Ho, and lived there. From the Ho I went to Pŏ;—and the result has been that I am

CONTENTS OF THE THIRD PART. The emperor tells Yuĕ of his early disadvantages, and begs him now to instruct him, enlightening his ignorance, and supplying his deficiencies. To this Yuĕ replies by enlarging on the subjects most important to be learned, and the spirit of the learner. From the 8th paragraph to the end, the emperor praises Yuĕ for what he had already done for him, and expresses his hope that the minister would prove a second E Yin, and frame of him a second T'ang; to which Yuĕ suitably responds.

Ch. I. Pp. 1—7. WOO-TING DEPLORES THE DISADVANTAGES OF HIS EARLY YEARS, AND BEGS YUE TO INSTRUCT HIM. YUE SPEAKS OF THE SUBJECTS OF LEARNING, AND THE SPIRIT REQUIRED IN THE LEARNER. 1. *The early life of Woo-ting.* 台小子舊學于甘盤,—we saw before that 小子, 'the little child,' was appropriately used by the emperor as a humble designation of himself in relation to God. It came, however, to be employed, as in the text, where we can hardly suppose any reference in the mind to that relation. 舊,—'of old;'—we may render it by 'first.' From this clause we should suppose that Kan Pwan had been a learned master, who imparted to Wooting the rudiments of learning. From Part V., Bk. XVI., p. 7, however, we learn that he was a great minister. He is there mentioned, indeed, as *the* minister of Woo-ting's time, while nothing is said of Foo Yuĕ. We may suppose that he acted as prime minister on the death of Seaou-yih, and died himself before the period of mourning was expired. What Woo-ting learned with him would be lessons of govt., and such subjects as are treated in 'The Great Learning.'

既乃遯于荒野, 云云,—既 stands absolutely, = 'afterwards.' 遯 = 'to withdraw from public life, and live in obscurity.' Chow-kung says, Pt. V., Bk. XV., p. 5, that 'Kaou-tsung toiled, away from the court, among the inferior people.' What was the reason of his doing so, we do not know. Gan-kwŏ says his father sent him for a time to this mode of life, that he might know the hardships of the common people. It is more likely that he was compelled to it by some dire necessity, arising from convulsions of the State with which we are unacquainted. From the fields of the people Woo-ting 'entered the Ho and dwelt,'—resided, acc. to Gan-kwŏ, 'on some island in the Ho.' It is more probable that we should take 入

○（二節）爾惟訓于朕志、若作酒醴、爾惟麴糵、若作和羹、爾惟鹽梅、爾交修予、罔予棄、予惟克邁乃訓。○（三節）說曰、王、人求多聞、時惟建事、學于古訓、乃有獲、事不師古、以克（四節）永世、匪說攸聞。○惟學

2 unenlightened. Do you teach me what should be my aims. Be to me as the yeast and the malt in making sweet spirits; as the salt and the prunes in making agreeable soup. Give your help to cultivate me; do not cast me away:—I shall attain to practise your instructions."

3 Yuĕ said, "O king, men seek to hear much, having in view to establish their affairs. But to learn the lessons of the ancients is the way to attain this. That the affairs of one, not making the ancients his masters, can be perpetuated for generations, is what I have not heard.

宅于河 as—入居于河內, understanding 河內, 'the inside of the Ho' as a designation of K'e-chow generally. From the north of the Ho he removed again to Pŏ,—the capital as re-established by Pwan-kăng;—and the end was (曁厥終) that he was, or thought himself, little versed in the subjects necessary for him to know as emperor. 2. *He asks Yuĕ to instruct him* 爾惟訓予朕志,—'do you instruct me about my aims.' 若作酒醴爾惟麴糵,—酒 is commonly translated 'wine,' but incorrectly. The term denotes 'spirits, distilled from rice.' 醴 is the product in its earlier stage, before the process of distillation is commenced, after the mashing and fermentation, when 'the juice and the refuse are mixed together,' what is called 'sweet spirits' (醴成而汁滓相將,如今甜酒). 麴=酒母, 'yeast' 糵=牙米, 'the sprouting rice,' 'malt.' 爾交修予,—this clause and the next are found in the long quotation which I made in the first Part from the 國語. In Pt. V., Bk, XXVI., p. 4, we have 交修不逮, where the 交 refers to the united services of many ministers. Here the char. is used with single reference to Yuĕ in his relation to Woo-ting. 邁=行, 'to practise,' indicating the efforts which he would put forth. 3. *Yuĕ replies—first, that the lessons of the ancients are the most important thing to be learned.* 王人求多聞,—Gan-kwŏ joins 王人 together as=王者, 'royal men,' 'kings.' It is better to take 王 in the vocative. Yuĕ addresses Woo-ting—'O king,' as Yu, in the 'Yih and Tseih,' p. 7, addresses Shun, 'O Emperor.' 時惟建事,—時=是, 'thus.' The 'Daily Explanation' says:—是其意惟欲建立修身治天下之事業耳. 古訓,—'ancient lessons,' such as are contained in the Canons of Yaou and Shun, and the Counsels of Yu and Kaou-yaou. Ming-shing calls attention to a passage in Ts'een's history of the founder of the Ts'in dynasty—事不師古而能長久者,非所聞也, from which he thinks the last part of the par was taken Much more likely

遜志、務時敏、厥修乃來、允懷于茲、道積于厥躬。○五節惟斆學半、念終始典于學、厥德修罔覺。○六節監于先王成憲、其永無愆。○惟七節說式克欽承、旁招俊乂、列于庶位。○王八節曰、嗚呼、說四海之內、

4 "In learning there should be a humble will, and a striving to
maintain a constant earnestness. In such a case *the learner's*
cultivation will surely come. He who sincerely cherishes these
5 things will find all truth accumulating in his person. To teach
is one half of learning. When a man's thoughts from first to last are
constantly fixed on *such* learning, his virtuous cultivation comes
unperceived.
6 "Survey the perfect pattern of the former king;—so may you
7 for ever be preserved from error. Then shall I be able reverently
to meet your views, and on every side to look out for men of eminence to place in the various offices."
8 II. The king said, "Oh! Yuĕ, within the four seas, all look up

is it to have been adopted by the speaker in the passage referred to from the text. 4. *Second, that success in learning depends on docility and persevering earnestness.* 允懷于茲,—'he who sincerely cherishes these things,'—the humility, namely, and persevering earnestness. 道積于厥躬,—道 denotes all the principles of self-cultivation and of govt. taught and practised by the ancients. In the Le Ke, Bk. 學記, par. 9, we read 兌命曰,敬孫,務時敏,厥修乃來. 5. *Third, that learning is perfected by communicating what has been acquired.* 斆學半,—'teaching is the half of learning.' The words are quoted in the 學記, par. 3, and explained.—'When one learns,' it is said, 'he knows his deficiencies. When he teaches, he knows the difficulties *of learning*. A knowledge of his deficiencies leads him to self-inspection; a knowledge of the difficulties leads him to exert himself' (學然後知不足,教然後知困,知不足,然後能自反也,知困,然後能自强也). 念終始典于學,—典=常, 'constant,' 'constantly.' 學 here must be understood to include both the learning and teaching. The clause is found twice in the Le Ke,—once in the 學記, p. 2, and once in the 文王世子, Pt. ii., p. 23. 6, 7. *Finally, that the emperor should adopt T'ang as his model, and Yuĕ would surround the throne with ministers like himself.* 先王成憲,—先王 here is to be taken as referring to T'ang. 憲=法, 'law,' 'pattern.' 惟說式克,—式=用, 'to use;'—taken adverbially as 用 itself often is,= 'hereby.' The emperor's goodness would be to Yuĕ the greatest impulse to do all that devolved on him. 俊乂,—see 'Counsels of Kaou-yaou,' p. 4.

Ch. II. Pp. 8—11. The emperor praises Yue, and looks for still greater advantages from him. Yue undertakes to respond to the emperor's wishes. 8. *What Yuĕ had done for the emperor.* Comp. Shun's language to Yu, II., Bk. II., p. 8, ending 時乃功,

咸仰朕德、時乃風。○（九節）股肱惟人、良臣惟聖。○（十節）昔先正保衡、作我先王、乃曰、予弗克俾厥后惟堯舜、其心愧恥、若撻于市、一夫不獲、則曰時予之辜、佑我烈祖、格于皇天、爾尚明保予、罔俾阿衡、專美有商。○（十一節）惟后非賢不乂、惟賢非后不食、其爾克紹乃辟于先王、永綏

9 to my virtue:—all through your influence. As his legs and arms form the man, so does a good minister form the sage *king*.

10 "Formerly there was the premier of our dynasty, Paou-hăng, who made my royal predecessor. He said, 'If I cannot make my sovereign like Yaou or Shun, I shall feel ashamed in my heart, as if I were beaten in the market place.' If any one common man did not find *all he should desire*, he said, 'It is my fault.' Thus he assisted my meritorious ancestor, so that he became equal to Great Heaven. Do you give your preserving aid to me, and not let O-hăng engross all the good service to the House of Shang.

11 The sovereign should share his government with none but worthy ministers. The worthy minister should accept his support only from the proper sovereign. May you now succeed in making your prince a successor of my royal ancestor, and in securing the

風 here = 'influence.' 9. *The same subject.* 10. *The emperor wishes Yuĕ to be to him what E Yin had been to T'ang.* 先正保衡,—正 is here explained by 長, 'chief,' 'president.' As applied to E Yin, it denotes his presidency of all the other ministers,—his being premier. On 保衡, see the note on the 'T'ae-këă,' Pt. i., p. 1. 作我先王,—作 exactly corresponds here to our 'made.' Ch'in King (陳經) says:—學于伊尹,湯之爲聖乃尹與起,而作成之. 予弗克,云云,—comp. Men., V., Pt. I., vii.; Pt. II., i., and other places where he speaks of E Yin. 格于皇天,—'he reached to great Heaven.' This is a wild and blasphemous exaggeration, like many of the assertions about the perfectly sincere man and Confucius in the 'Doctrine of the Mean.' The 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases it:—烈祖德業之成,直與天地同流而無間焉. 11. *Woo-ting and Yuĕ both rest complacently in their adaptation to each other, and auspice great things.* 不乂=不與共治, 'does not share the government with.' 不食=不食其祿, 'does not eat his revenue.' 其

民。說拜稽首曰、敢對揚天子之休命。

lasting happiness of the people!" Yuĕ did obeisance with his head to the ground, and said, "I will venture to respond to, and display abroad, your Majesty's excellent charge."

爾,—we might invert the order of these characters; 其 has its hortatory force. 對＝答, 'to answer,' 'to respond to.'

[Choo He observes:—'The lessons of E Yin to T'ae-këă are different from those of Foo Yuĕ to Kaou-tsung. The words of E Yin are repeated again and again, as the small natural comprehension of T'ae-këă required. This was not necessary with Kaou-tsung. His natural ability was good, and he was not chargeable with many faults.']

BOOK IX. THE DAY OF THE SUPPLEMENTARY SACRIFICE OF KAOU-TSUNG.

高宗肜日

一節 高宗肜日、越有雊雉。〇二節 祖己曰、惟先格王、正厥事。〇三節 乃訓于王曰、惟天監下民、典厥義、降年有永有不永、非天夭民、民中絶命。

1 I. On the day of the supplementary sacrifice of Kaou-tsŭng, there
2 appeared a crowing pheasant. Tsoo Ke said, "To rectify this affair, the king must first be corrected."
3 Accordingly he lessoned the king, saying, "In its inspection of men below, Heaven's first consideration is of their righteousness; and it bestows on them *accordingly* length of years or the contrary. Heaven does not cut short men's lives;—they bring them to an end

Name of the Book.—高宗肜日, 'The day of the Supplementary Sacrifice of Kaou-tsung.' Kaou-tsung, I have already observed, was the title given to Woo-ting in the ancestral temple. Sze-ma Ts'een says that it was conferred on him by his son and successor Tsoo-kăng, with reference to the circumstances commemorated in this Book,—his being taught to be virtuous by the appearance of a pheasant in the manner described. He says also that it was on occasion of this canonization, so to term it, that this Book, and another which is lost,—the 'Instructions to Kaou-tsung' (高宗之訓)—were composed. That the Book was not composed in the reign of Woo-ting is sufficiently proved by the use of the sacrificial title which was given to him; that that title was conferred on him with reference to the occurrence here related is extremely improbable. 肜日,—肜 (Keang Shing has 融. See the note in the 後案 on the history and form of the character) was the name of a supplementary sacrifice, offered on the day following the regular and more solemn service (祭明日又祭). I have not been able to find any precise account of the reason and manner of such an observance. K'ang-shing says it was common to all sacrifices,—'those to Heaven and Earth, to the spirits of the land and the grain, of the hills and rivers, and of ancestors.' It was continued under the Chow dynasty, and was called 繹. Subsequently, it seems to have fallen into disuse.

The words—高宗肜日 may be translated 'The day of the supplementary sacrifice *to*

Kaou-tsung, and this rendering of them has its advocates, who are foll. by De Mailla in his 'Histoire Generale de la Chine.' This view seems to have prevailed in the Yuen dynasty. The editors of Yung-ching's Shoo say that Kin Le-ts'ëang and Tsow Kwei-yew (鄒季友) both thought that the reproof of Tsoo Ke must have been addressed to a young emperor,—to Tsoo-kăng, and that it is not conceivable as addressed to Woo-ting. They say themselves that the words of the 4th par.—乃曰其如台 are not to be thought of as addressed to Woo-ting after his character had developed under the counsels of Foo-yuě. They therefore suppose the appearance of the pheasant to have taken place in the first year of Woo-ting, and advert to the 11th par. of the second Part of 'The Charge to Yuě,' as showing that there was a superstitious element in his character, which might have then given occasion to the remarks of Tsoo Ke. The Preface to the Shoo must be held as conclusive that the sacrificer was Woo-ting, and not Tsoo-kăng. We there read, note 29, 'Kaou-tsung was sacrificing to T'ang the Successful, when a pheasant flew up, and lighted on the ear of a tripod, and there crowed. Tsoo Ke lessoned the king,' &c. The Book is found both in the 'old text and in the modern.' It is classed among the 'Instructions.' Fuh-shang appended it to the 'P'wan-kăng,' so that it was not a separate Book in the 'modern text.'

Contents. A pheasant suddenly makes its appearance and crows, while Kaou-tsung is engaged in the supplementary sacrifice to T'ang. This is understood to be indicative of something wrong in the service, and Tsoo Ke, a worthy minister, proceeds to lecture the emperor on the subject, whose particular fault is intimated in the last par.

Par. 1. *The appearance of a pheasant.* 高宗肜日,—see the note on the name of the Book. 越有雊雉,—we cannot translate 越. The 'Daily Explanation' calls it 發語辭, 'an introductory, or initial particle.' Ying-tă defines it by 於是, 'on this.' The 說文 says that '雊 is the cry of the male pheasant.' The preface to the Shoo and Sze-ma ts'een, after it, say that the pheasant lighted on the ear—one of the handles—of a tripod. Such an event would of course be understood to be ominous, and the older writers wearied themselves in endeavours to explain the meaning of it, some supposing it a good omen, and some a bad one. Maou K'e-ling ridicules their varying conjectures;—see the 尙書廣聽錄, *in loc.* The only explanation of it I will mention here is that of Fuh-shang (尙書大傳), which is peculiar to himself, and the more strange because it is inconsistent with the tenor of the Book. He says:—'Woo-ting was sacrificing to T'ang, when a pheasant flew up on the handle of a tripod, and crowed. Woo-ting asked Tsoo-ke what it meant, who replied, "The pheasant is a wild bird, and ought not to mount the tripod. Its doing so now shows that it wants to be employed (今升鼎者,欲為用也). Shall we not have people from distant regions coming to the court?" On this Woo-ting examined himself, and reflected on the ways of the former kings; and in three years envoys, with twisted hair, who needed an interpreter, came to court from six kingdoms (三年編髮重譯來朝者六國). Confucius said, "I have observed how speedily virtue is rewarded in what is related of Woo-ting and the day of his supplementary sacrifice."'

2. *Remark of Tsoo Ke on the subject.* Tsoo Ke was evidently a worthy minister of Woo-ting; but we know nothing of him more than is here related. I suppose 祖 to be the surname. 惟先格王,—王 is here = 正, 'to correct,'—see Men., IV., Pt. I., xx., 惟大人為能格君心之非. Gan-kwŏ takes it as an adj., = 至, and says—'a sovereign of the highest style of principle, when he meets with extraordinary events, corrects his affairs, and the prodigies of themselves pass away.' The 先 before 格 is sufficiently decisive against this view. 正厥事,='to rectify this affair.' I understand the reference to be to the affair or circumstance, which, in Tsoo Ke's opinion, had occasioned the ominous appearance of the pheasant. This remark was not made to the emperor, but to Tsoo Ke's companions, or perhaps we should understand it simply as the thought in his mind.

3. 4. *Tsoo Ke's attempt to rectify the emperor's mind.* 3. *Men's prosperity does not depend on the arbitrary will of Heaven, but on their own conduct.* 下民,—comp. the 'Announcement of T'ang,' p. 2. There, however, I have translated the phrase—'the inferior people,' the people being spoken of in contradistinction from the sovereign. In the text, people and sovereign are all comprehended, and 'men below' seems to give the meaning. 典=主, 'to put first,' 'to make the principal consideration.' 永=長, 'long.' 夭 means 'to die prematurely' (不盡天年謂之夭. 殀 is more common). It is used here actively, ='to cause to die prematurely.' Ts'ae observes that it would appear from this language that Woo-ting had been praying in connection with his sacrifice for length of years. The conclusion is not unnatural;—it is more natural than the view of K'ang-shing that shortness of life is here as a specimen of the calamities which men dread, being the one most readily apprehensible by even stupid persons. All calamities are the consequence of men's unrighteousness, and Tsoo Ke would have Woo-ting understand this, by bringing home to his thoughts the one calamity of premature death. Ying-tă follows Ch'ing in this exposition, which

○四節民有不若德、不聽罪、天既孚命正厥德、乃曰其如台。○五節嗚呼、王司敬民、罔非天胤、典祀無豐于昵。

4 in the midst themselves. Some men may not have complied with virtue, and will not acknowledge their crimes, but when Heaven has evidently charged them to correct their conduct, and they still say, 'What is this to us?'—

5 "Oh! Your Majesty's business is to care reverently for the people. And *all* your *ancestors* were the heirs of *the empire favoured by* Heaven;—attend to the sacrifices to *them*, and be not *so* excessive in those to your father."

seems to me very far-fetched. 4. *When men are deaf to the special warnings of Heaven, their case is desperate.* According to the translation, this paragraph is not complete. It was not easy for Tsoo Ke to speak out plainly and fully what was his meaning. He fancied that the emp. was thinking but little of the omen of the pheasant, and wished to warn him against heedlessly pursuing his own course, regardless of the admonitions of Heaven. The transl. is in acc. with the paraphrase of the 'Daily Explanation,' which I subjoin. It will be seen how the meaning is completed in it.—然天未嘗遽絶之也,斯民之中,有不順乎理,而肆意妄爲,不服其罪,而飾非拒諫者,天未嘗不以妖孽爲信驗,以告戒之,夫天既譴告,欲其順德而聽罪耳,乃謂妖孽特出偶然,無如我何,則重違上天仁愛之心矣,天豈不誅絶之哉. 不聽罪,—'will not hear of their offences,'='will not acknowledge them, and put them away.' 孚, 'sincerely,'=with evidenced sincerity. There is a reference to the appearance of the pheasant as an evident intimation that there was something wrong, needing to be reproved and corrected. Sze-ma Ts'een gives 附 instead of 孚, and Keang Shing reads 付, which he says was anciently interchanged with 附, in the sense of 與, 'to give.' The meaning which he puts on the par. seems to be this:—'Some men do not comply with virtue, and will not acknowledge their crimes. Heaven then gives them charge to correct their conduct, and they say, "What shall we do?"' This interpretation is not by any means so apt to the occasion as that which I have followed. Gan-kwŏ gives still another view of the clause 一乃曰其如台;—see the 註疏 *in loc.*

5. *How Tsoo Ke tried to correct the special error of Woo-ting.* 司 is taken in the sense of 主, having the same meaning as 典, in par. 3. Ts'ae says:—'Your Majesty's office is to reverence the people; to be looking, on a peradventure, for happiness from spirits is not your business' (王之職主於敬民而已,徼福於神,非王之事也). 胤=嗣; 'to inherit,' 'heirs.' 罔非 supposes a subject in the thoughts, which is most naturally expressed by 祖宗, 'your ancestors.' 典=主; 典祀, 'attend to the sacrifices,' *i.e.*, the sacrifices prescribed to all your ancestors. The 'Daily Explanation' has:—吾王承其後,而主其祭,只當一體孝敬, 'your Majesty, succeeding to them, and presiding over the sacrifices to them, should cherish an equal filial reverence for them all.' 昵 (read *ne*, low 2d tone)=禰,—'the shrine appropriated to a father's spirit-tablet in the ancestral temple.' It would appear from this that Woo-ting's fault was the paying some excessive and superstitious reverence to the spirit of his father. This is the one important meaning of the par., and it will be found that the critics, differing in the view they take of the first clauses—王司敬民,罔非天胤, yet agree in this.

CONCLUDING NOTE. Woo-ting had a very long reign of 59 years, and died B.C. 1265. It

is mentioned of him, in the 63rd diagram of the Yih King, that he 'attacked the demon-land, and subdued it in three years' (高宗伐鬼方,三年克之.) This 'demon-region' seems to have been the country of the wild tribes in the north, who never ceased to press upon the more civilized Chinese, till they made themselves masters of the empire, about 2,500 years after Woo-ting's time. A note in the 綱鑑易知 says that in the Hea dynasty they were called 獯鬻; in the Yin, 鬼方; in the Choo 玁狁; under Ts'in and Han, 匈奴; under the T'ang, 突厥; and under the Sung, 契丹.

The last of the Praise-songs of Shang, in the She King, is understood to celebrate the martial prowess of Woo-ting against the wild tribes of King-tsoo, and Choo He supposes that *they* were the people of the 'demon-regions.' In this case we should have to look for those regions on the south of Pŏ, which is not at all likely. If there was a strong effort by the northern hordes against the Chinese supremacy, we may suppose that the half-subdued tribes within the boundaries of the empire took advantage of the opportunity to rise against the government. The movement, however, whether from within or without, was effectually quelled. Woo-ting subdued rebellion, and made peace within all his borders. He arrested the decline of the Shang dynasty, but he could not turn it back. There is duly chronicled in the 41st year of his reign, B.C. 1282, the birth of Leih (季歷), the father of king Wăn, the founder of the dynasty of Chow.

THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK X. THE CHIEF OF THE WEST'S CONQUEST OF LE.

西伯戡黎

一節 西伯既戡黎、祖伊恐、奔告于王。○ 二節 曰、天子、天既訖我殷命、格人元龜、罔敢知吉、非先王不相我後人、惟王

1 The chief of the West having subdued Le, Tsoo E was afraid,
2 and hastened to report it to the king. He said, "Son of Heaven,
Heaven is bringing to an end the destiny of our dynasty of Yin;
the wisest of men and the great tortoise equally do not venture to
know any thing fortunate for it. It is not that the former kings
do not aid us, the men of this after time; but by your dissoluteness

INTRODUCTORY HISTORICAL NOTE. Woo-ting's reign terminated in B.C. 1265, and 'the Conquest of Le by the Chief of the West' took place B.C. 1123. Here, therefore, there is again a gap in the history of the Shang dynasty, so far as it might be collected from the documents of the Shoo. Nor is the gap owing to the insensate measure of the founder of the Ts'in dynasty in burning the ancient Books. In the Shoo as it came from the hand of Confucius, the 'Conquest of Le' immediately followed the 'Instructions to Kaou-tsung.'

The conquest of Le took place in the 31st year of Chow-sin, the last emperor of the House of Shang, who succeeded to the throne B.C. 1153. The time between him and Woo-ting was filled up by the reigns of seven sovereigns.

[i.] Woo-ting was succeeded by his son Tsoo-kăng (祖庚). Nothing is related of him. He appears to have been a weak ruler, and died, after a reign of seven years, B.C. 1258.

[ii.] Tsoo-këă (祖甲) followed his brother Tsoo-kăng. One account says that Woo-ting, knowing Tsoo-këă to be worthier and abler than his brother, had wished to leave the empire to him, but that he himself, not to be charged with supplanting Tsoo-kăng, withdrew and kept himself concealed for some time. In B.C. 1257 the people called him to the throne, which he occupied for 33 years.

The standard chronology chronicles no events of his time in which he bore a part. It is noted that in his 28th year, B.C. 1229, Ke-leih the youngest son of Tan-foo, 'the old duke' of Chow, had a son, Ch'ang (昌), by his wife T'ae-jin (太任), whom Choo He delights to celebrate for her many virtues. Ch'ang is known in history as 'king Wăn,' and his father as 'king Ke.' It would appear that Tan-foo died in the same year, but not till he had seen something remarkable about the infant Ch'ang,

which made him say that he would greatly advance the fortunes of their House. In consequence of this, his two eldest sons, T'ae-pih (太伯; see Con. Ana., VIII., i.,) and Chung-yung, (仲雍; *alias*, 虞仲) both declined the dukedom of Chow in favour of Ke-leih, the first year of whose rule, as duke of Chow, dates in B.C. 1228.

Sze-ma Ts'een says that Tsoo-këă was lewd and disorderly (淫亂), and reigned only 16 years.

[iii.] Lin-sin (廩辛) succeeded to his father Tsoo-këă, B.C. 1224, and died after a short reign of six years. That is all history records of him.

[iv.] Lin-sin was followed by his brother Kăng-ting (庚丁), who occupied the throne 21 years.

[v.] Woo-yih (武乙), the son of Kăng-ting, commenced his brief reign of 4 years in B.C. 1197. On this 1st year, or in the year after, he removed the capital from Pŏ once more to the north of the Ho, somewhere in the dep. of Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan. He may have done this to be nearer the eastern part of the empire, which was disturbed in his time by risings of the wild tribes between the Hwae and mount T'ae.

Woo-yih occupies an unenviable place in the annals of China, many attributing to him the first making of idols in China;—see Morrison's 'View of China for Philological purposes,' and De Mailla's History, Vol. I., p. 217. The action on which the charge is based, however, was more that of a madman than of a devotee, a freak of licentious folly, and not the birth of any religious feeling, however perverted. Sze-ma Ts'een simply tells us:—武乙無道,爲偶人,謂之天神,與之博,令人爲行,天神不勝,乃僇辱之,爲革囊盛血,仰而射之,命曰射天, 'Woo-yih was without any right principle. He made the image of a man, and called it "the Spirit of Heaven." Then he gamed with it' (博='played dice, or at chess),' causing some one to play for the image. "The spirit of Heaven" was unsuccessful, on which he disgraced it, and made a leather bag which he filled with blood, and then placed aloft and shot at' (the image probably was in the bag as well), 'calling this "shooting at Heaven."' This is all the account we have in the 'Historical Records.' De Mailla, I imagine, *is making for himself* the narrative which he gives, that the emperor 'required all the people to adore the image, and address their vows to it.'

In the 4th year of his reign, while hunting between the Ho and the Wei, Woo-yih suddenly died. Ts'een says that he was struck dead by lightning; and people recognize in that event the just and appropriate vengeance of Heaven which he had insulted.

[vi.] Woo-yih was succeeded by his son T'ae-ting, whose brief reign of three years ended B.C. 1191.

[vii.] Te-yih (帝乙), the son of T'ae-ting, succeeded to his father, and reigned for 37 years, dying in B.C. 1154. During his time the House of Chow greatly increased in power and grew in favour with the people throughout the empire. In the previous reign duke Ke had signalized himself by repelling the incursions of certain wild hordes in the north. Having performed several similar exploits in the first year of Te-yih, the emperor gave him the title, first of 'Master of the Pastors' (命爲牧師), and subsequently invested him with the dignity of 'Chief of all the princes' (侯伯).

In B.C. 1184, duke Ke-leih died, and was succeeded by his son Ch'ang, who thenceforth appears in history under the style of the 'Chief of the West' (西伯). The benevolence which he displayed in the govt. of his own principality made the people everywhere long to be under his rule, and the men of greatest virtue and ability began to collect around him. In B.C. 1168, according to the generally acknowledged chronology, his son Fă (發), afterwards King Woo, the first emperor of the Chow dynasty, was born.

Chow-sin (紂辛) succeeded to the empire, B.C. 1153. He had two brothers older than himself,—K'e, known as the viscount of Wei (微子啟), and Chung-yen (仲衍); but when they were born, their mother had only a secondary place in the harem. Before the birth of Chow-sin, however, she was raised to the dignity of empress, and she and Te-yih were persuaded, against their better judgment, to name him on that account successor to the throne, in preference to K'e. He appears in history with all the attributes of a tyrant. His natural abilities were more than ordinary; his sight and hearing were astonishingly acute; his strength made him a match for the strongest animals; he could make the worse appear to be the better reason, when his ministers attempted to remonstrate with him; he was intemperate, extravagant, and would sacrifice everything to the gratification of his passions. He was the first, we are told, to use ivory chopsticks, which made the viscount of Ke (箕子) sorrowfully remonstrate with him. 'Ivory chopsticks,' said he, 'will be followed by cups of gem; and then you will be wanting to eat bears' paws and leopards' wombs, and proceed to other extravagancies. Your indulgence of your desires may cost you the empire.' Such admonitions were of no use.

In B.C. 1146 in an expedition against the prince of Soo (有蘇氏), he received from him a lady of extraordinary beauty, called Tă-ke (妲己), of whom he became the thrall. It is the story of Këĕ and Me-he over again. Tă-ke was shamelessly lustful and cruel. The most licentious songs were composed for her amusement, and the vilest dances exhibited. The court was at a place in the pres. dis. of K'e (淇縣), dep. of Wei-hwuy, and there a palace was erected for her, with a famous terrace or

tower, two *le* wide, and the park around stocked with the rarest animals. This expenditure necessitated heavy exactions, which moved the resentment of the people. At Sha-k'ew (沙丘), in the pres. dis. of P'ing-heang (平鄉), in Chih-le, there was still greater extravagance and dissipation. There was a pond of wine; the trees were hung with flesh; men and women chased each other about, quite naked. In the palace there were nine market-stances, where they drank all night. The princes began to rebel, when Tă-ke said that the majesty of the throne was not sufficiently maintained;—that punishments were too light, and executions too rare. She therefore devised two new instruments of torture. One of them was called 'The Heater,' and consisted of a piece of metal, made hot in a fire, which people were obliged to take up in their hands. The other was a copper pillar, greased all over, and laid above a pit of live charcoal. The culprit had to walk across the pillar, and when his feet slipped, and he fell down into the fire, Tă-ke was greatly delighted. This was called the punishment of 'Roasting' (炮烙之刑). These enormities made the whole empire groan and fume with indignation.

Chow appointed the Chief of the West, the prince of K'ew (九侯), and the prince of Gŏ (鄂侯), his three principal ministers (三公). The two last met a sad fate. The prince of K'ew added his own daughter to the harem, and when she would not enter into its debaucheries, Chow put her to death, and made minced meat of her father. The prince of Gŏ ventured to remonstrate, and was sliced to pieces for his pains. Ch'ang fell at the same time under suspicion and was put in prison (囚于羑里), in a place called Yew-le.

These events are referred to B.C. 1143. Ch'ang, it is said, occupied himself, in prison, with the study of Fuh-he's diagrams, and composed a considerable portion of the present Yih King. In 1141, his sons and subjects propitiated the tyrant with immense gifts; the exigencies of the empire were likewise very pressing, in consequence of risings and incursions of the wild tribes; Ch'ang was released, and invested with greater authority than before. If he had raised the flag of rebellion, he could easily have dethroned the emperor, but he preserved his allegiance, obtained the abolition of the punishment of Roasting, and drew the hearts and thoughts of princes and people more and more to himself and his House. History tells us of his exploits, virtually regent of the empire, till his death in B.C. 1134, when he was succeeded by his son Fă, who inherited his authority and his virtues. Ten years pass on, of the events of which nothing important is related, and we come to B.C. 1123, to which the conquest of Le is referred.

NAME OF THE BOOK.—西伯戡黎, 'The Chief of the West's conquest of Le.' In the details of the preceding note I have followed the account of the closing years of the Shang dynasty, which is now generally received, and acc. to which the chronology in the 歷代統紀表 is arranged; and the Chief of the West who subdued Le is said to have been Fă, the subsequent king Woo. Ts'ae, on the contrary, ascribes the conquest to Ch'ang or king Wăn, agreeing with Fuh-shang, Sze-ma Ts'een, Ch'ing, and all the older critics. The question is discussed at length in the 通鑑綱目, under the 31st year of Chow-sin. It hardly appears to me capable of a clear determination. Choo He was appealed to about it by one of his disciples who said, 'Most of the old interpreters thought that the Chief of the West here was king Wăn; but Ch'in Shaou-nan (陳少南), Leu Pih-kung (呂伯恭), and Sëë Ke-lung (薛季隆), have given their opinion that it was king Woo. Woo Ts'ae-laou (吳才老), also says that the conquest of Le must have closely preceded the attack on Chow himself.' The questioner then proceeded to indicate his own conclusion in favour of the more recent opinion, and asked for the master's decision. Choo He wisely replied, 'We may as well put on one side such questions where the evidence is so scanty' (此等無證據可且闕之).

By the 'West' in the designation 'Chief of the West,' we are to understand the province of Yung on the north, with those of Leang and King on the south,—the western part of the empire in fact.

Sze-ma Ts'een has Ke (飢), for Le, and Fuh-shang had K'e (耆). It is agreed, however, that the country designated extended over what are now the two districts of Le-shing (黎城) and P'ing-shun (平順), dep. of Loo-ngan (潞安) in Shan-se. This was only about 100 miles from Chow's capital, and within the boundaries of the imperial domain. The Chief of the West was no longer confining himself to the west. It was this approach of the army of Chow to the neighbourhood of the emperor which filled with alarm all who continued to cherish any attachment to the House of Shang. What provocation the duke of Chow may have had to attack Le, or by what motives he was actuated, we cannot tell; but it now became plain to all, that however loyally inclined he might be, there was a tide of affairs carrying Chow on to the supremacy of the empire. This is the meaning of the expression in the Preface, that 'Yin's first hatred of Chow was occasioned by the conquest of Le.' The Book is found in both the texts.

It is referred, not very satisfactorily, to the class of 'Announcements.'

CONTENTS. The Chief of the West having overthrown the prince of Le, Tsoo E filled with alarm hurries away to inform the emperor. He sternly sets the truth before him,—that the rule of Yin is hastening to a close through his own evil conduct. The tyrant gives no heed to his

淫戲用自絕。○三節 故天棄我、不有康食、不虞天性、不迪率典。○四節 今我民罔弗欲喪、曰、天曷不降威、大命不摯、今王其如台。○五節 王曰、嗚呼、

3 and sport, O king, you are bringing on the end yourself. On this
account Heaven has cast us off, so that there is distress for want of
food; there is no consideration of our heavenly nature; there is no
4 obedience to the statutes *of the empire*. *Yea*, our people now all
wish *the dynasty* to perish, saying, 'Why does not Heaven send down
its indignation? why does not *some one with* its great decree make
his appearance? what has the present king to do with us?'"
5 The king said, "Oh! is not my life secured by the decree of

remonstrances, but returns an absurd reply; on which Tsoo E withdraws, and sighs over the ruin which he sees cannot now be averted.

P. 1, *Introductory paragraph. The occasion of Tsoo E's address.* 西伯戡黎,—see on the Name of the Book. The 爾雅 defines 戡 by 殺, 'to till;' but the meaning of 勝 or 克, 'to overcome,' 'to subdue,' is to be accepted here. Tsoo E was probably a descendant of Tsoo Ke, the worthy minister of Woo-ting. He hurried away, *i.e.*, from his own city, probably between Le and the capital, to give information to Chow.

Pp. 2—5. *Tsoo E's address.* 2. *That the dynasty of Yin was about to be extinguished,—entirely through the wickedness of Chow.* 天既訖我殷命,—訖=絕, 'to extinguish,' 'to bring to an end.' 我殷命=殷之王命, 'Yin's appointment to the sovereignty' (Gan-kwŏ). 格人元龜,—格=至, 'perfect,' 'of the highest class;' 元=大, 'great.' The tortoise employed for divination at the imperial court was so called by way of eminence, and supposed to measure, length-ways and across, a cubit and two inches. Sze-ma Ts'een has 假人 for 格人, and Keang Shing edits 假爾, reading 假 in the up. 2d tone, = 'to avail of.' He compares the text with the language of the Le Ke, 曲禮, Bk. I., Pt v., p. 24, 假爾泰龜; but the interpretation is intolerably forced and harsh. 惟王淫戲自絕,—Sze-ma Ts'een has 虐, 'oppression,' instead of 戲 'sport.' The meanings are both appropriate. The paraphrasts supply 于天 after 絕,—'you cut yourself off from Heaven.' This does not seem to be necessary. 3. *Evidences of Heaven's abandonment in the miserable and demoralized condition of the people.* 不有康食,—'we have no eating in comfort.' Famine was stalking abroad. 不虞天性,—虞=度, 'to consider,' 'to act upon consideration of.' Demoralization followed upon want. 不迪率典,—典=國家之常典, 'the regular statutes of the empire.'—'We do not tread in and follow the statutes.' Social disorder followed hard on demoralization. Such is the interpretation of this paragraph, and it is the most likely which I have seen. See others in the 註疏, in Keang Shing, aud in the 後案. 4. *How the people were openly declaring their longing for the end of the dynasty.* 罔弗欲喪=無不欲王之喪, or 殷之喪, 'the ruin of your Majesty,' or 'the ruin of the dynasty.' 大命不摯,=摯=至, 'to come.' The 'great decree' is the appointment of Heaven to the sovereignty of the empire. Sze-ma Ts'een has—大命胡不至.

P. 5. *The defiant reply of Chow.* 我生,—Chow intends, not only his 'life,' but his 'position' also. The 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases:—爾雖云民心背畔,

我生不有命在天。○祖伊反、曰、嗚呼、乃罪多參在上、乃能責命于天。○殷之卽喪、指乃功、不無戮于爾邦。

六節 七節

6 Heaven?" Tsoo E returned, and said, "Ah! your crimes which
are many are set above;—and can you speak of your fate as if you
7 give it in charge to Heaven? Yin will very shortly perish. As
to all your deeds, can they but bring ruin on your country?"

將欲亡我.然我尊爲天子,實天生我以主萬民,獨不有命在天乎,小民亦無如我何矣. 6, 7. *Tsoo E's withdrawal and soliloquy on Chow's reply.* 6. 反＝還, 'to return.' He left the court, and returned to the place whence he had hurried to bring the news of the conquest of Le. Gan-kwŏ, however, makes the meaning to be—'returned for answer.' 乃(＝汝)罪多參在上,—參 is a rank or cluster of 'three, orderly arranged;' hence it has here the meaning of 列, 'arranged in order.' 能責命于天,—'can you charge your fate to Heaven? *i.e.*, can you speak as if you were safe through the decree of Heaven in favour of your House? Only the good-doer can look to Heaven with hope. 7. I have translated here after the 'Daily Explanation' supposing 殷之卽喪 to be a sentence complete,＝殷之喪亡,直在旦夕,不能久延矣. The interpretations of the paragraph, however, are very various. I will only give that of Keang Shing, which＝'When Yin soon comes to ruin, shall not the destroyer declare your deeds, and put you to death in your kingdom?'

[It is remarkable that Tsoo E does not say a word about the growing power of the House of Chow,—makes not a single reference to the Chief of the West. Ts'ae supposes that he knew the loyal feeling of Ch'ing and Fă,—that neither of them was prompted by an ambition to gain the empire, and that even now, if the emperor could only be got to reform, the regent would sustain the dynasty of Shang. We can only note the singularity of the fact;—our hypotheses to account for it may be right or wrong.]

THE BOOKS OF SHANG.

BOOK XI. THE VISCOUNT OF WEI.

微子

微(一節)子若曰、父師少師、殷其弗或亂正四方、我祖厎遂陳于上、我用沈酗于酒、用亂敗厥德于下。○(二節)殷罔不

1 I. The viscount of Wei spoke to the following effect:—"Grand Tutor and Junior Tutor, *the House of* Yin, we may conclude, can no longer exercise rule over the four quarters of the empire. The great deeds of our founder were displayed in former ages, but by our being lost and maddened with wine, we have destroyed *the effects*

HISTORICAL NOTE. The conversation recorded in this Book is referred in the chronology to B.C. 1122, the year immediately following the conquest of Le, and that in which the dynasty of Shang perished. The chron. does not make mention, indeed, of this document; but it places in the above year the events mentioned in the 18th Bk. of the Con. Ana., Ch. i,—how the viscount of Wei withdrew from Chow-sin's court, and the viscount of Ke became a slave, while Pe-kan was put to death; and those events are supposed to have followed almost immediately after the conference between the worthies which is here related. Difficulties might be raised against this view; but it is not worth while arguing a point of little importance, and where absolute certainty cannot be attained. The conversation between the viscount of Wei and his friends must have taken place near the time assigned to it,—in one of the closing years of the Shang dynasty.

NAME OF THE BOOK.—微子, 'The Viscount of Wei.' This name seems to have been given after the fashion of the Books of the Confucian Analects. The characters begin the Book and are therefore adopted as its name. The Preface speaks of the viscount of Wei making his *announcement* to the Tutors, and the Book is accordingly placed in the division of 'Announcements.' Like that of the last Book, this arrangement is convenient rather than satisfactory.

Wei (微) was the name of a principality of the 4th order (Men. V., Pt., ii. 3), the holder of which had the title of 子, which some have translated by 'viscount,' others by 'count,' and others again by 'marquis.' It was within the limits of the imperial domain, in the pres. dis. of Loo-shing (潞城), dep. of Loo-gan (潞

安), Shan-se. It has been stated in the introductory note to the last Book, that the viscount of Wei was named K'e (啟), and that he was an elder brother of the emperor, by the same mother, who was, however, only a concubine when K'e was born, and subsequently raised to be empress before the birth of Sin. Such is the account of Sze-ma Ts'een, and other old writers. The authority of Mencius is pleaded in favour of the view that K'e was an uncle of the emperor;—see Men. VI., Pt. I., vi., 3. But Mencius does not allege this himself;—it only appears as an opinion current in his time. As K'e is in this Book addressed as 王子, 'son of the king,' and still more is called 殷王元子, 'the eldest son of the king of Yin,' in the 8th Book of the next Part, par. 1, the account in the 'Historical Records' ought not to be called in question. The Book is found in both the texts.

CONTENTS. Saddened with the thought of the impending ruin of their dynasty, the viscount of Wei seeks the counsel of two other high nobles, and after pourtraying in lively colours the mad dissoluteness of the emperor, and the demoralization of the people, asks them to tell him what was to be done. One of them, —the Grand Tutor—replies to him, describes in still stronger language the sad condition of the empire, and the unavoidable overthrow of the dynasty, and concludes by advising the viscount to make his escape, declaring that he himself would remain at his post and share in the unavoidable ruin. We may make a separate chapter of the language of each of them.

CH. I. Pp. 1—3. THE ADDRESS OF THE VISCOUNT OF WEI TO THE GREAT TUTOR AND THE JUNIOR TUTOR. 1. *How Yin, through the drunkenness of Chow, could no longer sway the empire.* 微子若曰,—compare what is said on 若曰 in the Pwan-kăng, Pt. i., p. 6. 父師,少師,—父 is here = 太, 'great,' 'grand.' Under the Chow dyn., we find from the next Part, Bk. XXV., there were the 'three *Kung*' (三公) one of whom was styled 太師, and the 'three *Koo*' (三孤), one of whom was the 少師 the highest officers of the empire, and who seem to have formed a sort of privy council to the sovereign. There were inferior officers of the same titles, mentioned by Fuh-shang (大傳),—retired magistrates and scholars who afterwards exercised something like the duties of schoolmasters in the villages, and were called 父師 and 少師. There were also the grand and the assistant music-masters, who were styled 太師 and 少師;—see the Ana., XVIII., ix. The terms in the text must be understood as having the first of these three applications,—as designations of the highest officers about Chow's government. We do not know that there were, in the Shang dyn., the three *Kung* and three *Koo*, as subsequently in the Chow, but the 'grand Tutor' and 'junior Tutor' were of the class of those dignitaries. The individuals thus designated are said to have been 'the viscount of Ke' and 'Pe-kan,' who are both classed with the viscount of Wei in the Analects, XXIII., 1.; all the other commentators say so; and though Sze-ma Ts'een has some expressions both in the 殷本記, and in the 宋微子世家, which seem inconsistent with it, it is hardly worth while to discuss the subject. 殷其弗或亂正四方,—亂=治, 'to rule.;' 亂正四方,—comp. 治正于四方, 'Charge to Yue,' Pt. i., p. 2. Woo Ch'ing says that '其 and 或 are both expressions expressive of uncertainty' (皆非必然之辭). This is true of 或, but not true of 其, though it belongs to the peculiar usage of it, which has been more than once pointed out, to *insinuate* the meaning of the speaker. 我祖底遂陳于上,—T'ang is intended by 'our ancestor.' Ts'een gives 敗湯德 instead of 敗厥德 immediately below. We must take 遂 in the sense of 成, 'to accomplish,' and then 底遂 is equivalent to what we call a verbal noun,—'his carrying to the utmost his achieving,' = 'his great deeds.' 陳=列, 'to arrange.' 上, and 下 in the end of the par., are used with reference to time. 我用沈酗于酒,—Sze-ma Ts'een has 紂 instead of 我. Chow is no doubt intended, but K'e delicately takes the blame of his vices to all the descendants of T'ang;—compare the use of the pronoun in the 'Songs of the five Sons.' Ts'een also omits the 用, which adds emphasis to the verbs 沈 and 酗. The dict. defines 酗 by 醉怒, 'the anger or fury of drunkenness.' Luk Tih-ming (陸德明) explained the char. by 以酒爲凶, 'the practice of malignant wickedness under the

小大、好草竊姦宄、卿士師師非度、凡有辜罪、乃罔恆獲、小民方興、相爲敵讐、今殷其淪喪、若涉大水、其無津涯、殷遂喪越至于今。○

2 *of* his virtue in these after times. The people of Yin, small and great, are given to highway robberies, villainies and treachery. The nobles and officers imitate one another in violating the laws; and for criminals there is no certainty that they will be apprehended. The lesser people *consequently* rise up, and make violent outrages on one another. The dynasty of Yin is now sinking in ruin;—its condition is like that of one crossing a large stream, who can find neither ford nor bank. That Yin should be hurrying to ruin at the present pace!"—

influence of spirits.' 2. *How the people, high and low, were demoralized and lawless, so that there was no hope for the dynasty.* 草竊,—Gan-kwŏ explains this by 草野盜竊, 'steal and rob in the grassy wilds,' making one think of the notoriety in former days of Hounslow heath in England as a place for robberies. Keang Shing takes 草 in the sense of 莠, 'hurtful weeds,' so that it is used adverbially and metaphorically. I prefer the old explanation. 師師非度,—師師=互相倣效, 'imitate one another.' 凡有辜罪,乃罔恆獲,—辜=罪. The two characters here form a complex term ='crime,' or 'criminals.' Woo Ch'ing supposes that this clause follows from the prec. He says:—'The nobles and officers are the model of the people, but instead of using the regular laws to apprehend criminals, they forbear with and allow them (卿士爲民師表,凡有辜罪之人,反容縱之,無常法捕獲者). This is the most natural exegesis, and I have followed it. The old interpreters took the passage diff'tly. Gan-kwŏ interprets:—'They are all' (taking 凡=皆, and referring it to 卿士) 'criminals, and there is not one who can regularly hold fast the due Mean' (皆有辜罪,無秉常得中者). Still more absurd is the view given by K'ang-shing:—'All the ministers are thus criminals, and as to their dignities and emoluments, they do not always get them. The meaning is that the ministers attacked and plundered one another' (羣臣皆有是罪,其爵祿又無常得之者,言屢相攻奪). 相爲敵讐=相敵相讐, 'fight with one another, revenge themselves on one another.' 今殷其淪喪,—Sze-ma Ts'een has 典喪 instead of 淪喪, so that the meaning is—'The statutes of Yin, every bond of order and govt., are now gone to ruin, and the dyn. is in a condition like that,' &c. This would give a good enough meaning, but we cannot, because we find 典 in Ts'een, conclude that the 淪 in the text is erroneous. One crossing a great stream where there was neither ford nor bank could only sink in the waters. 殷遂喪,越至于今,—越, like the same char. in Bk. IX., p. 1, can hardly be translated. Ma Yung and Gan-kwŏ both try to bring out its meaning as=於是;—but unsuccessfully. See the 後案, and the 註疏. I consider the clause to be incomplete. The 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases it:—豈意我殷之盛,一旦喪亡相及,至于如此之甚乎, 'How could it have been supposed that on our Yin, once so flourishing, ruin would have suddenly come upon ruin, to such a degree as at the present time?'

三節曰、父師少師、我其發出狂、吾家耄遜于荒、今爾無指告予顚隮、若之何其。○四節父師若曰、王子、天毒降災荒殷邦、方興沈酗于酒。○五節乃罔畏畏咈其耇長舊有位

3 He added, "Grand Tutor and Junior Tutor, we are manifesting insanity. The venerable of our families have withdrawn to the wilds; and now you indicate nothing, but tell me of the impending ruin;—what is to be done?"

4 II. The Grand Tutor made about the following reply:—"King's son, Heaven in anger is sending down calamities, and wasting the country of Yin. Thence has come about that lost and maddened
5 condition through wine. He has no reverence for things which he ought to reverence, but does despite to the aged elders, the old

P. 3. *K'e represents their sad condition still more vividly, aud begs his friends to give him counsel.* 我其發出狂,—Chow is intended here by 我, as in par. 1. 耄,—'a person 90 years old is called 耄;—see Pt., Bk. II., p. 9. 顚隮,—Ying-tă defines and distinguishes these terms, saying that 顚 means 'to fall from a height,' and 隮, 'to fall into a ditch.' Nothing can be made of the 其 at the end, we must be content to take it as a mere expletive.' These notes and the translation are all after Ts'ae Ch'in. Gan-kwŏ interprets differently;—thus:—'When I think of this ruin of Yin, I feel as if unwell and become maddened. In my family, my heart is wearied and confused, and I wish to withdraw to the wilds. Now you do not inform me of your views, but tell me of the downfal of the country, and ask what is to be done.' Sza-ma Ts'een's text is a good deal difft.—曰, 太師少師, 我其發出往, 吾家保于喪, 今女無故告, 予顚躋如之何其, 'I will arise and go forth away. My family will be preserved in the ruin. Now you tell me nothing (?). I may fall *into a wrong course;*—what should I do?' Keang Shing's text nearly agrees with Ts'een's, but not quite. I believe the received text is the most correct, and that Ts'ae's interpretation is to be preferred to all the others.

CH. II. Pp. 4—9. REPLY OF THE GRAND TUTOR. 4. *He enlarges on what K'e had said about Chow's drunkenness.* 王子,—see the note on the Name of the Book. 毒降,—'is poisonously sending down.' It is difficult to know how to interpret 方興, and connect it with what precedes. We want a nominative expressed to 興, as in par. 2;—to suppose one in 邦, as Gan-kwŏ does is too violent. The meaning given by him, as expanded by Ying-tă, is:—Heaven, sending down cruel and poisonous calamities, gave birth to this insensate and oppressive sovereign, to waste and confound the kingdom of Yin. Chow having proved a drunkard, the people throughout the four quarters are all acted on by him, and addicted to the same vice, so that nothing can be done.' It would appear that the Grand Tutor attributes the ruin of the dynasty to Heaven, and that not in permission or retribution merely. 'He puts it upon Heaven,' says Ts'ae, 'his loyalty and reverence for the emperor not permitting him to put it on him!' If the crimes through which the dynasty was going to ruin were produced by Heaven, that ruin certainly could not be arrested. Ts'een omits altogether the second part of the par., and gives the first—太師曰, 王子, 天篤下災, 亡殷國. 5. *He illustrates what K'e had said on the madness of Chow, and the withdrawal of the old and experienced.* 罔畏畏—不畏其所當畏, as in the

人。○六節今殷民乃攘竊神祇之犧牷牲、用以容、將食無災。○七節降監殷民、用乂讎斂、召敵讎不怠、罪合于一、八節多瘠罔詔。○商今其有災、我

6 official fathers. Now the people of Yin will even steal away the
pure and perfect victims devoted to the spirits of heaven and earth;
and their conduct is connived at, and though they proceed to eat
7 the victims, they suffer no punishment. *On the other hand*, when I
look down and survey the people of Yin, the methods of government
to them are hateful exactions, which call forth outrages and hatred;
—and this without ceasing. Such crime equally belongs to all
in authority, and multitudes are starving with none to whom to
8 appeal. Now is the time of Shang's calamity;—I will arise and
share in its ruin. When ruin overtakes Shang, I will not be the

translation. Comp. Con. Ana., XVI., viii. 耇長=老成之人, 'old, accomplished men.' 耇 denotes 'the appearance of a frosted pear.' Such-like are the faces of old men, and hence the char. is used for 'old.' 6. *He intensifies what had been said of the robberies and villainies of the people of Yin.* The people were guilty not of ordinary robberies only;—they committed sacrilege, and were allowed to do so with impunity. 攘 is 'to steal upon occasion offered,' to appropriate, for instance, a neighbour's sheep trespassing on one's ground; but we cannot here insist on that peculiar meaning of the term. 牲='victim,'—ox, sheep, or pig. 犧 is the victim 'uniform in colour.' 牷 is the same, 'complete,' without blemish. 用以容,—Ts'ae supposes that this clause speaks of 'the officers.'—有司用相容隱. Keang Shing makes Chow himself to be the subject of it. Gan-kwŏ ingeniously joins the 用 to the clause above, and explains it as meaning 'the offerings of fruit and grain.' Maou K'e-ling says that in his earlier years he could not away with this interpretation, but was inclined to adopt it on maturer thought;—see the 尙書廣聽錄, Bk. II., *in loc.* 7. *He describes the outrages and misery of the people in consequence of the oppressions of those in authority.* 降=下, 'down,' 'descending.' 用乂讎斂=凡上所用以治之者,無非讎斂之事, 'all the methods used by their superiors to govern them are only exactions of enemies.' Ma Yung read 稠 for 讎; but the meaning is substantially the same. 召敵讎,—'which call forth outrages and hatred.' This is understood to have reference to 相爲敵讎 in paragraph 2. It would seem to be so; and we may understand the outrages there spoken of as further described here as done in defiant despite to the government. 罪合于一,—'the crimes' are those of the emperor and of the officers generally. 罔詔,—詔=告, 'to tell,' 'to appeal to;'—comp. the use of 告 in the phrase 無告者, Mencius, I., Pt. II., v., 3. 8. *The Grand Tutor declares his own intention to abide all risks at his post, but he advises K'e to withdraw and save himself.* 商今……臣僕,—the reader who has Lin Che-k'e's commentary will be amused by reading his view of this passage. I do not introduce it here, because, though ingenious, it does not show Lin's usual soundness of judgment. 詔王子出迪,—the 'Daily Explanation' paraphrases this:—我告王子,惟出而遠去,乃合于道, 'I tell you, O king's son, that to quit and go far away is the right course for you.' 我舊云刻子=我前

興受其敗、商其淪喪、我罔爲臣僕、詔王子出迪、我舊云刻子、王子弗出、我乃顛隮。○自靖、人自獻于先王、我不顧行遯。九節

servant *of another dynasty.* *But* I tell you, O king's son, to go away
as being the course *for you.* Formerly I injured you by what I
said, but if you do not go forth now, our *sacrifices* will entirely
9 perish. Let us rest quietly *in our several parts,* and present ourselves
to the former kings. I do not think of making my escape.

日所言,適以害子, 'what I formerly said served to injure you.' It has been mentioned that Te-yih and his empress wished to leave the throne to K'e, and not to Chow-sin, but were dissuaded from the purpose. It is supposed that the text refers to the advocacy at that time by the Grand Tutor of K'e's claims to the throne, which had made him all along an object of jealousy and dislike to Chow. Gan-kwŏ takes 刻 as = 痎, 'to be distressed for;'—see the 註疏 *in loc.* Keang Shing, always ready to reject the received text, adopts from Wang Ch'ung (王充) the reading of 孩子; but the meaning which he ingeniously brings out of 舊云孩子 comes in effect to the same thing as that usually followed. 我乃顛隮,—it must be understood that the Grand Tutor speaks here of the sacrifices offered to the founder and all the departed emperors of the House of Shang. He must himself have belonged to the imperial line. If, as is most likely, he was the viscount of Ke, he was an uncle of the emperor;—so the relationship between them is commonly represented. Ts'ae expands the text:—我商家宗祀,始隕墜而無所托矣. 9. *They must, each of them, do what they felt to be right.* 自靖,—靖=安, as in Bk. VII., Pt. i., p. 12. Ts'ae says:—各安其義之所當盡, 'let each man rest in the performance of what his circumstances require him to do.' Gan-kwŏ, and here for a wonder Këang Shing is at one with him, takes 靖 in this pass., and in the Pwan-kăng, as = 謀, so that 自靖 = 'take counsel with yourself.' It is difficult to say what is the precise idea in 'presenting themselves to the former kings.' I think it is this,—that if they did what was right, they should have consciences void of offence, as now beheld by their ancestors, or as hereafter to appear before them. 顧 is used as in the T'ae-këă, Pt. i., p. 1, 顧諟天之明命.

[FATES OF THE MEN MENTIONED IN THIS BOOK. The viscount of Wei appears to have acted on the advice given him by the Grand Tutor, and to have withdrawn from the court of Yin. The expression in the Ana., XVIII., i.,—微子去之, may be considered as proving this. When and how he withdrew, however, it is not possible to ascertain. According to a description in the 左傳, 僖六年, and the account given by Sze-ma Ts'een, after the death of Chow, he went out to meet king Woo at the head of his army, having with him the sacrificial vessel of the House of Shang. He presented himself in miserable plight, almost naked, with his hands bound behind him, and moving forward on his knees, when king Woo received him honourably, and restored him to his former office, whatever that was. This legend has been called in question. In the next Part of the Shoo we shall meet with the viscount again, and see him finally enfeoffed with the principality of Sung, there to continue the representative of the House of Shang.

If the viscount of Ke, whose name was Seu-yu (胥餘), was indeed the Grand Tutor of the text, he did not die with the dynasty, as he seems to have expected. The passage of the Analects referred to says 'he became a slave.' According to Ts'een, he reproved Chow in the first place, and when his friends urged him to make his escape, he refused, and feigned himself to be mad, allowed his hair to hang about uncared for. King Woo found him in prison, and set him free, when he fled away to Corea. We shall meet with him also again in the next Part.

The Junior Tutor is supposed to have been Pe-kan, also a member of the imperial House, though his precise relationship to Chow is uncertain. Mencius calls him 王子, 'king's son' (Book. II., Pt. I., i. 8); Ts'een says no more than that he was 'a relative' (親戚); Ch'ing and others say he was 'an uncle.' He does not appear as a speaker in the text; but the part which he chose was a harder one than the parts of his friends. When he saw how the reproofs of the viscount of Ke were received, he brought the truth before the tyrant with still sterner vehemence. 'I have heard,' said Chow, 'that the heart of a sage has seven apertures;—let us see if it be so.' With this he made Pe-kan be put to death, had his heart cut out, and glutted his eyes with the sight of it.]

[Final overthrow of the Shang dynasty. The dynasty closes, in the chronology, in B.C. 1122, the same year to which the conference between the viscount of Wei and his friends is referred. It was in the year after, however, that Chow-sin died, and for the contest between him and the duke of Chow we must look to the commencing Books of the next Part. The duke of Chow after many delays at last took the field against the tyrant. We are surprised to find that Chow-sin, notwithstanding the general detestation with which he was regarded, was able to bring together an immense host, vastly outnumbering that of the other side. The two armies met in the plain of Muh, in the south of the pres. dis. of Ke, dep. of Wei-hwuy, Ho-nan. Chow-sin's troops failed him in the hour of need. He was totally defeated, and fled to the palace which had been the scene of so many debaucheries with Tă-ke. Arrayed in his most gorgeous robes, and covered with gems, he set fire to the 'Stag Tower,' which he had built for her, and perished in the flames;—yet not so but that his body was found by the duke of Chow, now king Woo, who cut off the head, and had it exhibited on a pole. Tă-ke apparelled herself splendidly, and went out to meet the conqueror, thinking he might be conquered by her charms. She was made prisoner, however, by a detachment of his troops, and put to death by his order, without having the opportunity to present herself before him.]

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